THE MEDIEVAL HOUSEHOLD IN CHRISTIAN EUROPE, *C.* 850–*C.* 1550

Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body

INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL RESEARCH

Volume 12

Editorial Board

Axel E. W. Müller, Alan V. Murray, Peter Meredith, & Ian N. Wood
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THE MEDIEVAL HOUSEHOLD IN CHRISTIAN EUROPE, *C.* 850–*C.* 1550

Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body

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BREPOLS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Leeds International Medieval Congress (2001)
The medieval household in Christian Europe, c.850-c.1550: Managing power, wealth, and the body. – (International medieval research; 12)
1. Marriage – Europe – History – To 1500 – Congresses
2. Marriage – Europe – History – 16th century – Congresses
3. Kinship – Europe – History – To 1500 – Congresses
4. Kinship – Europe – History – 16th century – Congresses
5. Family – Europe – History – To 1500 – Congresses
6. Family – Europe – History – 16th century – Congresses
7. Marriage customs and rites – Europe – History – To 1500 – Congresses
8. Marriage customs and rites – Europe – History – 16th century – Congresses
9. Europe – Social life and customs – Congresses
I.Title II.Beattie, Cordelia III.Maslakovic, Anna IV.Rees Jones, Sarah
306.8'1'094'0902

ISBN 2503522084

© 2003, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

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D/2003/0095/64
ISBN: 2-503-52208-4

Printed in the E.U. on acid-free paper.

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Foreword

SARAH REES JONES

This volume is one of two containing a selection of proceedings from the Leeds International Medieval Congress in 2001. In 1998 the organizing committee of the Congress chose the theme of '*Domus* and *Familia*' as the special strand for the Congress, shortly after the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York had established an informal research group on the Medieval Household and held two successful colloquia. Leeds consequently invited me, as a representative of that Household Group, to act as the principal academic advisor for the strand in 2001. These two volumes of proceedings continue this informal collaboration. The other volume is *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, International Medieval Research, 11 (Brepols, 2003).

The choice of the Latin terms '*Domus* and *Familia*' reflects the difficulty which modern readers have in translating medieval concepts of home, family, and household which enjoyed a very different profile and a much wider set of resonances in both lay and secular society then than they do now. Clearly, however, these are very popular themes of current research. The organizers were nearly overwhelmed by the huge number of applications to contribute to the strand. Even when we narrowed the theme to the secular household and family we still received enough good offers of papers to fill six strands at the Congress (a total of 203 papers), rather than the single strand that was originally envisaged. 2001 was one of the most popular Congresses to date.

The selected proceedings published here represent only a few aspects of the papers presented at the Congress. Of the papers submitted for consideration for publication only a few dealt with periods before 1250, and almost none with any of the non-Christian cultures of the medieval world. It is a particular regret that we were not able to include papers on Jewish and Islamic family life and that desire, to produce such a comparative volume on the history of the medieval family and household, remains one of the unfulfilled hopes of this organizer. Nevertheless, having made the pragmatic decision to focus on Christian Europe, we have tried to reflect other aspects of the Leeds International Congress in making this selection. The Leeds International Medieval Congress attracts an exceptionally international audience. In both volumes we have therefore tried to include as wide as possible a range of contributions covering Europe from east to west and from north to south. As a result there are several papers here on regions of Europe and their sources which are relatively little known by English-speaking scholars and only rarely dealt with in the main English-language text books used in undergraduate teaching. The Leeds International Medieval Congress is also an important venue for senior graduate students to present their work, and we have included a number of papers by such students, as well as contributions by more established scholars. The companion volume contains papers which primarily address the nature of affective relationships within the family, and the manner in which such relationships were regulated in more public arenas. This volume focuses on the institutional and physical structures of the household, through which such relationships were formed and trained. Naturally this division is somewhat arbitrary, and there are many links between the two volumes. However, we have tried to organize each volume thematically and to highlight some of the major comparative themes through the inclusion of prefaces to each section. We are extremely grateful to Christopher Dyer, Sylvia Federico, Jeremy Goldberg, Jane Grenville, and Felicity Riddy for making the time in their busy schedules to contribute these.

It is a sign of the times that so many authors have wanted to publish in English when this is not their native language. I have been immensely impressed by the Herculean efforts which they and the editors have made in drafting and re-drafting their work in order to achieve this. The authors have shown great patience, efficiency, and even courage in dealing with the many editorial interventions. The editors, Anna Maslakovic, Cordelia Beattie, Isabel Davis, and Miriam Müller, have made a much greater commitment of their time and energy to this project than one would normally expect and have been exceedingly generous in the help that they have offered to authors in the correct use of English. If the English reader finds any awkwardness left in the English expression, we hope that this disadvantage will be outweighed by the value of having so much new work made so easily accessible to them.

Without the work of Anna, Cordelia, Isabel, and Miriam these volumes would never have been published. Both I and, I am sure, the authors are extremely grateful for all their efforts, their sage advice, and their unflagging enthusiasm throughout the editorial process. We have also benefited greatly from the patience, resilience, and support of Axel Müller, Director of the Leeds International Medieval Congress, and Simon Forde, Publishing Manager, Brepols Publishers.

Abbreviations

BL	London, British Library
CKS	Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies
EETS	Early English Text Society
ES	Extra Series
OS	Original Series
SS	Supplementary Series
MED	*The Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by H. Kurath and others (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956–)
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and others, 2nd edn, 20 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)
PRO	London, Public Record Office
C	Chancery
DL	Duchy of Lancaster
E	Exchequer
JUST	Justices in Eyre
KB	King's Bench
PROB	Probate
SC	Special Collections

Introduction — Locating the Household: Public, Private, and the Social Construction of Gender and Space

CORDELIA BEATTIE AND ANNA MASLAKOVIC

The essays in this collection explore the various elements which helped define the medieval household in Christian Europe. Contributors write from a number of disciplinary perspectives (historical, literary, archaeological, and art-historical), examine socially diverse households (from peasants to kings), from different regions (within Croatia, Italy, Spain, England, Scotland, France, and Portugal), in different periods (from *c.* 850–*c.* 1550).[1] The volume, therefore, both includes areas not often covered in English-language publications, such as Portugal and Croatia, and offers new approaches to more familiar material.[2] As might be anticipated, then, the household of this volume resists easy definition.[3] However, the multi-faceted picture which emerges will doubtless aid future understandings of the medieval household.

This collection is organized into four themed sections. The first three explore how texts, particularly legal, literary, and devotional ones, suggest that power, wealth, and the body were managed within, and — in turn — helped define, the household and its role in society and politics. While broadly relating to political, moral, and economic conceptions of the household, the sections — individually and as a collective — question such artificial divisions. The fourth, 'The Material Household', deals with issues similar to those raised in the first three sections, but locates the household in a wider economy of possessions. Thus it is not just an exploration of the archaeological and art-historical view of the household as domestic house, but also an examination of how material culture — including objects, patterns of consumption, and testamentary practices — helped define spaces and relationships within households. Each section has its own introductory preface which draws connections between the essays and assesses them in light of particular historiographical traditions and disciplinary approaches. This introduction, then, will focus on the differences that emerge from these four sections and on some themes which run throughout the volume, such as the intersecting questions of the relationship between public and private, gendered differences, and the social construction of space.

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[1] For peasants, see the essays by Briggs, Alcock, and Oliva Herrer; on kings, see the essays by VanLandingham, Nuttall, and Martin.

[2] For Portugal, see the essays by Melo, Franco, and Falcão Ferreira and Grenville; for Croatia, see the essay by Benyovsky.

[3] See also Myriam Carlier's 'The Household: An Introduction' (in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, ed. by Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens (Leuven: Garant, 2001), pp. 1–11), which discusses the term's different meanings in English and Dutch and outlines some different approaches which could be taken, namely sociological (interactional; functional structuralism; institutional; life-course) and anthropological.

Moving from an opening section on 'The Public Household and Political Power' to a second section on 'The Moral Household' might suggest a firm public/private distinction in our treatment of medieval society. Rather, the essays and prefaces that follow adopt public and private as analytical terms even as they insist, paradoxically, that there was no clear separation between them. Furthermore, the disparate approaches taken by the various authors highlight the many parameters of the public and the private: the legal, political, moral, spatial, economic, or gender dimensions.

In the first section, all the essays argue, albeit from different directions, that the domestic realm had significant potential for power over the world of civic or state government. Elite households — or, more precisely, the male heads of these households — claimed political authority, sometimes at the expense of communes.[4] Or, in the case of the royal household, good internal management promoted the consolidation of royal authority.[5] In addition to wielding control of the political process, elite householders underpinned their claims in the sphere of politics through symbolic means — by drawing on the prestige of other institutions, such as churches, and on rituals and symbols associated with civic and state authority.[6] Some of the contributors to the first two sections, however, remind us that we should also consider the reverse impact: if, on one level, elite households could expand to take over the political realm, in another sense, elements of the political process could be narrowed and framed in household terms. The ideal of the household could serve as a source of legitimacy for reform of the state; the household could become a space on which to model political ideals of good government for the wider world.[7] Taken together, then, the essays suggest a dialectical relationship between households and political governments, where the domestic figured as a central influence in political life and political imagination alike.

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[4] See the essays by Benyovsky and Weber.

[5] See the essay by VanLandingham.

[6] See the essays by Visentin and Weber.

[7] See the essays by Nuttall and Cowen and Ward, but also the essays by Martin, Dunlop, and Beattie in the second section.

In 'The Moral Household', the volume's second section, the essays focus more closely on the internal worlds of the household and thereby further complicate the public/private overlap. There is therefore some tension here with the essays in section one, which, on the whole, examine how power, in its many guises, flowed from the household to the state. The essays in section two explore the idea of government over various elements in the domestic world — from chores and servants to one's own emotions — as part of a climate of ubiquitous moral policing. That mechanism depended on the obliteration of clear boundaries between state and household government, on reinforcing domestic hierarchies, and casting domestic roles in terms of spirituality. As both Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy discuss in their prefaces, one public function of the household was to provide a place where individuals were socialized for their role in the wider community. The essays in the second section indicate this and suggest to Riddy gendered differences in such socialization.

State authorities had a significant stake in shaping the lives and minds of householders, and often did so by making the male householder a proxy in the process of moral policing.[8] In the texts discussed by Joanna Martin and Fiona Dunlop, intimate, personal experiences of household members were the subject of political praise or criticism. Control of the body and of emotions was related to control of a household, with different implications for different household members. Discourses about control over one's sentiments, or one's charges, promoted the political power of older men, the exclusion of younger men, or the marginalization of single women.[9] In the texts discussed by Denis Renevy and Karen Fresco, devotional and conduct literature respectively, control over the domestic household is used metaphorically to suggest control over the, usually female, body. Riddy argues that the predominantly literary image of the household as 'pedagogical tool' could be seen as confirming gender hierarchies and confining women to the household sphere. However, the apparent feminization of the 'private' sphere in contrast to the masculine, public world is another area which can be usefully explored here.[10]

In a discussion of Max Horkheimer's view of the family under capitalism, Riddy comments, 'The male child reared in this kind of structure steps out into the world, trained and ready to take his place in the patriarchal order of the town, while the female child has internalized the necessity to curtail her freedom in a life of domesticity'. She also offers a reading of the five essays in the second section which broadly fits this framework, while recognizing that this involves a 'more hostile and reductive reading' of texts like *Livre des trois vertus* and the Middle English *Doctrine of the Hert*, discussed by Fresco and Renevey respectively, than that offered by the contributors. Fresco, for example, argues that Christine de Pizan's conduct book advocates that women control what goes on in their households, including — but not limited to — their own behaviour. How far are Riddy and Horkheimer buying into a nineteenth-century model of 'separate spheres', much critiqued by some feminist scholars?[11] Is it a sign of where we are at in modern gender studies that Riddy challenges the readings offered by Fresco and Renevey, which purport to offer women some agency, but not those exploring the more nascent topic of masculinity?[12]

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[8] See the essay by Beattie.

[9] See the essays by Dunlop, Martin, and Beattie, but also Fresco.

[10] See also the discussion in Isabel Davis, 'Introduction', in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Isabel Davis, Miriam Müller, and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

A number of the essays in this collection add to our understanding of men's household roles, such as those by Cordelia Beattie and the aforementioned Martin and Dunlop. Further, others — such as the co-authored essay by Janet Cowen and Jennifer Ward and that by Renevey — argue that we can read 'feminized' texts as speaking to male audiences too. For example, Cowen and Ward discuss a text peopled by female figures, *The Assembly of Ladies*, but consider the meanings of an all-female household on a number of levels. They acknowledge that Lady Loiaulte, the head of the allegorical household which the text discusses, could be compared with noble women who ran their own households in fifteenth-century England.[13] However, they also relate how it was very unusual to have a largely female-staffed household. While it has been argued that *The Assembly of Ladies* might be a miniature *City of Ladies* (a reference to Christine de Pizan's text which described an allegorical city peopled by exemplary women), Cowen and Ward suggest that the female figures, representing such qualities as perseverance and discretion, could just as well have been models for a male audience. Similarly, while Renevey argues that *De doctrina cordis* might have been intended for a female readership, with its use of metaphors about housework, he also puts the Middle English translation in the context of 'the booming field of devotional literature which marks the fifteenth century'. He goes on to say that, 'although female devotional and mystical practices played an important part in the production of new vernacular theologies, those practices and those new models were also appropriated by male devotional readers. Indeed, one witnesses a demasculinization of late medieval devotional practice marked by the profusion of texts circulating female models used by the Christian community'.[14]

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[11] For this trend in American historiography, see Linda E. Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *Journal of American History*, 75 (1988), 9–39; for an English critique see Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), 383–414. Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent review the evidence in their 'Introduction' to Section III, 'Separate Spheres?', in *Gender and History in Western Europe*, ed. by Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent (London: Arnold, 1998), pp. 177–79.

[12] Much of the work on medieval masculinity is currently in essay form. See, for example, *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle* Ages, ed. by Clare A. Lees (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland, 1997); *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by D. M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999); and *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. by Jacqueline Murray (New York: Garland, 1999). The first monograph on the topic has recently been published, but doubtless more are to come: Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); see also I. Davis, 'Work, Sexuality and Urban Domestic Living: Masculinity and Literature, *c*. 1360–1420' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2002), and the doctoral dissertation in progress by Derek Neal at McGill University, 'Meanings of Masculinity in Late Medieval England: Reputation, Identity and Selfhood'.

[13] The essay by Wilkinson discusses a thirteenth-century example.

Where does this get us, then, in terms of thinking about the household as a 'pedagogical tool' which confirms gender hierarchies? While it can be argued that the same model of the household might have been read by male readers as well as female readers, this does not discount the fact that in these texts housework and virtues are gendered feminine. Moreover, it is perhaps telling that when Cowen and Ward offer a reading which might have spoken to a male audience too, the purpose of the poem becomes less a debate about love and more one about 'good lordship'.

Some of the essays in the third section perhaps add to this debate on the gendering of the public/private spheres. While Arnaldo Melo's essay makes reference to women holding minor offices in the government of Porto, a northern Portuguese port city, this and the essays by Isabel Franco and Louise Wilkinson discuss whether the economic aspects of household life permitted women a more active status than that offered by the more political idea of the household discussed in the first section. Both Melo and Franco discuss the evidence for a sexual division of labour in late medieval Portugal. Franco finds that in the fishing village of S. João da Foz, only a few miles from Porto, women prepared and sold the fish caught by husbands and fathers. Jeremy Goldberg, in his preface to this section, suggests that Franco's presentation of women as 'helpmeets' to the men who were the main breadwinners is to buy into the ideology of the legal documents. He argues for 'a slightly more egalitarian relationship in practice', noting that it was the women's activities that 'actually resulted in the realization of an income'. Melo attempts to find out what forms of work women undertook, and how this related to the household economy, by analysing fourteenth- and fifteenth-century civic records. From *c.* 1288 all official documents were required to be written in Portuguese, and much of Melo's evidence stems from the use of feminine forms for occupational categories which suggests to him an occupation largely, if not exclusively, practised by women. However, Melo concludes that such records inevitably tell us more about those occupations conducted publicly — such as retailing — than those carried out within the household and perhaps linked to the occupation of the male householder more commonly found in the records.

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[14] Cf. Caroline Walker Bynum, '"… And Woman His Humanity": Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages', in her *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), pp. 151–79.

The importance of gendered language has been underscored by a recent article by Ellen Kittell and Kurt Queller, and it is worth considering here as a conclusion to our discussion about the gendering of household activities and the public/private spheres.[15] Kittell and Queller looked at similar sources to Melo, but from Flemish Douai. Here, Latin was also eschewed in favour of the vernacular in the thirteenth century. Kittell and Queller argue that the alderman's routine use of gender-specific dyadic formulas such as 'hom ne feme' or 'taneres u taneresse' in the thirteenth century suggests 'that the city did not reckon its population in terms of patriarchally headed households, but rather in terms of workers'.[16] They find a change in this practice *c.* 1339, and when the ordinances are systematically overhauled in 1403 French norms and practices displace gender-inclusive usage. This shift is seen as 'a conceptual reorientation, in which new forms of reference articulate new forms of political subordination and social control'.[17] They argue that this is partly about Burgundian overlordship, which brought with it a changed attitude towards citizenship, but also about the relationship between occupation and household. That is, rather than directing orders to men and women, as before, now decrees were aimed at the male householder which suggests that the household had become 'a fundamental unit of social control'.[18] Kittell and Queller are therefore taking issue with historians such as David Herlihy and Martha Howell who, they contend, presuppose that the household had always been this.[19] They argue that either the traditional patriarchal household structure had been undermined before the thirteenth century or 'no such structure had ever firmly established itself as normative or traditional'.[20] Discussion of their study here, then, is not to draw links between the nature of the household economy in Porto and Douai — Goldberg makes reference to arguments about different householding and labour systems in 'north-western Europe' to those in 'southern' or 'Mediterranean Europe' — but to re-insist that arguments about the public and the private, about male and female roles, are historically contextualized.[21] Thus this volume explores such questions but does not set out to resolve the debate.

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[15] Ellen E. Kittell and Kurt Queller, '"Whether Man or Woman": Gender Inclusivity in the Town Ordinances of Medieval Douai', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 30 (2000), 63–100.

[16] Ibid., p. 63.

[17] Ibid., p. 83.

[18] Ibid., p. 84.

[19] For example, David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 2; Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 20–21, 203–04 (n. 36).

[20] Kittell and Queller, '"Whether Man or Woman"', p. 84.

The third section as a whole, though, focuses on the economics of the household, in terms of money, work, and property. The essays, as Goldberg notes, cover over two centuries, diverse social groups (from Portuguese fishermen to the English aristocracy), and work with evidence from both 'north-western' and 'southern' Europe. While the unifying theme is how households support each other, the result is a diverse picture of household structure, management, and role in the outside world. Such issues of social disparity are also pertinent to the fourth section, as is the question of a public/private divide.

The fourth section, on the materiality of households, moves back and forth from structure to content, from outside to inside, from objects to cultural values and social dimensions. The essays reflect on how these elements shaped the lives of householders, and thereby comment on how architecture and practices of consumption contributed to blurring the distinction between the public and the private. Domestic buildings doubled as centres of political and social power in medieval Italy, echoing the view in section one that households claimed actual and symbolic power over the political process.[22] Households, even on the material level, were likewise profoundly shaped by the outside world. The local, and even international, economic arena had an impact not just on the architectural forms and human size of households, but on household space and domestic objects. The variable material fortunes also affected how household members solidified social ties inside and outside the household, and their expressions of personal and family identity.[23]

Many of the essays in this collection, but especially those in section four, treat space as a category of historical analysis. This approach reflects the recent shift among historians and others towards treating space as an active element in shaping social practice, rather than as an inert container for human activity.[24] For example, Fiorella Paino discusses how the Palazzo da Varano in Camerino in central Italy, which went through many architectural stages, both mirrored the rising and falling fortunes of its noble family, the da Varanos, and functioned as the main stage of their political operations. Beyond its public and political dimensions, household space had social significance, as nearly all the essays in this section suggest. Space could reflect or solidify social distinctions, as in the Spanish and Portuguese housing discussed by Rafael Oliva Herrer and by Maria da Conceição Falcão Ferreira and Jane Grenville. Space could also be an agent in asserting familial or individual identity, as Catherine Richardson demonstrates by following the trajectory of household objects that became bequests in wills in Sandwich, Kent, and were sent into other households or even churches and shaped those spaces in novel ways. Rather than being fixed, household spaces could be altered and exported. Furthermore, they were clearly complicated, and grounded not just in material, but sometimes also in linguistic and cultural practices. Jill Caskey, for instance, argues that the additive clauses used in contemporary descriptions of the spaces of the House of Rufolos, in Ravello in southern Italy, reflected the spatial layout and the multiple uses of its main gathering sites, and drew on several ethnic and religious traditions.

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[21] The case for the two systems, in terms of households, marriage, and work patterns, has been recently summarized by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber in her essay, 'Plague and Family Life', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. VI, *c. 1300–c. 1415*, ed. by Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 124–54 (esp. pp. 142–54), although she is more sceptical than Goldberg that we can answer this from the fourteenth-century evidence. In the companion volume to this one, Davis discusses geographical specificity in her introduction.

[22] See the essays by Caskey and Paino.

[23] See especially the three papers on Kent by Salter, Pearson, and Richardson.

[24] For a detailed treatment of this point, see Peter Arnade, Martha C. Howell, and Walter Simons, 'Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2002), 515–48. See also Davis, 'Introduction'.

The essays in the fourth section also remind us of some of the ambiguities of treating space as a tool of scholarly inquiry. Space was clearly a multi-dimensional composite, for it intersected with architecture, gender, social status, and material objects, but often these elements are treated in isolation, with analytic focus fixed on one element. How do we integrate these elements? Household spaces, as many medieval texts testify, were imagined and represented, and even used as projections to discuss social norms.[25] What was the relationship, however, between how people imagined household space and architecture, for example? And how was household space instrumental in structuring the public/private dynamic? Did spatial categories employed by medieval people function as a strategy to restructure space into public and private, as was the case in Early Modern Europe?[26]

The multiple lines of inquiry exemplified in this collection of essays illuminate the breadth and depth of available evidence, and the promise of interdisciplinary approaches, while also reflecting the challenge and possible future directions in locating the medieval household within wider historical processes, such as the social construction of gender roles and space.

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[25] For imagined and represented household spaces see the essays by Renevey and Fresco.

[26] For space in the context of the public/private divide in Early Modern Europe, see Benjamin J. Kaplan, 'Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe', *American Historical Review,* 107 (2002), 1031–64, and Anna Maslakovic, 'Time, Profit and Devotion: Rethinking the Nature of Public Space in Renaissance Lyon', *Past and Present* (forthcoming).

The Public Household and Political Power

Preface

SARAH REES JONES

'Household' is one of those everyday terms that prove remarkably resistant to easy definition. Within particular historical contexts its definition can seem self-evident, even uncontentious.[1] For demographers and social historians the household is a co-resident group, sharing a domestic routine focused on a common hearth.[2] Yet for archaeologists and art historians the household is readily associated with the domestic house and its associated outbuildings and external areas.[3] Even these two related definitions are beginning to diverge. A domestic house might provide accommodation for more than one demographic household. Also the boundaries between both kinds of household and the non-domestic world might be extremely permeable, especially in pre-industrial contexts where much work was done in the home, and the household was thus constantly host to a variety of visitors, guests, and workers whose visits were of variable duration, regularity, and purpose. It can thus be difficult archaeologically, socially, and legally to define the parameters of the domestic household and its distinctively domestic characteristics in everyday practice, and this is hardly a new problem. The Old English rule which sought to define a member of a household in terms of numbers of nights' residence in a house ('two nights a guest, but three nights a member of the household') in itself demonstrates how hard it has always been to correlate social practice with social theory.[4]

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[1] In the composition of this volume, as in the Leeds Conference in 2001, the diversity of the ways in which the term household might be used in different conceptual and historical contexts was most striking.

[2] See P. J. P. Goldberg, Preface to the section 'Household Economics: Money, Work, and Property', below.

[3] See Jane Grenville, Preface to the section 'Materiality and the Household', below.

[4] H. G. Richardson, 'Studies in Bracton', *Traditio*, 6 (1948), 61–104 (p. 78).

Indeed it would seem that it is this very permeability of the household and its wider functions within the more public arenas of the market and the state that might be considered as most characteristic of the household. The household functions as a liminal space between the intimate bodily needs of the individual on the one hand and the wider needs and demands of society on the other. The very active current debates about the role of the family and the responsibilities of householders in our own society, at a time when public policy in North American and European states has veered (in different measure) between strongly corporatist and strongly individualistic values, demonstrates the importance of the mediating role we still place on the household in achieving a balance between personal and public moralities. The household is the place where the individual is brought into being and both sustained and socialized for his/her role in the wider community. This conception of the household as the foundation stone of a civilized society, at once autonomous in its responsibilities and sphere of activity from the state but at the same time essential to the state's existence and smooth operation, has been a commonplace of western European thought since the time of Aristotle, who conceived of the *polis* and the *oikos* as two essentially complementary, not separate, spheres of activity.[5] The *oikos* provides the citizen with all that he needs in the way of sustenance and support in order to play an active and educated role in both the political and military affairs of the *polis*. In return both the head of the household and the dependent members of his *oikos* are protected by the *polis* and its *militia*. This view of the essentially public function of the household in sustaining and supporting the work of the *polis* through enabling the citizen and the ruler (whether prince or ecclesiast) to live a good and active public life, was inherited and given particular emphasis by the Christian Church. The Christian household — whether clerical (such as a monastery or a bishop's *familia*) or secular — played an essential intermediary and disciplinary role in preparing and sustaining the individual Christian in the spiritual and eternal life of the Church.[6] This ancient and continuing political conception of the household embraced a broad definition of domesticity, encompassing all the productive, agricultural, and marketing activities that sustained the citizen and his family. It had at its heart the concept of an estate and its workforce. Over this household the citizen ruled, and it was above all the government exercised by the householder that defined the household and permitted its existence.

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[5] Aristotle, *Politics*, Book One. Translation by Benjamin Jowett: http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.html (30 September 2002).

[6] For example, Augustine, *City of God*, Book 19, c. 14, lines 13–21, c. 16, passim. Internet edition: http://www.library.villanova.edu/sermons/city.html (compiled in conjunction with the 'AugustinusLexikon' project (Würzburg/Gießen, Germany) and made available to Villanova University by C. P. Mayer, O.S.A (30 September 2002)). English translations are available from the same site.

This collection of conference proceedings thus starts with a set of essays which are more concerned with the role of the household and its family in the 'public' realm of the state, than with the internal domestic composition and functions of households as conventionally defined by demographic historians and archaeologists. All of the essays in this section discuss the relationship between domestic authority and the authority of the state — albeit through the use of very different examples and disciplines, ranging from ninth-century Italy to fifteenth-century England, and from a richly documented study of the ownership of property in the Croatian city of Trogir to a close criticism of Middle English literary texts.

Irena Benyovsky's study of the later medieval city of Trogir in Croatia describes a community dominated by powerful families who operated as 'clans' in their colonization of city neighbourhoods and institutions. So great was their power in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that Benyovsky argues that the very word 'commune' can be equated with the ruling patriciate of the city. She demonstrates how their authority was founded in the ownership of property both in the ancient walled *civitas* at the heart of the city and in the more commercial and industrial *burg* that had grown up outside the western walls of the *civitas*. Pure economic dominance was not enough, however, to secure and perpetuate their political dominance. This political power was seized, defended, and reproduced through a variety of different strategies involving the colonization of the city's fabric and its cultural institutions by the households of the greater families. Benyovsky's argument thus introduces one theme that is common to all the essays in this section: the way in which the manipulation of domestic imagery is essential to the assertion of political authority. All the authors here suggest that such cultural manipulation is not just a matter of representing aspiration, but of practically achieving and exercising power.[7]

Symbolically the patriciate of Trogir all lived, and concentrated their families, within the walls of the ancient *civitas*. Their control of public buildings such as the city walls, which were often incorporated into their houses, further increased their dominance of civic institutions, blurring the distinctions between the two as they used their heavily defended houses to shelter the local population in times of war. This colonization of the city's defences was symptomatic of the way in which their domestic households were designed not just to mirror and reproduce the political status to which they aspired, but actually to carry out their political duties. Patrician houses incorporated courts and crenellated towers in their design, consciously emulating the form *and* function of older public buildings. If a family lost power and was exiled from the city then the commune seized its property and destroyed its house, asserting the essentially communal framework of their exercise of power and preventing an easy return to it. Barbara Visentin's essay similarly argues that aspirant rulers, in this case in the city of Capua in southern Italy in the ninth to eleventh centuries, had to create communal facilities (through the foundation of the town) in order to stabilize their rule and pass it on to succeeding generations. In particular they built and endowed churches: Visentin suggests that the three main churches in Capua originated as palatine chapels. Elsewhere in Europe in this period it has been suggested that the growth and endowment of church institutions, both local churches and monasteries, enabled powerful families to consolidate their control of estates and to strengthen their descendants' claims to them. Monasteries and churches, and their promotion of services for the dead, enabled such families to create a history of common ancestry, to protect and preserve their investments in land, and to establish patrilineal forms of succession that secured the continuance of the family name.[8] Both the institutional and physical boundaries between such early church foundations and the domestic households of their patrons were thus often unclear. As in both Capua and Trogir, the ruling families' ownership of the city's churches not only served to create a history and strong lineage for those families but also sought to limit the destructive effects of fratricidal feuding both within the family and in the community at large, through the promotion of the ideal of the family as a 'single religious community' (Benyovsky). This creation of an ideal of the noble 'house' or family as a perpetual cornerstone of stable public government was thus arguably not one that simply served the private interests of the family alone. Communal government might even seem to be strengthened by the introduction of hereditary rights to public office for certain families who might otherwise be in continual competition for power.

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[7] This is also a central argument of Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) which appeared too late for the speakers at Leeds in 2001 to include in their papers.

Christoph Weber's essay on the use of heraldic arms by seigniorial families in fourteenth-century Padua continues this theme of the essentially beneficial public political effects of the domestification of public symbols of power. Individual families rose to power in Padua, as in Trogir, through obtaining the consent of other equally powerful families who composed the patriciate that collectively dominated public offices in the city. These collective political processes for electing leaders and imposing oaths upon them were also designed to limit private feuding and to promote public peace.[9] A public demonstration of the virtues and domestic worth of each candidate's family was essential to election, and this was partly signified through the right to bear arms. These private heraldic devices were thus used as the public symbols of the noble character of the candidates and were displayed on their houses, on public buildings, and in the ceremonial of the town. Successful candidates combined their family coat of arms with those of the *popolo*. Weber argues that for a particular family to place itself beyond the need for election by making its ruling status hereditary (as happened in both Padua and Trogir in the fourteenth century), it was necessary for that family to develop a history, and to adopt a heraldic insignia, which identified it with the eternal histories of the Empire and the Church (through which the *popolo* itself was originally legitimated). In Trogir, Capua, and Padua, wealth and military success were not enough to ensure the transfer of power from one generation to the next. It was only the appropriation and display of imperial and sacred insignia which could secure that. While all three essays describe different contexts in which the external symbols of communal authority, of church and empire, were possessed and controlled by wealthy families seeking a position of dominance in their community, all three also demonstrate that such forms of authority were equally used to limit familial dynasties and to curtail their powers. Always the imperial Christian tradition (with or without the formal 'rediscovery' of Aristotle) emphasized the moral ends of good government, and the ultimate priority of the common good. Just as this was the language such families appropriated and used to consolidate their patronage and power, so too was it this language which was used to destroy them. In two cases discussed here the expanding Venetian state displaced the local nobilities of both Trogir and Padua in the early fifteenth century resulting in the reformation of local power structures and the introduction of more explicitly communal forms of government. The Venetian victory was cemented through the replacement of local family insignia with their own imperial, sacred, and non-local imagery: the lion of St Mark.

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[8] J. H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic and Legal Study* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976); Andrew Wareham, 'The Transformation of Kinship and Family in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Studies*, 10 (2001), 375–99.

[9] See also P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Vengeance Is Ours? The Involvement of Kin in the Settlement of "Cases of Vengeance" in Later Medieval Holland', in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties*, ed. by I. Davies, M. Müller, and S. Rees Jones, International Medieval Research, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

The first three essays thus all deal with the way in which domestic material display was ritualized in public and used by individual families to secure and exercise political power. This ritualization of domestic processes as part of a display of power was most effective politically when it was extended to the most commonplace and fundamental experiences of life and death. The patronage of local churches, which claimed rights of baptism and burial throughout their parishes, permitted powerful families to create networks of spiritual kinship beyond the confines of their own domestic household, and this enhanced their secular status.[10] Weber also shows how the lavish public ceremonial associated with noble funerals was instrumental to their ability to pass on political status from one generation to the next. However, Weber's essay also introduces the idea that the internal government of the household was the place where rulers really proved their worthiness for power. The way in which a ruler governed himself and his own household, or was seen to govern his household, was instrumental to his success as a ruler, and this is the subject both of the last three essays in this section and of the essays by Martin and Dunlop in the second section. All are concerned with the effects of good and bad household government in the wider public spheres of the court and the state.[11] Marta VanLandingham describes the innovatory household rules introduced by King Pere the Great of Aragon on his accession to power in 1276. She argues that the codification of these rules in writing was an important instrument of the consolidation of royal authority, as the king was able to demonstrate an effective control of his household officials on whom both his bodily and political well-being depended.[12] This was no mere matter of representation, but of effectively ending abuses of power by household officials, and thus limiting the political dissent such abuses provoked among the wider circle of the king's court and affinity. The household rules promulgated by Pere and his successors were immensely thorough, containing detailed instructions for every rank of household official from the major-domo to those who swept the yards. A clearer public demonstration of the need for a ruler to display, beyond all doubt, his own worthiness for office through the rigorous discipline of his own self and household could hardly be imagined.[13]

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[10] J. H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Rob Lutton, 'Godparenthood, Kinship, and Piety in Tenterden, England 1449–1537' in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties*, ed. by Davis, Müller, and Rees Jones.

VanLandingham's assessment of this genre of household writing provides an invaluable context for the last two essays in this section. The lucid essay of Jenni Nuttall on the use of household narratives in early-fifteenth-century poetry from the courts of the first Lancastrian kings of England (Henry IV and Henry V) refutes the received opinion that some of the works of the poet Hoccleve are dull and formulaic to the point of having no meaning. Instead she sets his work in the context of a literary and political climate where the deposition of the last Plantagenet king (Richard II) and the seizure of the throne by Henry IV were often justified through the political use of domestic imagery. Richard II and his household were denigrated as being ill-governed, extravagant, untruthful, and unfit to rule. As a consequence, Nuttall suggests, Hoccleve embraces the proper domestic virtues of modesty and truthfulness and deliberately writes in a 'non-extravagant' and simple style in celebration of those values that were supposedly characteristic of the new court. The use of such private domestic language is all the more effective given the public nature of the poem and its intended courtly audience.

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[11] Throughout this section we use the term 'household' to refer to the domestic buildings and employed domestic staff who provided for the essential bodily needs of rulers. The term 'court' is used for the more open political forum attended by a more fluid body of suitors from the ruler's state. While it is apparent that this is a somewhat arbitrary distinction — courts met in households and household staff often executed important political functions — it is nevertheless a distinction that contemporary rulers wished to make themselves, as VanLandingham and Cowen and Ward demonstrate. See also Vale, *The Princely Court*.

[12] For the general spread of written domestic and estate accounts at this time, see Richard Britnell, ed., *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1280–1330* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997); Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

[13] As VanLandingham argues, the significance is all the greater in that these rules are limited to the household officials — they do not extend to a political consideration of the wider political contexts of family, affinity, or court — making the domestic context of the core of royal rule all the clearer.

Nuttall's essay effectively shows the great subtlety with which the language of domesticity permeated politics by this period, and this theme is continued in the essay by Janet Cowen and Jennifer Ward on the fifteenth-century Middle English *Assembly of Ladies*. This is the only essay in this first section to consider the issue of gender and in so doing to consider the internal dynamics of an elite household. The first five papers in this section all accept unproblematically the 'Aristotelian' assumption that only men are fitted to govern and to hold office in the state. This paper is the first to emphasize that women also ruled households, even if they were usually excluded from official positions of public authority. Indeed the *Assembly of Ladies* is, from one perspective, an exploration of the anomalies created by this tension between the private wealth and public incapacity of noble women. It is an allegorical version of the genre of household rules described by VanLandingham, which are here transformed into a fantasy of an elite household staffed by female officers personifying the virtues and vices. Cowen and Ward show that it would be possible to read the poem literally as a 'realistic' commentary on contemporary court life. Real noble women headed households of the kind alluded to in the poem, even though their households were usually staffed by male officers as was the norm in written household rules.[14] What, therefore, was the function of the gender reversal imagined by the *Assembly*? While rehearsing some of the theories offered by earlier readers of the poem, Cowen and Ward cautiously offer a new reading. The *Assembly of Ladies* might well have been an allegory with a much broader political message, one that again asserts that the recovery of domestic virtue was essential to the re-establishment of peace in the English state at large, during the period of dynastic conflict between the royal noble houses of Lancaster and York in the mid-fifteenth century.

While all the essays in this section deal with the powerful households of those who ruled, Nuttall also shows how Hoccleve, in particular, reached out to find a common ground with the king's subjects, the 'bonde-men and bourgois'. This brings us back to the propagandist use of the baptistery in Capua or the funeral processions of Padua. It was the eternal and universal nature of the bodily and intimate personal experiences of everyday domestic life that provided some of the greatest and most effective capital for political propagandists in reaching out to a popular audience.[15] It is these intimate processes of personal development within the household that are the particular focus of the essays in the second section of this book, even if their potential political function is not entirely lost from sight.

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[14] See below, Louise J. Wilkinson, 'The *Rules* of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth-Century England'.

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[15] How this language of power appealed to those who were ruled, and how in turn their domestic lives engaged with the political life of their own communities, is not discussed in any of the essays in this section, but is discussed below in Cordelia Beattie, 'Governing Bodies: Law Courts, Male Householders, and Single Women in Late Medieval England', and in two essays in the companion volume: Miriam Müller, 'Conflict, Strife, and Cooperation: Aspects of the Late Medieval Family and Household'; Martha A. Brożyna, 'Not Just a Family Affair: Domestic Violence and the Ecclesiastical Courts in Late Medieval Poland' in *Love, Marriage. and Family Ties*, ed. by Davis, Müller, and Rees Jones.

Noble Family Clans and their Urban Distribution in Medieval Trogir

IRENA BENYOVSKY

The distribution of family clans in medieval towns can be analysed from social, economic, political, or demographic perspectives. In this paper I will trace the political circumstances which shaped ownership of city land and distribution of noble family clans in medieval Trogir (Traù, Tragurio) from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, in order to analyse the intersection of familial and communal interests in the shaping of urban environments.[1] In Dalmatia, as in Italy, towns developed as the communities of people who based their legal rights and freedoms on the possession of property.[2] That possession depended on their social status and especially on the political circumstances of the time. In certain periods noble family clans controlled the transaction of the town properties. However, noble family clans were subjected to constant pressures — their ownership of property and the position of their houses in the town depended on their actual political circumstances.

The history of family clans in the Mediterranean has attracted the attention of several scholars in last few decades. We can find detailed studies of some Italian towns.[3] As in Dalmatian towns, noble family clans in Italian towns originated from rural areas. They were organized as communities independent from municipal authorities.[4] The organization of a city space strongly depended on authority of the noble family clans.[5] Of course there were differences between the communes in Italy and Dalmatia: Dalmatian towns were much smaller — in the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century Trogir had around two thousand to three thousand inhabitants. Five percent of the population were noblemen. Also, Trogir, as other Dalmatian towns (except Dubrovnik), had a special relationship with the central authority (at different times the Hungarian kings or the state of Venice). However, in Dalmatian towns, noble family clans were de facto independent in relation to the kings of Hungary, but after 1420, during the Venetian domination, the situation changed. The territory of the town was constantly in the process of being rebuilt and reorganized, and was always divided among the noble family clans. The character of the noble clans and their need to accumulate neighbouring properties in the town areas resulted in changes in the town plan and in urban architecture. Often, three or four houses of a single clan were built next to each other, forming inner courts and open spaces, with stone arcades above the streets. In the fifteenth century this enabled the construction of the large palaces that each belonged to a particular clan. In some Italian towns, the construction of houses belonging to a family clan sometimes resulted in changes in the function of whole quarters, and the *contradae* were often named after the family clan name.[6] This was not the case in Trogir (at least not in medieval times). The quarters in Trogir were named after the local churches.

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[1] J. Heers, *Family Clans in the Middle Ages: Study of Political and Social Structures in Urban Areas* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1977).

[2] C. Guidu Mor, 'Topografia giuridica: stato giuridico delle diverse zone urbane', in *XII settimana di studio in Spoleto* (Spoleto: Istituto storico, 1973), pp. 12–48; E. Guidoni, *Arte e urbanistica in Toscana 1000–1315* (Rome: Mario Bulzoni, 1967).

[3] For instance, J. Heers has studied the problem of family clans in the Middle Ages as political, economical, and spiritual communities. His study was primarily concentrated on Italian communes, including Genoa, Lucca, and Florence; Heers, *Family Clans*, passim. Detailed studies of patterns of property ownership, political strength, and urban development have been made by L. Grossi Bianchi and E. Poleggi using the example of medieval Genoa;

The primary sources for tracing how this socio-political context shaped space are various texts (mostly chronicles), notarial books in which we find contracts of sale, contracts or accounts for construction or repair, testaments, and city council's regulations in books of *cancellaria* and city statutes. From these documents I made a database that records the position of the majority of properties and objects in the town over the period of approximately two centuries, including the owners of

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L. Grossi Bianchi and E. Poleggi, *Una città portuale del Medioevo: Genova nei secoli X–XVI* (Genoa: Laterza, 1980); See also P. Pierotti, *Lucca: edilizia urbanistica medioevale* (Milan: Laterza, 1965).

[4] J. Heers, *La ville au Moyen Age* (Paris: Pluriel, 1990); J. Heers, 'Les villes d'Italie centrale et l'urbanisme: Origines et affirmation d'un politique', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Age – Temps Modernes*, 101 (1989), 89–100.

[5] W. Bowsky demonstrates this in the case of Siena in the thirteenth century; W. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena Under the Nine 1287–1355* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981). In the works of E. Guidoni and V. Franchetti Pardo on medieval urbanism we can find many similar European examples; E. Guidoni, *Storia dell'urbanistica: Il Ducento* (Rome: Laterza, 1992); V. Franchetti Pardo, *Storia dell'urbanistica: Dal Trecento al Quattrocento* (Rome: Jaca, 1994).

[6] F. Bocchi, *Attraverso le città Italiane nel medioevo* (Casalecchio di Reno: BO Grafis, 1987); *I portici di Bologna e l'edizia civile medievale*, ed. F. Bocchi (Bologna: Laterza, 1990).

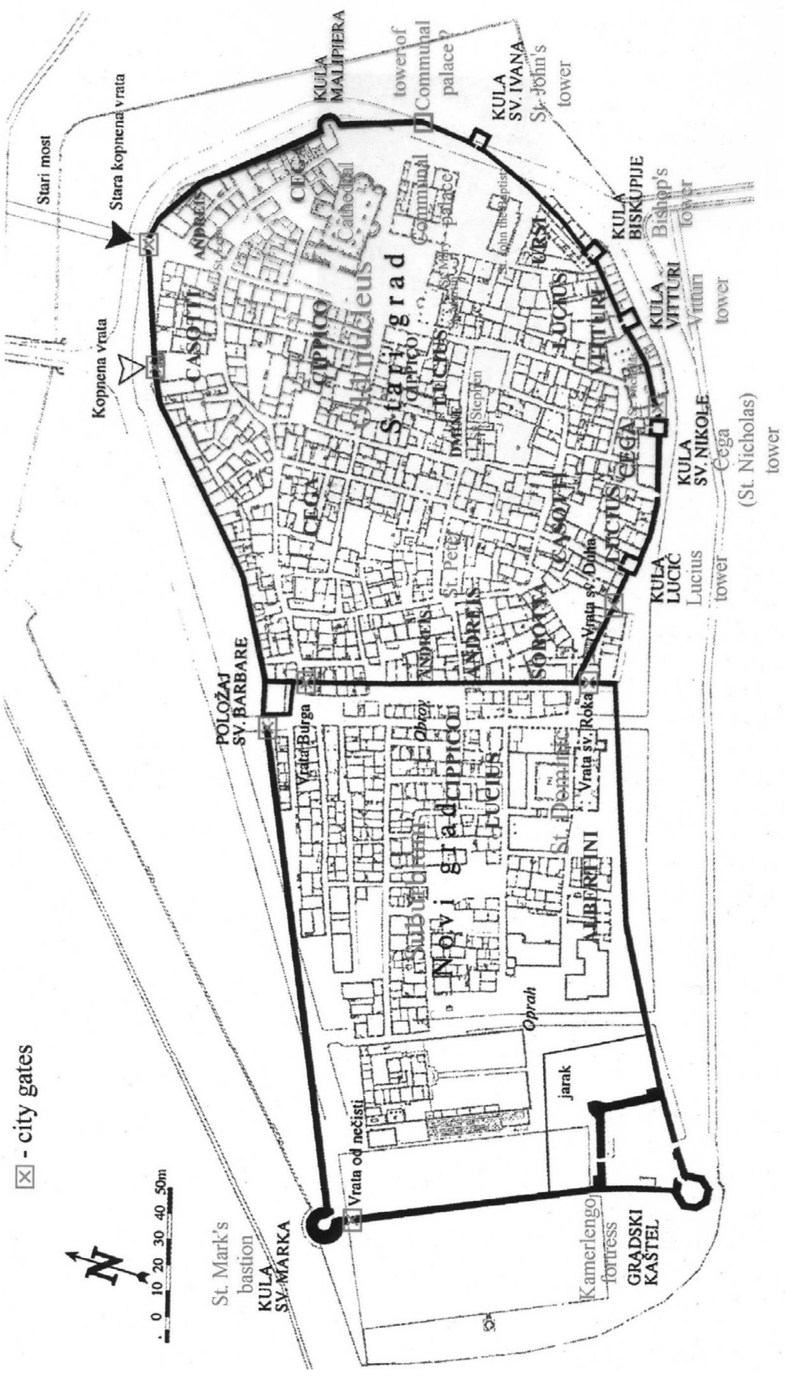
KULA MALIPIERA
tower of Communal palace?
KULA SV. IVANA
St. John's tower
KULA BISKUPIJE
Bishop's tower
KULA VITTURI
Vitturi tower
KULA SV. NIKOLE
Čega (St. Nicholas) tower
KULA LUČIĆ
Lucius tower
Stari most
Stara kopnena vrata
Kopnena vrata
Stari grad
Old nucleus
Cathedral
Communal palace?
St. Mary
John the Baptist
St. Stephen
St. Peter
Vrata sv. Duha
ANDREIS
CEGA
CASOTTI
CIPPICO
LUCIUS
URSI
VITTURI
SOBOTA
POLOŽAJ SV. BARBARE
Vrata Burga
Vrata sv. Roka
Novi grad
Suburbium
St. Dominic
ALBERTINI
Oprah
jarak
Vrata od nečisti
KULA SV. MARKA
St. Mark's bastion
Kamerlengo fortress
GRADSKI KAŠTEL
☒ - city gates
0 10 20 30 40 50m
N

Figure 1. Medieval Trogir. (map: I. Benyovsky)

properties, their size, value, and boundaries.[7] Despite the discontinuity of documents and the lack of surviving buildings, the resulting picture is very dynamic, continuously changing.

Let me first introduce the political circumstances of the period under consideration. From about 1100 to 1400, except for a few brief periods, Trogirians recognized the sovereignty of the Hungarian-Croatian kings, although, like other Dalmatian cities, Trogir was subjected to constant Venetian pressure from the sea. The city's liberties included the right to the free election of the bishop and city count. Even the Hungarians could not live in the town unless allowed by the city authorities.[8] Croatian lords who were appointed by Hungarian kings to control the Dalmatian towns and, in the thirteenth century, to be counts of the communes also had some influence.[9] In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Venice and the Croatian lords of Šubić competed for control over Dalmatian towns. During the sporadic fights with different Croatian lords from the hinterland, some Trogirians sought Venetian protection. This request, supported mostly by the commoners but also by a part of the local aristocracy, led to the submission of the town to Venetian rule in the period from 1322 to 1358. On the other hand, the commoners, who were excluded from the political life of the Commune, saw in Venice the most desirable political model. The same period witnessed a considerable territorial expansion of Trogir's district. Single villages in the hinterland became fiefs of local noble families or of the Commune itself.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the city was organized as a community of powerful family clans, which autonomously ruled the city. The word 'commune' of this period can be identified with the patriciate.[10] They established themselves as a closed social group in the fourteenth century. The council was not reserved only for the noblemen before 1340, but the members of noble family clans were gaining more control in the Commune in relation to central authority and the noble lords in the mainland. Noble family clans, organized into strong political communities, were more or less independent of the royal court. From 1340 only noblemen and their sons had the right to be members of the city council and to rule the town. The political community ruled by family clans was reflected in judicial powers, recruitment of men-at-arms, collective responsibility for taxes and administration, etc.

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[7] See D. Herlihy, 'Mapping Households in Medieval Italy', in *Cities and Society in Medieval Italy*, vol. VII (Aldershot: Variorum, 1980), pp. 54–89.

[8] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae* (hereafter *CD*), vols I–XVII, ed. by T. Smičiklas, M. Kostrenčić, and E. Laszowskii (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1904–81), II (1905). Zadar, Archive of the Scientific Library, MS 776, fol. 43 (*Ioannes Lucius, Vita B. Ioannis ep. Traguriensis*, Romae, 1657).

[9] N. Klaić, 'Kratka šetnja trogirskim srednjovjekovljem' (Short walk around Trogir's Middle Ages), *Mogućnosti*, 10–11 (1980), 1020–21.

[10] Family clans: Andreis (4 members), Bufalis (1), Casoti (3), Cega (5), Cipiko (2), Domiche (1), Cazarica (4), Lucius (4), Urso (1, Bartol son of Silvestar), and Hvalimir (1, Juraj son of Hvalimir).

The social and political circumstances in which family clans developed solidarity left profound marks on the urban matrix, since the town had the right (*jus statuendi*) to make its own regulations concerning city territory (fixed by the city statute in 1303, preserved in a 1322 document).[11] As in some other medieval European towns, noble family clans in Trogir owned fiefs and lands in the city from the early medieval period, usually in the superior positions — near the main square or in the immediate vicinity of the city walls. Overall, the period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was the time of greatest prosperity. It was a period in which the settlement destroyed in the twelfth century was rebuilt, and this was followed by demographic growth and a new organization of the city space.[12] Medieval Trogir developed into two different urban parts: eastern (*civitas*) which is a continuation of the antique town, and western (*burgus*) which was being built from the thirteenth century on. A wide street running along the outer side of the western walls divided the old nucleus from the suburbia. The old part of the town contained all the major religious and lay institutions, and the main square was at its centre. The eastern part of the town was of a sacral character up to the thirteenth century, when it became predominantly secular, with a high concentration of communal administrative buildings, but also houses and palaces of the most powerful families that ruled the town. The communal palace was built on the eastern side of the square in the late thirteenth century in the quarter that was under the influence of these great families.

Even though no cadastres from this period have survived, other sources suggest that during the rebuilding of the town, the citizens were permitted to occupy certain locations in the town, and that this depended on their political and material power. Notarial documents indicate that members of the noble clans occupied the best positions in the old nucleus.[13] In the area of the *burgus,* noble families owned most of the land, but did not live there.[14] The territory of the suburbia was not the place where noble clans built their houses: this land was mostly rented (and later sold) to the commoners (*cives* and *habitatores*). This area had mostly a commercial character. Part of the land in suburbia was also later donated to the new mendicant orders (together with the existing chapels). And, as the ownership and jurisdiction of the city territory became connected to the political position of the owners, possession of the town territory inside the walls became the symbol of their political and legal rights.[15]

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[11] F. Bocchi, 'La piazza maggiore di Bologna', *La Piazza del Duomo*, *Bolletino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano*, 46–47 (1990–91), 135–47.

[12] However, the town, encircled by the ancient fortifications, was extended in the early Middle Ages by approximately ten metres. The wider area of the town inside was reorganized; two main streets crossed at the main square, maintaining urban centrality throughout the Middle Ages.

[13] 'domus supra Plathea comunis cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, stationibus, domibus, et coquinis sibi adiacentibus'; *Monumenta Traguriensia: Notae seu abbreviaturae cancellariae comunis Tragurii* (hereafter *MT*), ed. by M. Barada, vols I.1, I.2, II (Zagreb: JAZU, 1948, 1950, 1951), , I.1, 34, 71, 114, 118, 171, 217, 219; *CD*, V (1909), 284, 344.

[14] *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru, by Ivan Lučić*, ed. by C. Fisković, vols I–II (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1979), pp. 1042–44; *MT*, I.1, 25, 123, 401; *MT*, II (1951), 250.

For the distribution of family clans, spiritual elements were very important. A noble clan was always the patron of a church or a chapel or an altar, which was the centre of its spiritual life.[16] Preserved chapters from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mention old liaisons between clans (*parentella*) or patrons of some churches (former owners and founders). Those liaisons also had an impact on the distribution of the family clans. In some cases we can trace blood relationships over twenty generations (Andreis, Cega, Casoti, Cipiko). For instance, St Martin, the church under the patronage of the Lucius family (and located adjactent to a *domus magna* of that family), was owned by the ancestors of several late medieval family clans of the *parentella de Machenaturis*: namely the Cega, Andreis, Lucius, and Pecci families. Also, the collective patrons of St Barbara in 1348 were members of the Lucius, Casoti, Cega, Kazarica, and Andreis families, which had the patronage of St Leon before they donated it to the bishop. St Mary *de platea* on the main square was the *iuspatronatum* of the 'commune', that is, of the nobility.[17]

In the old nucleus we can follow the process of accumulation of the family clans' properties of some twenty to thirty family clans in the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. For instance, the Ursi family clan accumulated properties near the Benedictine monastery of St John the Baptist and the eastern city walls. This family owned five neighbouring lots with houses from the thirteenth century on. Sale and rental contracts show that the properties were held almost always by a member of this family clan. Similarly, one of Trogir's wealthiest family clans (with the largest number of members in the thirteenth-century city council), the Lucius family, was the owner of several large areas in the town. The main *domus magna* of this family had a central position near the main square, opposite the church of St Martin of which they owned *ius patronatus*. The other branch of the Lucius family — de Dmine — bought new lots west of the Lucius *domus magna*, and across from St Stephen, which was under their patronage. Despite attempts to remain united in the city space, such communal life was not possible in the town. One branch of the Lucius family occupied the zone near the eastern city walls (including eight or nine lots with stone houses).

The Cega family, who was in the thirteenth century, and especially later, one of the strongest political factors in the town, had most of their properties near the southern city gate. As their property encroached on to the city wall, they owned one of the towers. One branch of the family had several lots behind the cathedral, beside the eastern city wall. Another important political family, the Vituri, owned the other tower near the southern city gate, together with the palace linked to it. In the western part of the town we find the properties of the Casoti family, and in the street leading to St Peter's there was a domicile house of the Andreis family, around which the family was accumulating properties for centuries. We find properties of the Andreis family on the same location up to the nineteenth century.

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[15] L. Margetić, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo* (Croatian medieval family and hereditary law) (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1996), pp. 74–75; T. Raukar, 'Cives, habitatores, forenses u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima' (Cives, habitatores, forenses in medieval Dalmatian towns), *Historijski Zbornik*, 29–30 (1977), 139–49.

[16] In the early Middle Ages the wealthiest families owned 'private churches' built on their land.

[17] K. Gross, *Udžbenik crkvenoga prava katoličke crkve* (Canon Law of the Catholic Church) (Zagreb: Hrvatska tiskara, 1930), pp. 168–69; *Povijesna, Lučić*, ed. by Fisković, II, 1039–41.

Not only documents but also preserved houses confirm the domination of the noble families. During the fifteenth century, Romanesque houses were reconstructed into much larger Renaissance palaces with the inner courtyards for the whole clan (*contrata*). They had coats of arms above the portals and on doorposts: these were the main symbols of recognition of family power, continuity, and union inherited as collective property. Cohesion of residential property units was a very important element for the family clan. It was the legacy of the early Middle Ages. Neighbouring links, as with blood ties and the name, cemented the family clans and ensured their political strength. Documents of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries commonly use the term *curia* when referring to the open space in the heart of a family clan's buildings, the interior courtyard of a kind of private fortress. For instance, the coat of arms of the Andreis family was displayed on each of their houses in the district of St Peter in the western part of the town. We can follow the presence of this family on the same site from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, when the quarter was already named by the family name. Accustomed to reading abstract heraldry for its symbolic meaning, viewers had little difficulty in identifying such objects as symbols of particular family power.

As we have seen, some of the most important family clans owned towers, which were part of the city wall; others owned the house-towers located in the heart of the town. Towers which belonged to the Cega and Vituri family, situated near the southern city gate, dominated the whole quarter, especially in the periods of hostility, when they served as a shelter and a focal point for the inhabitants of neighbouring houses. Usually, in Dalmatian towns, city walls were considered to be communal property, but when the noble family clans were actually governing the city, some families' homes incorporated towers of the city walls. One chronicle mentions that in the period of reconstruction in the thirteenth century, communal authorities did not have enough funds to rebuild the walls, and so some noble family clans who rebuilt them were allowed to retain possession of the towers. These towers were linked together so that the defence system would work better. There is an interesting document from 1267, which shows that the Commune relied only on members of the nobility for defence: it contains a list of the twelve strategic positions where arms were installed for the defence of the town, and all were houses near the city walls in the ownership of a family clan. Documents prove that the communal palace and the bishop's palace had the tower adjacent to the (eastern) city wall as well, which means that all the main elements of political power owned at least one tower in the city defences. The towers were visible symbols of noble power in the urban matrix. That is why they were lowered in height after Venetian domination in 1420.

Accumulation of the properties next to each other resulted in the concentration of material power, and parts of the town became private and beyond the control of civic authorities. Buildings owned by a single family often surrounded short streets and small squares. The conviction that the street itself was a piece of family property could well encourage the inhabitants to administer it as their own. Beginning with the fourteenth century, the safeguarding of public land and its defence against the encroachments of private individuals became a problem that Trogir had to address resolutely by its statute regulations.[18] However, in the period from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries the communal authorities were members of family clans and defended their interests. The communal government controlled all property transactions in the town, in order not to disturb a balance of political and material power fixed in the territory of the city.

The political history in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is one of continual civil conflict and invasion as the rival rulers of Hungary, Croatia, Bosnia, and Venice sought to control the town and thus enflamed rivalries among the local nobility and the commoners in the city.[19] The political narrative of these events is described more fully in several chronicles and contemporary documents[20] and in the secondary works of Croatian historians such as N. Klaić, F. Rački, D. Gruber, and others.[21]

These conflicts resulted in profound changes in the town plan, as those noble families who fell from power in the city were sent to exile, and their private houses were confiscated and destroyed in the name of the Commune. Sometimes when families regained power they tried to claim back their old houses and properties, but that was not always possible. For instance, in 1318 Daniel son of Jacobus Vodovara requested the return of his properties from the Commune together with the large palace with apartments that had been destroyed. Daniel even demanded that his palace be rebuilt in the same shape as it was before.[22] This episode, like so many others, demonstrated the degree to which the private house of a noble family, both in its location and even in its design, underpinned the political power of a family in the Commune and fulfilled its political as much as its domestic needs

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[18] Heers, *La ville*, p. 141.

[19] Noble family clans did not exist as a united political body, but were divided in two parties during the fourteenth century (pro-Venetian and royalist), depending on their individual interests, usually connected to the protection of their land. The struggles between parties resulted in certain changes in the ownership of the city territory and the distribution of some noble family clans.

[20] *Notae Johanis Lucii*, ed. by F. Rački, *Starine JAZU*, 13I (1881), 211–68 (p. 229); *Povijesna, Lučić*, ed. by Fisković, II, 456–57; *CD*, VIII (1948), 334; Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Memorie storiche di tragurio ora detto Traù, di Giovanni Lucio*, Venetia, 1673; Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Ostavština Ivana Lučića* (Legacy of Ioannes Lucius), no. XX-12/I-XXIV, 24 vols, vol. I, fols 30–33,160–64; *CD*, VIII, 404, 462–63.

[21] N. Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira: Javni život grada i njegovih ljudi* (History of Trogir and its people) (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1985), pp. 214–15, 224; D. Gruber, 'Borba Ludovika I s Mlecima za Dalmaciju (1348–1358)' (Fight for Dalmatia between Luis I Anjou and Venice (1348–1358)), *Rad JAZU*, 152 (1903), 32–161; D. Gruber, 'Dalmacija za Ludovika I (1358–1382)' (Dalmatia during the rule of Luis I Anjou (1358–1382)), *Rad JAZU*, 166 (1906), 164–215; M. Kurelac, 'Pučki ustanci i pobune u djelima Ivana Luciusa-Lučića' (Rebelions of commoners in the work of Ivan Lucius-Lučić), *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest (Matij Ivanić i njegovo doba)*, 10 (1977), 239–347.

In 1420, this long period of political turmoil was brought to a close when Trogir fell into the hands of the Venetian Republic together with other Dalmatian communes.[23] When the town was conquered, the flag of St Mark was symbolically raised on the main square and on each tower.[24] The veneration of St Mark, patron of Venice, up and down the coast had fundamental political connotations, since his signs were displayed on fortifications, city gates, and communal public buildings as a symbol both of sovereignty and subjection. But it also signified protection.[25] In Venice and the whole area under her rule, a winged lion acted as a symbol of that city's patron saint, the Evangelist Mark.[26] After the Venetians took control over Dalmatian towns, all symbols of the Hungarian kings (the Anjou dynasty) on the city walls, on the communal palace, and on the cathedral were destroyed.[27] On the new castle and the fortress of St Mark there were symbols of St Mark (such as the Venetian lion with the opened book).

Integration of Dalmatian towns in the territory of the Republic of Venice in the beginning of the fifteenth century presented a big change in the development of the urban societies and urban spaces. In becoming part of a Venetian *terre da mar*, the communes lost the significance of their own borders.[28] However, Venice kept elements of the old administrative system of Dalmatian communes. The Republic relied on the commoners but also on the part of the local nobility. In 1420, Venice confirmed the noble monopoly over legislative power in the local Dalmatian councils. However, the fact that Venice reconfirmed the political role of the nobles did not silence the ranks of the commoners; on the contrary, the latter saw Venice as their protection against despotic and arbitrary actions on the part of the local nobility. The fraternities of Trogir were all closed in 1365, after the commoners were engaged in the rebellion against the king. Only the fraternity of the Holy Ghost remained, which had an important social role as a communal hospital. After 1420, it was opened to the commoners to assemble in their confraternities, which started to grow extensively. For instance, in this period, the confraternity and the church of the All Saints in the New Town were built, and it assembled the inhabitants from the New Town (mostly *habitatores* and *cives*). By giving the commoners a greater social status in the society, Venice minimized the patricians' strength as well.

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[22] *CD*, VIII, 499–500; *Povijesna, Lučić*, ed. by Fisković, II, 386–87.

[23] M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija u 15. stoljeću* (Dalmatia in the fifteenth century) (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967), pp. 64–65; *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i mletačke republike* (Documents on relations between southern Slavs and the Republic of Venice), ed. by Š. Ljubić, vols I–X (Zagreb: MSHSM, 1868–91), X, 106.

[24] *Povijesna, Lučić*, ed. by Fisković, II, 913.

[25] R. C. Mueller, 'Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia', in *Quattrocento Adriatico* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1996), pp. 29–57 (p. 41).

[26] E. Welch, *Art and Society in Italy, 1350–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 216–17.

[27] I. Babić, 'Anžuvinski grbovi u Trogiru i Šibeniku' (Coats of arms of the Anjou family in Trogir and Šibenik), *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 4 (1975), 39–45.

[28] T. Raukar, 'Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u 15. st. i prvoj polovini 16. stoljeća' (Communal Societies of Dalmatia in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries), *Historijski zbornik*, 35 (1982), 43–118 (p. 54).

The first period of Venetian dominion over Dalmatian towns was characterized by the consolidation of Venetian power. The towns were reorganized according to the capital's needs and interests and were all a part of the same system.[29] Venetian influence on urban development of all Dalmatian towns is evident. The most obvious change is in the fortification system and the building of the castle. In addition, the previous relation between *civitas* and *burgus* changed. The long rule of Venice in the communes not only strongly impacted urban planning and architecture, but also imposed a uniform system of defence and administration of colonial territory.[30] The visual signs of political Venetian power were present everywhere — the lion of St Mark was evident on the lay and sacral buildings, on the city walls, and under the gates. The towns that were under Venetian control can still today be recognized by these hallmarks.

Venetian control over the city space was especially strong in the first period of rule, between 1420 and 1450, and transformed the city in some aspects. For better control, Pietro Loredano forbade foreigners to settle in the town. Venice controlled all institutions and elected the city count. In 1421, the counts of Split and Trogir received 600 gold ducats each per year. The city statute from 1322 was confirmed, and some autonomy was left to the patricians and the city council.[31] The doge promised that Venice would be a just ruler as long as the citizens of Trogir were obedient and faithful.[32] The yearly income of Trogir was 2000 golden ducats; from this amount communal officials were paid, and the rest was controlled by Venice. In 1420, the judicial system was changed as well, as the Venetian law was a primary vehicle of the standardization of the colonial territories, especially in the *Stato da Mar*. As the

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[29] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the presence of the Dutch, French, and English merchants in the Mediterranean, and the phase of Venetian decline, urban policy in the Eastern Adriatic became organized: spaces for trade, lazzaretos, specialized institutions.

[30] A. Tenenti, *Venezia e il senso del mare: storia di un prisma culturale dal* XIII *al* XVIII *secolo'* (Milano: Guerini e associati, 1999), pp. 1–15.

[31] Zadar, Archive of the Scientific Library, *Rukopisi*, MS 299, fols 74–76.

[32] *Listine*, ed. by Ljubić, VIII, 34, 60, 103–04.

Venetian state was not geographically coherent from the fifteenth century on, its identity was exercised through the legal and administrative system. In an urban structure there was a standardized Venetian way of establishing institutions for the merchants and for fiscal control, the organizing of a trading area for the redistribution of goods. This was the case in other Dalmatian towns and in general in the towns of the *Stato da Mar*. In the communes under its control, the Republic organized the housing for different merchant communities, and established centers for gathering political and military information and information on traffic and certain products.[33]

In 1420, Loredano ordered the city wall dividing the old and the new part of the town to be destroyed (it was 140 metres long).[34] This demolition was to be realized only after the castle had been finished.[35] In this way, control over the city territory was easier, and the passage of the Venetian army to the old city from the castle was opened. The explanation of this destruction given to the city council is interesting: the doge himself explained that the wall had to be torn down for it had been dividing noblemen from the commoners, who lived in the western suburbia. In his letter, he emphasized that the wall did not separate two different urban areas but two different social and political groups.[36] Venice rested power in Dalmatian towns partly on the antagonism between the classes. Even though there was no real social stratification in Trogir, as some Renaissance treatises suggest should exist,[37] the fact is that most of the noblemen lived in the most central as well in the strategically strongest positions in Trogir.[38] On the whole in Dalmatian towns the strict social stratification within the town was not legislated. The placement inside the city depended on the material wealth of the owner of the lot, and the family structure of a clan. But social circumstances were not crucial — political ones often determined the placement of a certain social group in the city.

Demolishing the wall between the *civitas* and the *burgus* resulted in the administrative equalization of the new and the old parts of the town. The western part of the island was no longer regarded as the *burgus*, but as the New Town (*città nova*).[39] After the destruction of the wall the urban, legal, and partly social integration of the two different parts of the town began. The main communication of the town formerly was the ancient *cardo* — the street leading north-south, from the one city gate to the other passing through the city square. After the demolition of the wall, the main communication of the town became the former *decumanus*, the street leading west-east, from the main square towards the previous *burgus*.[40] Consequently, the result was a spatial and functional integration of the two separate units, although they kept their separate characteristics for several centuries. The cadastre of 1830 shows the position of part of the original wall near the Dominican friary. Unfortunately, the New Town was destroyed during the Second World War.

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[33] D. Calabi, 'Le basi ultramarine', in *Storia di Venetia, Temi, Il Mare*, ed. by A. Tenenti and U. Tucci (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1991), pp. 861–79 (pp. 862–63).

[34] V. Kovačić, 'Trogirske fortifikacije u 15. st.' (Fortifications of Trogir in the fifteenth century), *Prilozi povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 37 (1997–98), 109–37 (p. 112).

[35] Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Ostavština*, X, fol. 30; *Povijesna, Lučić*, ed. by Fisković, II, 997.

[36] Zadar, Archive of the Scientific Library, *Rukopisi*, MS 305, fols 2–6.

[37] S. Zimmerman and R. F. E. Weissman, 'Social Stratification in Renaissance Urban Planning', in *Urban Life in the Renaissance* (Newark: Newark University Press, 1989), pp. 21–50.

[38] Kovačić, 'Trogirske', p. 112.

[39] This new name is first recorded in 1419 when the suburbs were completely fortified.

The most marked changes to the town plan were in the area of the New Town — *città nova*. We already mentioned the building of the new castle and the fortress as well as the new city walls that changed the image of the New Town (as well as the demolition of the wall towards the old town). Many documents of that period speak of the change of ownership of houses or empty lots. Existing houses in the western part of the town (near the new castle) were often torn down or rebuilt, in order to serve for the new needs of the communal authorities. In notarial documents or in the count's regulations we find dozens of such cases in the period from 1420 to 1450.[41] The Republic was intervening in the existing urban tissue to suit its military, naval, and economic needs. Venetian authorities did, however, protect private ownership to a certain extent. The previous owners were always given property 'of the same value' in some other location. The new locations were usually also in the New Town (but not near the city walls), and in the area where there was a former wall between the new and the old part of the town (*locus prope murum vetus civitatis nove nunc destructum*). The doge himself emphasized in the letter from November 1420 that the Venetian soldiers were not permitted to take the houses which they rented in the New Town. Soldiers were probably encouraged to buy confiscated estates of rebels at favorable rates, or receive them as part of their pay. Associated with the acquisition of land was also the granting of palaces and houses to soldiers. But along with a palace often went citizenship of the city in question, which allowed the soldiers to enjoy the same tax reductions as other residents. The concession for future settling in this part of the town was given to certain noble families faithful to Venetians (Cipiko, Lucius, Statileo, Teodor), people from the hinterland, and people from other Dalmatian places. In this way, Venice controlled who lived near the castle.[42]

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[40] R. Bužančić, '"Renovatio urbis" Koriolana Cipika u Trogiru' (Coriolanus Cipikko's 'Renovatio urbis'), in *Ivan Duknović i njegovo doba* (Ivan Duknović and his time) (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1996), pp. 107–17 (p. 113).

[41] For instance, in 1438, communal authorities forced Petromila, the daughter of Nicola Perdusich, to change her lot (*locus*) near the castle for another lot of the same size in the New Town. The count took the lots of Marin Calebina as they were too close to the area of the future fortifications near the castle, as well as the lot of Toma Goislavich. A preserved document testifies that Toma got another lot in exchange, which was located near the destroyed wall.

[42] For instance, the Commune bought a lot near the castle which belonged to a nobleman, and later the same nobleman rented it as communal for twenty-nine years (*paratinea*

Venetian policy in the fifteenth century was very different than in centuries before. Their control of city territory was much stronger. After 1420, when the noble clans lost power, the placement of their lots depended on the decision of Venetian authorities. A letter from the doge indicated that all noblemen and commoners, as well as religious persons, could remain in their location as before 1420, and their property holdings were confirmed. This order, however, did not include Venetian enemies — the former bishop and the count as well as members of some noble family clans.[43] Venice confiscated the properties of all of its enemies; some of them were sold to 'loyal' citizens, and some become communal, and the Commune rented them or built some public buildings there. Inventories of the former count Michatij Vituri, who was opposed to Venetian rule, reveal that all his property was confiscated: eighteen lots of land in the district and several houses and lots in the town, and their value was 3567 ducats.[44] The list of the properties in the town includes the *domus magna* of the Vituri family near the cathedral and several other houses and palaces, mostly near the main square and the southern city walls (representative positions). One city tower was confiscated.[45] Several shops which the count was renting were confiscated as well.[46] Similarly, the houses of the Quarco family were confiscated in 1428 and were sold in 1429.[47] The bishop's properties were confiscated as well.[48] The new count, Simone Detrico, sent from Venice, ordered in 1421 that all confiscated properties were to become communal and would be rented, or were to be sold to faithful citizens.[49]

Towers included in the city fortification that had been privately owned gradually became communal property, controlled by Venice, although eventually some of the loyal noble families had the right to use them.[50] In 1420, Pietro Loredan confirmed

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communis). In another example, *magister marangonus* Mark from Šibenik rented a communal house near the castle.

[43] *Listine*, ed. by Ljubić, VIII, 30, 72, 94.

[44] *Listine*, ed. by Ljubić, VIII, 33–34, and Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Ostavština Ivana Lučića*, X, fol. 42 (*Dne 18 Martij 1428. Domus et possessiones Micacij vendite Gregorio Sclavo. Infrascripta sunt possessiones, domu et orti olim Michatij Victuri vendite per nostram I. d.d*).

[45] *Item octo loca posita in Civitate Traguriensi post ecclesiam sancti Petri cum edifitijs specialium personarum.*

[46] Zadar, State Archive, 'Archive of Trogir', vol. 67, fol. 1; Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Ostavština Ivana Lučića*, IX, fols 102–03; X, fols 39, 40–42.

[47] Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Ostavština Ivana Lučića*, X, fols 37–39, 42–45.

[48] *Statut grada Trogira* (Statute of Trogir), ed. by V. Rismondo (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1978), Reformationes, L. II, c. 1.

[49] The lists of other confiscated properties are preserved as well. In the statutes, new, more severe orders against traitors and on the confiscation of their properties may be found.

[50] One chronicle mentions that in the period of reconstruction in the thirteenth century, communal authorities did not have enough funds to rebuild the walls, so it was allowed to

that everybody could keep the properties they owned before 1420, but emphasized that this would not include some towers and big palaces in the town, as they would be used by the new government; this regulation concerned the cities of Trogir, Split (Spalato), and Šibenik (Sebenico). As a consequence, the existing towers were lowered in height (such as the former Cega tower of St Nicolas, for example), while the two towers on the bridge connecting the island of Čiovo were destroyed. The Lucius family, for instance, were allowed to live in their tower, but they had to reconstruct it. The windows were to be open only towards the north (the town) and not towards the outer side, the sea. Also, the tower was to be lowered, in order not to be an assertion of private power in the town. Venice's intention was to destroy fortified houses, and the city forbade the construction of any new private fortress. The Commune was, like the other towns of *Stato da Mar* and of the *terra ferma*, created as a functionary of Venice and its interests. The Republic stressed the meaning and the power of the lagoon as the center of this Venetian world.[51]

Some families loyal to Venice became more politically and economically powerful. At the urban level, the richest and politically strongest noble families had the opportunity to build monumental palaces on the most prestigious positions in the town. The Cipiko family is a model example — they supported Venetian policy. Several Romanesque-Gothic houses that were accumulated in Cipiko possession were joined together in the construction of a much bigger palace occupying several lots. The outstanding position of the palace and Cipiko's capability to link four houses into a single palace speaks sufficiently of the strength and renown of the family, particularly of Coriolan, whose military success with the Turks won him the name of 'Coriolan the Great'.[52] On the first and second floor of the eastern façade of the Cipiko palace, beautifully shaped cut stone Gothic triforas are situated, with an obviously Venetian palatial style. Coriolan Cipiko, as *sopracommitus* of the Trogir galley under the Venetian flag, rendered in this way his debt to his capital.[53] In fifteenth-century Trogir a number of such palaces appeared in the old part of the town (Statileo, Andreis, Lucius).[54]

Some other palaces that belonged to noble family clans followed this model: for instance, on the facade of the Lippeo family palace, the triphora was made the same

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some noble family clans who would rebuild them to keep the towers in possession. The towers were linked together so the defence system could work better. In this period towers were no longer built and the existing ones changed their function, in correspondence with the development and strengthening of the communal institutions.

[51] Tenenti, 'The Sense', p. 19.

[52] *Koriolan Ćipiko: O Azijskom ratu* (On war in Asia by Coriolanus Cippiko), ed. by V. Gligo (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1977).

[53] A. Mutnjaković, *Andrija Aleši* (Andrea Alessi) (Zagreb: AC, 1998), p. 77.

[54] I. Babić, 'Kuća obitelji Statilić u Trogiru' (House of Statileo family in Trogir), in *Ivan Duknović i njegovo doba*, pp. 131–39.

as the one on the Cipiko palace.[55] The dominant element of the façade was also made in an almost pure manner of the later flowery Gothic. However, all these palaces evolved through the improvements made by several generations over one or more centuries. Each master reconstructed them and enlarged them in the spirit of contemporary architectural fashions.[56] According to notarial documents and testaments, properties in the old town were still much more expensive than in the New Town. Noblemen still lived in this part of the town (5% of the communal population), but gradually, there were *cives* who were becoming economically stronger than had been possible in the previous period. When peace returned in 1420, the family clan's court lost its defensive characteristics; its general appearance changed. Yet it remained bounded by several houses, and the process of accumulating properties continued in the fifteenth century.

Family clans were the typical social group in medieval European towns, but they differentiated according to the region and the period. Unlike the Italian towns, Dalmatian family clans were not very large even though they can be characterized as expanded families. However, their political role in the community was equally important. As elsewhere in Europe, the membership in the noble clan meant involvement in collective political, economic, and spiritual life. Their position in Trogir, though, depended on external political circumstances. Territory inside the walls was at the centre of every political event in the town. If they were not from the local patriciate, communal authorities controlled much more communal territory, especially strategically important locations such as city walls, towers, etc. Sometimes 'communal' interests were the same as patricians', and sometimes the opposite (depending upon whether communal authorities were de facto members of the local nobility or foreigners). Until 1420 no royal power was strong enough to control the power of the clans inside the Commune. After 1420, their power was minimized and their strength depended more on the relation with the central authority than before. In Italian communes, for instance, the family power came to an end only with the appearance of government by real *seignores*, tyrants, or princes (as in Milan and Florence). In this essay, I considered only some aspects of a single social group of Trogir. Therefore, information is limited. However, in the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries we can follow overlapping claims to power (and hence urban space) from within the city walls and from without. The problem of family clans in European history has not yet been sufficiently investigated; their role in communal politics, economy, and especially urban development is still to be researched and compared.

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[55] I. Babić, 'Utjecaji Jurja Dalmatinca u Trogiru' (The Influence of Juraj Dalmatinac in Trogir), *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 3–6 (1979–82), 198–203.

[56] Mutnjaković, *Andrija Aleši*, p. 68.

Chiesa, famiglia e corte: espressioni materiali della cultura politica longobarda[*]

BARBARA VISENTIN

Abstract

The urban installation of Capua has a notably interesting evolution, since it is connected to the fortunes of the family of the chamberlain-count Landolfo (815–43), illustrious founder of a *gens* that made Capua the capital of a vast autonomous principality, at the same level as Benevento and Salerno. Nowadays, the buildings of the city of Capua preserve little of these various settlements. Yet, despite the destructive action of the time, the chapels of St Saviour, St John, and St Michael in Court contain many signs of a good building ability and an amazing structural and stylistic coherence.

I argue in my essay that these churches were probably palatine chapels built between the end of the ninth century and the beginnings of the tenth century, and they were reserved for the Lombard court of the new Capua. The churches show three major phases of development: 1) the moment of the construction (between the ninth century and the tenth century); 2) a first restructuring dated back to the Norman conquest (between the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth) that changed the initial purpose and use of the churches; and 3) in the thirteenth century, the consistent amplification of the chapels, due to the works promoted by Frederick II in the city of Capua.

The architectural evolution of the palatine churches in this chronological arc is tightly tied to the political events of that period: the presence of three palatine chapels could in fact be the sign of the domestic struggles that tore the county to pieces between 879 and 882. In the High Middle Ages the construction of private churches formed itself as a sign of religious piety,

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[*] In apertura di questo breve saggio mi preme ricordare che lo studio delle chiese ‘a corte’ di Capua è parte integrante della mia tesi di Dottorato, a tutt’oggi in corso di svolgimento. I risultati a cui si fa cenno in questo contesto sono, dunque, di carattere preliminare e lo studio delle relazioni tra l’architettura delle cappelle, il potere della famiglia capuana ed il conseguente cambiamento culturale, determinato dall’avvento della conquista normanna di Capua, costituiscono filoni di ricerca indagati soltanto parzialmente.

vehicle of identity for the *gens* founder, symbol of the tradition of a family. Interests of different natures added to this and in many cases transformed the chapels into valid instruments of affirmation and consolidation of the conquering powers. It appears that each of the Capuan nobles that commissioned the construction of the churches had in mind the recent episode of the prince of Salerno, Guaiferio (860–65). He was the creator of the palatine chapel of St Massimo, the result of a long and difficult ascent to the government of the city. The area of Capuan *curia ducis* gave hospitality to the churches of St Michael, St John, and St Saviour. The purchasers hoped thereby to build a solid support for their political ambitions or perhaps simply to consolidate the power scarcely acquired. The ascent of Atenolfo I to the honours of the principality (900) signalled the success of the whole Capuan dynasty: this fact deprived the chapels of their original reason for existence, and so their role slowly had to be transformed.

'Perpetrando innumerevoli flagelli, trucidarono i propri nobili congiunti e, saccheggiandone i beni, si posero in alto sotto gli occhi del mondo'.[1] Sono queste le parole che si leggono nelle Cronache di S. Benedetto in riferimento all'affermazione di una stirpe dominatrice, dalla vitalità intensa, non più barbara ma costretta a vivere fra uomini violenti, in un mondo sconvolto da lotte fratricide: la gente capuana.[2]

La conoscenza delle vicende storiche che caratterizzarono i territori dell'Italia meridionale longobarda (fig. 1) e lo studio della parabola evolutiva seguita dalla dinastia capuana tra il IX e l'XI secolo si devono agli scritti di N. Cilento.[3] Questi individuava nel 'numero' e nel 'nome' i punti di forza grazie ai quali la dinastia capuana riuscì ad affermarsi, 'nella diaspora finale, scriveva Cilento, i membri di questa grande famiglia finirono per dominare gran parte della Langobardia minore,

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[1] *Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinesis*, ediz. G. Waitz, in *Monumenta Germania Historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec.* *VI–IX* (Hannover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1878), c. 5, p. 471.

[2] La conquista longobarda delle terre meridionali della Penisola interessò gli anni a cavallo tra il VI ed il VII secolo. Nel 570 le fare guidate da Zottone si stabilirono nel cuore del Sannio e, secondo l'*Historia Langobardorum* narrata da Paolo di Warnefrido, lo stesso Zottone fu primo duca di Benevento, elevando la città al rango di capitale del Ducato meridionale del Regno. Ad Arechi I del Friuli (590–640) si devono, invece, l'estensione ed il consolidamento dei territori che appartennero al Ducato. I Longobardi arrivarono a dominare le valli fluviali del Volturno e del Sele, controllando le fertilissime pianure di *Paestum* e della Terra di Lavoro, istituendo gastaldati nei centri di Salerno (640 circa) e di Capua (593–94). Dalla fara destinata al controllo delle terre liburiane, nel cuore delle quali sorgeva l'antica città di Capua, avrà origine la dinastia dei *Capuanites*, fondamento di una nuova fase della storia dei Longobardi meridionali. Dal tronco del gastaldo-conte Landolfo (815–43) scaturirono numerose propaggini che, per due secoli, costituirono una casta dominatrice compatta e attiva, capace di raccogliere in unità tutta la *Langobardia minor* (il capuano Pandolfo Capodiferro) e di rinnovarne la potenza.

[3] N. Cilento, *Le origini della signoria capuana nella Langobardia minore* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1966).

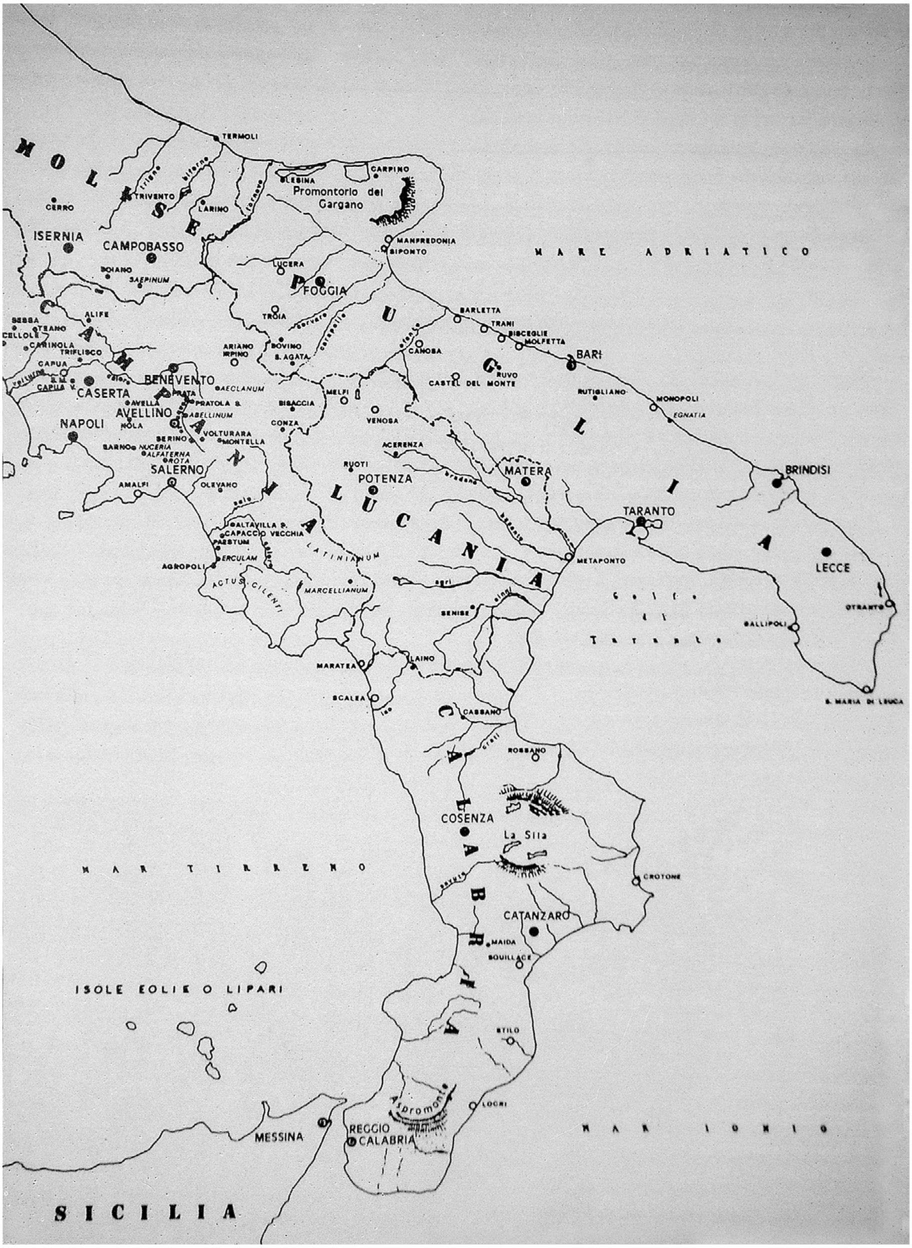
MOLISE
PUGLIA
CAMPANIA
LUCANIA
CALABRIA
TERMOLI
CARPINO
LESINA
Promontorio del Gargano
TRIVENTO
LARINO
CERRO
ISERNIA
CAMPOBASSO
BOIANO
SAEPINUM
MANFREDONIA
SIPONTO
LUCERA
FOGGIA
TROIA
MARE ADRIATICO
BARLETTA
TRANI
BISCEGLIE
MOLFETTA
BARI
ALIFE
SESSA
TEANO
CELLOLE
CARINOLA
TRIFLISCO
CAPUA
S. M. CAPUA V.
CASERTA
ARIANO IRPINO
BOVINO
S. AGATA
CANOSA
RUVO
CASTEL DEL MONTE
BENEVENTO
AECLANUM
PRATA
PRATOLA S.
AVELLA
AVELLINO
ABELLINUM
NOLA
NAPOLI
SERINO
VOLTURARA
MONTELLA
SARNO
NUCERIA ALFATERNA
ROTA
SALERNO
AMALFI
OLEVANO
MELFI
BISACCIA
CONZA
VENOSA
ACERENZA
RUOTI
POTENZA
RUTIGLIANO
MONOPOLI
EGNATIA
MATERA
BRINDISI
TARANTO
LECCE
ALTAVILLA S.
CAPACCIO VECCHIA
PAESTUM
ERCULAM
AGROPOLI
ACTUS CILENTI
LATINIANUM
MARCELLIANUM
METAPONTO
SENISE
Golfo di Taranto
OTRANTO
GALLIPOLI
S. MARIA DI LEUCA
MARATEA
LAINO
SCALEA
CASSANO
ROSSANO
COSENZA
La Sila
MAR TIRRENO
CROTONE
CATANZARO
MAIDA
SQUILLACE
ISOLE EOLIE O LIPARI
STILO
Aspromonte
LOCRI
MESSINA
REGGIO CALABRIA
MAR IONIO
SICILIA

Figura 1. La *Langobardia minor* (da P. Peduto, *Insediamenti longobardi del Ducato di Benevento in Langobardia a cura di S. Gasparri e P. Cammarosano* (Udine: Casamassima, 1990), pp. 307–73).

irradiandosi per gemmazione in una fitta rete di signorie fondiarie'.[4] Ne assicurò definitivamente l'ascesa e il primato Atenolfo (882–900), il primo dei principi di Capua, ponendo fine a un periodo di violente convulsioni attraverso le quali la dinastia corse il pericolo di consumarsi nell'ambito delle contese domestiche.

Il caso dei Capuani si inserisce nel panorama più vasto della genesi della signoria fondiaria, connessa al fenomeno, così diffuso in età medievale, del patrimonializzarsi della giurisdizione.

Il possesso fondiario, acquisito per vie diverse, era il presupposto perché si potesse ambire e ottenere la giurisdizione e il compimento di atti sovrani, che finivano per tradursi in una signoria piena e totale.[5] In questi stessi anni gli scrittori di cose meridionali celebrano la Nuova Capua come una tra le città più floride del tempo: la ricchezza dei suoi mercati, il prestigio dei suoi principi, i collegamenti con i maggiori centri del Mediterraneo e i frequenti soggiorni in essa delle personalità politiche e culturali più importanti dell'Europa del tempo, ne qualificano il rilievo.[6]

Non va dimenticato, però, che alla metà del IX secolo Capua era una città appena edificata, per volontà di un gruppo di nobili stanchi di risiedere su un colle. Lo sfruttamento di una pianura fertilissima, la formidabile via di comunicazione naturale costituita dal Volturno, la posizione strategica, che fa di Capua la vera 'porta' del Mezzogiorno, uniti all'intrapendenza di una classe dominante, tendenzialmente refrattaria ad ogni tipo di autorità, e alla precoce frantumazione in una galassia di potentati, dipendenti dalla città-capitale ma in pratica autonomi, sono elementi che possono essere indicati tra i fondanti la fortuna dell'erede longobarda di quella 'seconda Roma' esaltata da Cicerone.[7]

Elementi utili a proseguire la discussione aperta da Cilento, sul ruolo della famiglia 'principesca' nell'Italia meridionale longobarda, provengono dall'analisi delle trasformazioni insediative verificatesi all'interno della contea di Capua, tra il IX e l'XI secolo. Nelle pagine della Cronaca Vulturnense il monaco Giovanni annotava: 'a quel tempo le fortificazioni erano rare in queste regioni, ovunque sorgevano ville e chiese: né esisteva paura o timore delle guerre, poiché tutti godevano di una pace profonda'.[8] L'accento è posto con chiarezza sulla radicale variazione storica che gli stravolgimenti politici andavano determinando nella regione, la geografia insediativa delle terre mutava, divenendo geografia di una famiglia, e con essa l'aspetto della nascente città sul Volturno.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 7–8.

[5] Il processo di patrimonializzazione della giurisdizione appare sapientemente riassunto nell'espressione del feudista del XII secolo Pillio da Medicina. Nelle *Qaestiones aureae* (Roma, 1560), la sedicesima *quaestio* così recita: 'iurisdictio cohaeret territorio'.

[6] Si veda Paolo Diacono, *Historia Langobardorum*, ediz. Waitz in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, II, c. 17, p. 82; Leone Marsicano e Pietro Diacono, *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, ediz. W. Wattenbach in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 34 (Stuttgart, 1844), VII, c. 31, p. 601; *Chronica S. Benedicti Casinensis*, ediz. Waitz, c. 10, p. 474; *Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni a cura di V. Federici*, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 58 (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1925), I, 230, 241–42, 258, 268, 275, 318–20, 330, 333, 355; II, 26, 70, 99, 239, 338.

[7] Marco Tullio Cicerone, *De lege agraria*, II, 32, 86.

L'attività edilizia all'interno della cinta murata della città dovette essere intensa dal momento della fondazione (856) sino ai primi anni del secolo X; i palazzi del principe e del vescovo, le chiese a corte, la Cattedrale, i complessi monastici di San Vincenzo e di San Benedetto, dovevano dominare lo spazio di una città che stava prendendo forma, il resto erano probabilmente poche case in legno, addossate l'una all'altra in vicoli stretti e maleodoranti, dimora di guerrieri e di rustici urbani (fig. 2).

Le cappelle di S. Salvatore, S. Giovanni e S. Michele a Corte si presentano quale segno di un'alta capacità edilizia e di una sorprendente coerenza strutturale e stilistica. Il toponimo 'a Corte' che si accompagna all'intitolazione delle chiese, la via 'dei principi Longobardi' lungo la quale sorgono il S. Salvatore ed il S. Giovanni, e la tradizione che vuole in quel punto della città l'area del palazzo comitale, lasciano ipotizzare che si tratti di edifici religiosi che gravitarono negli spazi destinati alla 'corte' longobarda della Nuova Capua. Se furono propriamente delle cappelle di palazzo è difficile da dimostrare, ma con ogni probabilità si trattò di chiese di fondazione privata, frutto di una committenza nobiliare, sul modello di quanto il principe Guaiferio andava realizzando negli stessi anni a Salerno con la fondazione della chiesa di San Massimo.[9]

Il S. Salvatore a Corte presenta una spazialità maggiore rispetto alle altre e viene menzionata per la prima volta in un documento del 961, nell'ambito di una transazione di terre.[10] L'atto ricorda che la chiesa venne costruita per volontà della vedova del gastaldo Landenolfo, Adelgrima, che al momento della stesura della carta era già passata a miglior vita. La fondazione della cappella può essere così riportata indietro nel tempo, agli anni a cavallo tra il IX ed il X secolo, dal momento che nel 961 Adelgrima è ricordata come defunta. A sostegno di tale ipotesi un'altra carta, conservata nell'Archivio dell'abbazia di Montecassino, menziona una chiesa di S. Salvatore a Capua, gli anni sono quelli tra l'889 e l'890 quando Ragembrando regge la comunità cassinese e sul trono di Bisanzio siedono gli imperatori Leone e Alessandro, menzionati nel documento.[11]

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[8] 'Eo tempore rara in his regionibus castella habebantur, sed omnia villis et ecclesiis plena erant: nec erat formido aut metus bellorum, quoniam alta pace omnes gaudebant': *Chronicon Vulturnense,* a cura di Federici, I, 231.

[9] Per una trattazione più ampia del caso di San Massimo si rimanda al pregevole lavoro di B. Ruggiero, *Principi, Nobiltà e Chiesa nel Mezzogiorno longobardo* (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli. Istituto di Storia Medievale e Moderna, 1973).

[10] La carta è citata in M. Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum* (Napoli, 1630), pp. 179–80.

[11] Si vedano l'edizione e la datazione del documento fornite da E. Cuozzo e J. M. Martin, 'Documents inédits ou peu connus des archives du Mont-Cassin (VIII^{e}–X^{e} siècles)', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 1 (1991), 174–76.

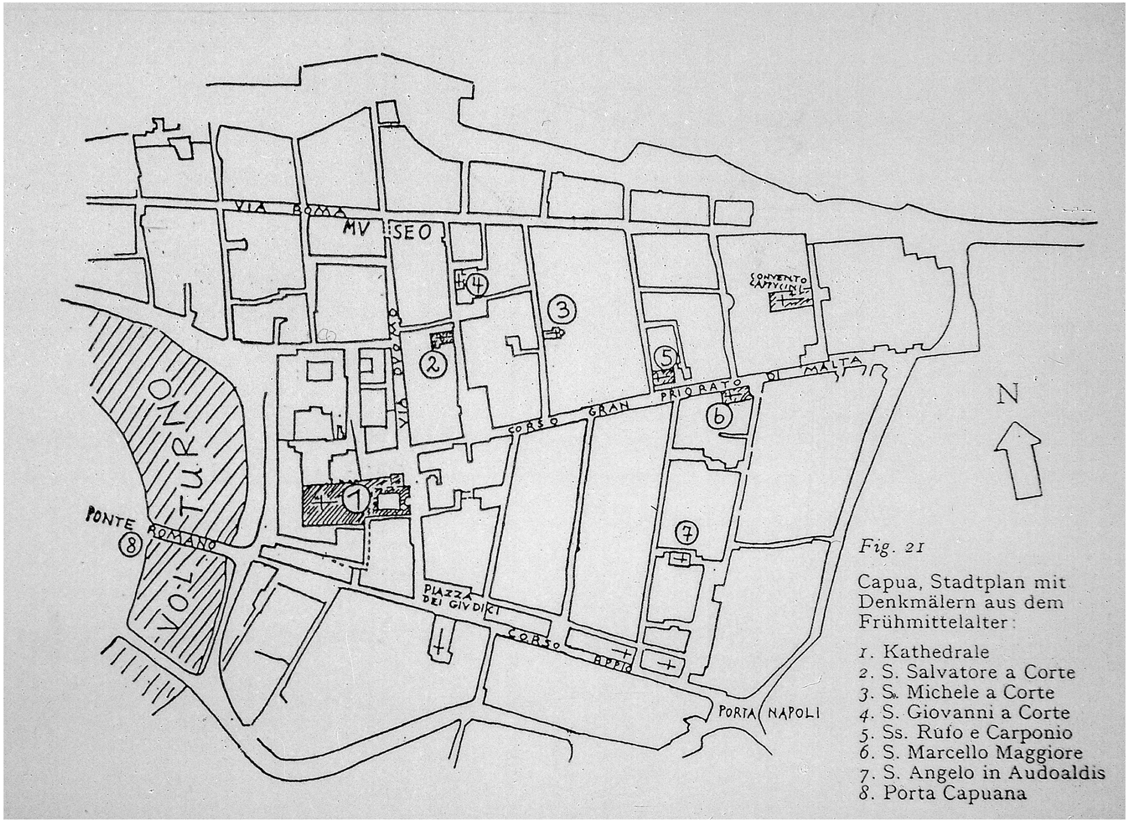
VIA ROMA
MUSEO
CONVENTO CAPPUCCINI
CORSO GRAN PRIORATO DI MALTA
VIA
PIAZZA DEI GIUDICI
CORSO APPIO
PORTA NAPOLI
PONTE ROMANO
VOLTURNO
N
Fig. 21
Capua, Stadtplan mit Denkmälern aus dem Frühmittelalter:
1. Kathedrale
2. S. Salvatore a Corte
3. S. Michele a Corte
4. S. Giovanni a Corte
5. Ss. Rufo e Carponio
6. S. Marcello Maggiore
7. S. Angelo in Audoaldis
8. Porta Capuana

Figura 2. La ‘Nuova’ Capua sul Volturno, pianta della città (da H. Belting, *Studien zur beneventanischen Malerei*, Forshungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie, 7 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1968)).

L'analisi delle strutture murarie e degli elementi decorativi non risulta più ricca di informazioni rispetto al panorama documentario; i ripetuti interventi di restauro e l'assenza completa di una lettura attenta delle evoluzioni strutturali e di saggi di scavo condotti con criteri stratigrafici, rendono complesso il tentativo di suggerire un'ipotesi ricostruttiva di quella che doveva essere la cappella del IX secolo. L'impianto basilicale e le monofore in asse con le arcate che segnano la navata centrale potrebbero costituire alcuni dei pochi elementi residui riferibili alla primitiva chiesa del Salvatore, mentre l'attuale triforio d'ingresso, gli oculi aperti nella facciata, il portico con le semi-colonne in tufo piperino e l'imposta delle volte a crociera su pennacchi, le cornici marcapiano in tufo grigio, il campanile (fig. 3), apparterrebbero tutti ad uno stesso intervento di restauro, statico ed ampliativo insieme, riferibile ad età sveva.

Le murature interne della cappella presentano un chiaro ispessimento, reso probabilmente necessario dall'ampliamento degli spazi e dall'innalzamento della copertura originaria di cui doveva essere dotata la chiesa. Il triforio d'ingresso, seguito immediatamente dagli ambienti voltati a crociera, i pilastri che inaugurano il colonnato centrale e la traccia di una muratura che doveva chiudere in quel punto l'ambiente sacro, permettono di interpretare l'avancorpo attuale della cappella come un nartece, successivamente inglobato nello spazio interno della chiesa.

Ad una fase intermedia di risistemazione della planimetria originaria del S. Salvatore ritengo si possano riferire le navate laterali e l'innalzamento del tetto. L'ipotesi sembra suggerita dai lacerti di affresco che si conservano in alcuni sottarchi che separano la navata centrale da quelle laterali, per i quali il Belting proponeva una datazione alla seconda metà dell'XI secolo, considerando le forti analogie esistenti con alcune fasce decorative realizzate nella Basilica di Sant'Angelo in Formis.[12] La cronologia individuata dal Belting per le pitture superstiti del S. Salvatore ed i confronti proposti lasciano spazio ad ulteriori riflessioni circa un possibile intervento di restauro operato nella cappella capuana allo scadere dell'XI secolo. L'apertura dei due colonnati e la creazione delle navate laterali nega la funzione delle finestre presenti sulle pareti che delimitavano l'unica navata centrale, ma giustifica l'apertura di nuovi punti luce lungo le murature perimetrali e al di sopra delle stesse arcate, suggerendo un'interpretazione diversa da quella proposta da Cielo per la colonnina ed il capitello rintracciati sul muro settentrionale. Nel 1934 il Chierici ritenne opportuno aprire in quel punto una bifora,[13] ma la colonna ed il capitello secondo Cielo andrebbero riferiti ad un probabile matroneo che occupava la parte superiore della cappella nell'impianto originario.[14] Ritengo, invece, che l'identità del capitello della bifora con quelli posti sulle colonne che dividono la chiesa nelle tre navi, consenta di riportarlo a questa fase intermedia di ristrutturazione del S. Salvatore, databile alla seconda metà del secolo XI. La chiesa risulterebbe in questo modo trasformata sul modello delle basiliche di stampo ‘desideriano’, e anche la copertura richiamerebbe quella realizzata nel vicino santuario di S. Angelo in Formis: un tetto a capriate lignee, a doppio spiovente per la zona centrale, ribassato per le navate laterali.

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[12] H. Belting, *Studien zur beneventanischen Malerei*, Forshungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie, 7 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1968), pp. 77–78.

[13] G. Chierici, 'Note sull'architettura della contea longobarda di Capua', *Bollettino d'arte*, 27 (1934), 543–54 (p. 547).

[14] L. R. Cielo, 'Sulla fondazione di S. Salvatore *ad curtem* di Capua' in *Autori vari, Longobardia e Longobardi nell'Italia meridionale: Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, Atti del II

Le variazioni strutturali che interessarono la cappella sul finire dell’anno mille potrebbero essere connesse con un cambiamento della destinazione d’uso, è possibile ipotizzare che il S. Salvatore non fosse esclusivamente una chiesa privata, legata alle sole necessità liturgiche della famiglia del gastaldo Landenolfo, ma che invece si fosse aperta alle esigenze sacramentali della popolazione capuana. E’ necessario richiamare ancora una volta il caso del S. Massimo di Salerno, la cappella di Guaiferio si articolava su due livelli, di cui uno comunicava direttamente con il palazzo ed era destinato alla famiglia del principe, l’altro veniva officiato giorno e notte a beneficio del popolo salernitano. L’ampliamento che riguardò la chiesa ‘a Corte’ di Capua potrebbe, dunque, essere legato all’esigenza di contenere nella cappella un maggior numero di persone, in virtù di questa variazione d’uso dello spazio sacro. La tradizione agiografica di s. Stefano, vescovo di Caiazzo nel 979, ricorda che all’età di sette anni il giovanetto ‘venne condotto a scuola dai genitori presso la chiesa di S. Salvatore, all’interno delle mura della città di Capua’;[15] quando Stefano entrò a S. Salvatore correva l’anno 942. Il già citato documento del 961, invece, fa menzione di un Pietro presbitero e abbate della chiesa di S. Salvatore,[16] il quale riceve la quarta parte di tutte le terre. L’esistenza di una scuola presso la cappella e la presenza di un presbitero, a cui viene riferito anche l’appellativo di abbate, permettono di ipotizzare per il S. Salvatore di Capua uno stato della questione molto simile a quello messo in evidenza dagli studi di Ruggiero per il S. Massimo di Salerno, almeno a cominciare dalla metà del X secolo.

Limitate sono anche le notizie che riguardano la cappella intitolata al Battista (fig. 4); la prima menzione certa della chiesa si deve ad una carta di scambio del gennaio 992, l’oggetto è uno scambio di terre di cui sono attori, tra gli altri, gli eredi della cappella di San Giovanni: il conte Landolfo, Maraldo e un certo Rodiperto, figlio del defunto conte Landolfo.[17] Allo scadere del secolo X la seconda delle chiese a corte di Capua risulta divisa tra tre diverse famiglie comitali, rivelando una

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Convegno Internazionale di Studi promosso dal Centro di Cultura dell’Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Benevento 29–31 maggio 1992), a cura di G. Andenna e G. Picasso (Milano: Vita e Pensiero. Pubblicazioni dell’Università Cattolica del Sacro cuore: Biblioteca erudita, 1996), pp. 333–37.

[15] *Acta Sanctorum*, tomo XIII (Parigi 1883), pp. 6–8.

[16] *Petrus presbyterus et abbas custus*.

[17] *Le pergamene di Capua*, a cura di J. Mazzoleni (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli. Istituto di Paleografia e Diplomatica, 1957–60), I, 9.

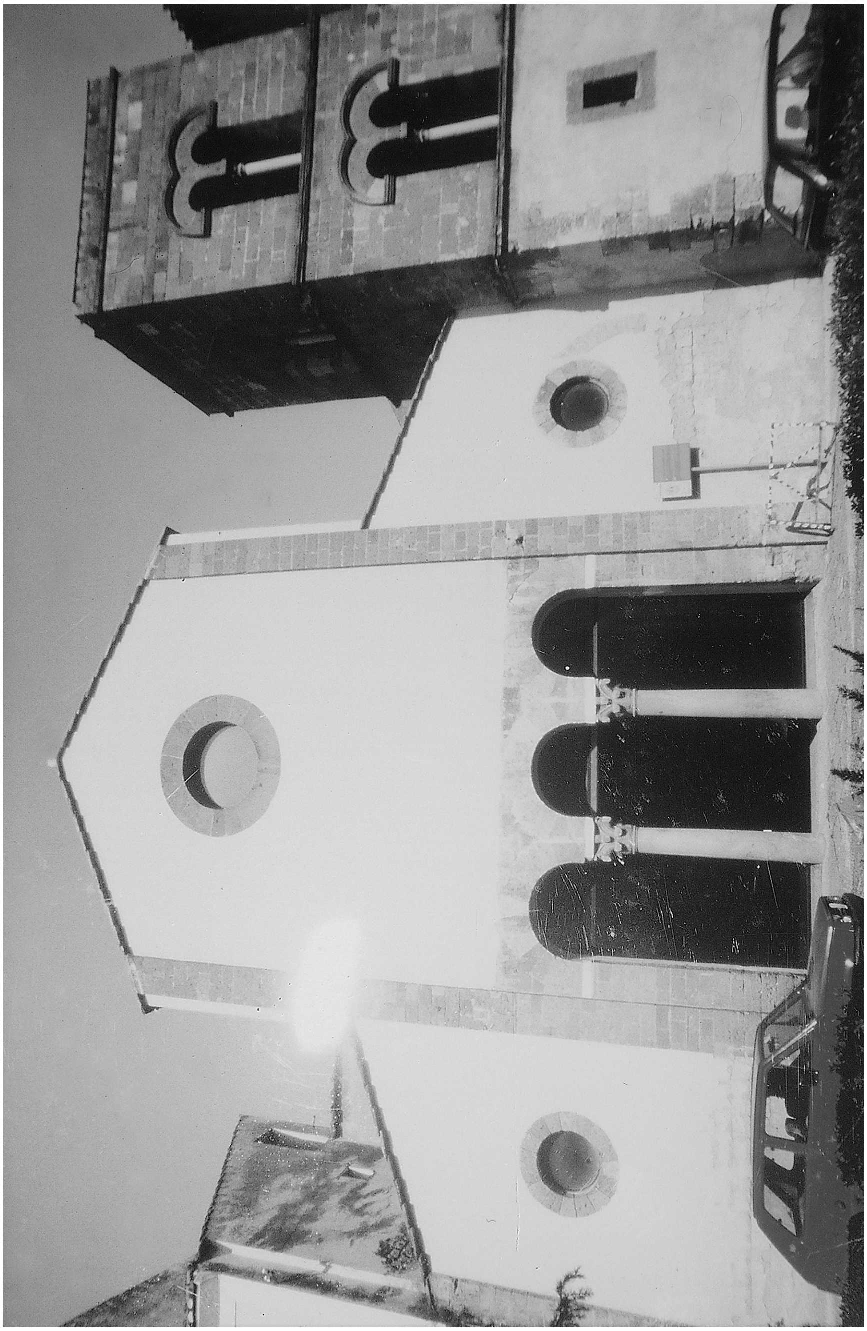
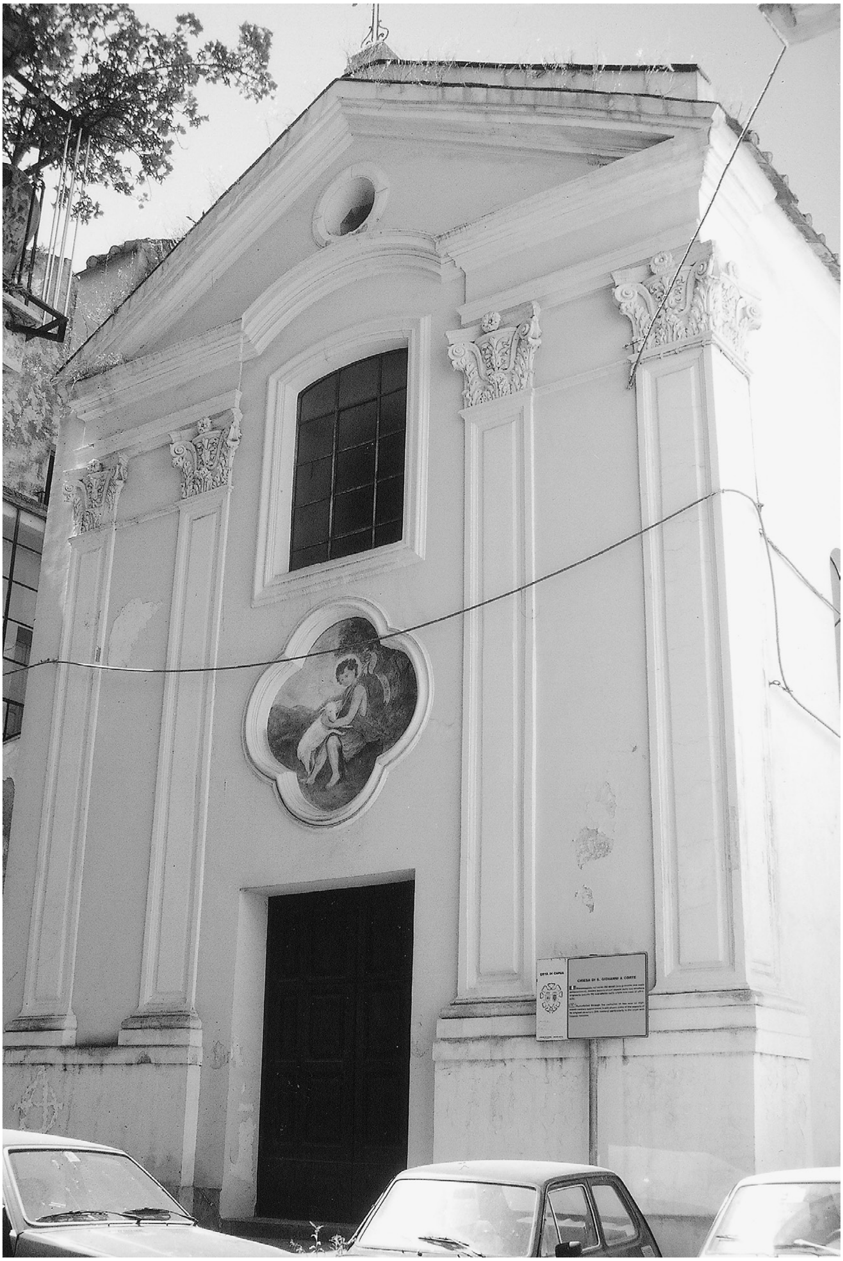


Figura 3. Capua, chiesa di San Salvatore a Corte, facciata-*triforium*. (foto: B. Visentin)



CITTÀ DI CAPUA
CHIESA DI S. GIOVANNI A CORTE

Figura 4. Capua, chiesa di San Giovanni a Corte, facciata.
(foto: B. Visentin)

fondazione privata nobiliare, ma evidentemente relativa ad un periodo precedente il 992. Nella transazione vengono ricordati abbati e rettori che regolano la vita della chiesa, richiamando l'immagine suggerita in precedenza per il S. Salvatore a Corte. Se, dunque, sul finire del secolo X il S. Giovanni a Corte è pertinenza di tre eredi, discendenti da famiglie diverse, sembra probabile che la chiesa a quel tempo non rivestisse più il ruolo di polo aggregante e punto di riferimento spirituale per la sola stirpe fondatrice.

Dal punto di vista architettonico l'edificio si presenta fortemente stratificato, l'accesso avviene da un cortiletto che immette nella sagrestia della chiesa, al centro della quale si conserva una colonna in marmo sormontata da un grosso capitello. La colonna costituisce una delle labilissime tracce che testimoniano la fase medievale della cappella, dal momento che la veste sotto la quale oggi il S. Giovanni a Corte vive è quella tipica delle chiese settecentesche, che poco o nulla ha mantenuto della cappella primitiva. La base della colonna poggia sul piano di frequentazione della cripta, a m.1,72 sotto l'attuale livello di calpestio, e intorno alla parte bassa del fusto si leggono i resti di un piccolo muro, probabilmente rotto dall'impianto della colonna. Il capitello sembrerebbe aggiunto per l'occasione, forse ricavato da un altro edificio, mentre la messa in opera dei due archi in mattoncini, sui quali scaricano le quattro volte a crociera che coprono la sagrestia, andrebbe riferita ad una successiva rivisitazione della pianta originaria. La fattura del capitello del S. Giovanni risulta pregevole e trova riscontri immediati nell'ambito della stessa Capua, ritengo interessante, ai fini del tentativo di proporre una datazione, l'assonanza evidente con i già ricordati capitelli della navata centrale nella chiesa del S. Salvatore. Si potrebbe pensare ad una produzione locale relativa alla fine dell'XI secolo o addirittura ai primi anni del XII, in piena età normanna, nella quale i lapicidi capuani dimostrano una certa inventiva nella ripresa dei modelli classici. La cripta, semi-ipogea, è completamente in abbandono, una breve scalinata ne consente ancora l'accesso, immettendo in due ambienti voltati a botte che mostrano l'antica curvatura absidale interrotta da una porta, successivamente tompagnata. Oltre ai rovinatissimi lacerti di affreschi, che dovevano decorarne le pareti e che risultano impossibili da indagare, la cripta restituisce una striscia in stucco ornata con un motivo a meandro, intervallato da pesci, la fascia sembra aver costituito un elemento di stacco tra le dipinture superiori e quelle inferiori. La curvatura absidale si apre a settentrione, presumibilmente in corrispondenza di quelle che dovevano essere le strutture superiori, la chiesa di S. Giovanni infatti sembra aver subito un totale ribaltamento del suo asse. Nel vano unico, privo di abside, che costituisce oggi la cappella si conserva traccia di un arcone, in tufo e mattoni, nella muratura della controfacciata, lasciando pensare che l'edificio abbia subito un completo stravolgimento della planimetria, con lo spostamento della zona presbiteriale nell'area dell'antico ingresso alla chiesa e viceversa. A tale riguardo potrebbe fornire un indizio interessante anche l'arco posto sulla porta che mette in comunicazione la sagrestia con la chiesa, il cui paramento murario, in tutto simile all'arcone della controfacciata, sembrerebbe da riferire ad una fase dell'edificio relativa ai secoli XI–XII.

Tentare una lettura delle evoluzioni strutturali che interessarono la chiesa di S. Giovanni a Corte, dalla fondazione fino ad oggi, si presenta ancora più arduo rispetto a quanto proposto per la cappella del Salvatore. La quasi completa assenza di documentazione che riguardi la chiesa nei primi secoli di vita e l'obliterazione delle tracce del passato, in seguito ai continui restauri effettuati nell'edificio, rendono avventata qualsiasi ipotesi ricostruttiva. Ad ogni modo credo sia possibile indicare almeno tre grandi fasi di lavori: il momento della fondazione, riferibile agli ultimi anni del secolo IX, come sembra suggerire l'atto del 992 e la fascia in stucco conservatasi nella cripta; una prima sostanziale ristrutturazione allo scadere dell'XI secolo, proponendo tale datazione per il capitello della sagrestia e per gli arconi in tufo e mattoncini; il completo stravolgimento della spazialità e della planimetria originarie della cappella nel corso del XVIII secolo.

La chiesa di San Michele a Corte supplisce alla carenza di testimonianze scritte con tracce superstiti della struttura originaria più consistenti. L'edificio presenta un impianto ad aula, con cripta sottostante, e la facciata è caratterizzata da un triforio, in tutto simile a quello che orna l'ingresso della vicina chiesa di S. Salvatore (fig. 3). La veste originaria della cappella si rintraccia nel piccolo ambiente semipogeo che ne costituisce la cripta, ai lati del presbiterio due strette rampe di scale ne consentono l'accesso (fig. 5). Il vano seminterrato consta di un corridoio trasversale, voltato a botte, su cui si aprono ad est l'abside e due piccoli ambienti laterali. L'ingresso all'abside è articolato su di una colonna centrale, con fusto di granito e capitello pulviniforme, mentre la calotta absidale porta i segni di cedimenti strutturali, dal momento che l'impianto della colonna con il capitello regge una pezzatura muraria aggiunta. L'intervento nel piccolo vano seminterrato è forse da riferire al momento della costruzione, nell'ambiente superiore, dell'alto tiburio che chiude la zona presbiteriale. Il capitello della cripta presenta una tipologia a se stante, il modello è un esempio di non finito, le due facce scolpite sono ornate da eleganti motivi vegetali di influenza classica ma senza rispondenza alcuna negli altri capitelli capuani. E' probabile che in origine sia stato destinato ad un uso diverso e successivamente riutilizzato nella chiesa di S. Michele con la colonna su cui si trovò ad essere collocato. L'andamento planimetrico della cripta ricorda quello delle cripte anulari, di cui si trovano esempi famosi nelle basiliche romane, nella chiesa abbaziale del San Vincenzo Maggiore alle fonti del Volturno e, in ambito locale, nell'Annunziata a Prata di Principato Ultra, in provincia di Benevento. La curvatura absidale mostra ancora oggi una serie di affreschi di fattura pregevole, la scoperta delle pitture si deve al Salazaro che, nel 1869, così scriveva: 'sulla volta dell'abside, si vede la grandiosa figura di Cristo, con le braccia distese, che sembra chiamare a sè S. Pietro e S. Paolo, a sinistra del quale sono S. Agata, che porta la sua corona ornata da pietre, e S. Stefano'.[18] La scena raffigurata sarebbe quella di una Consegna della

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[18] D. Salazaro, 'Chiesa di S. Michele a Corte a Capua', nota sul quotidiano 'L'Italie', Firenze 8 settembre 1869, 3.

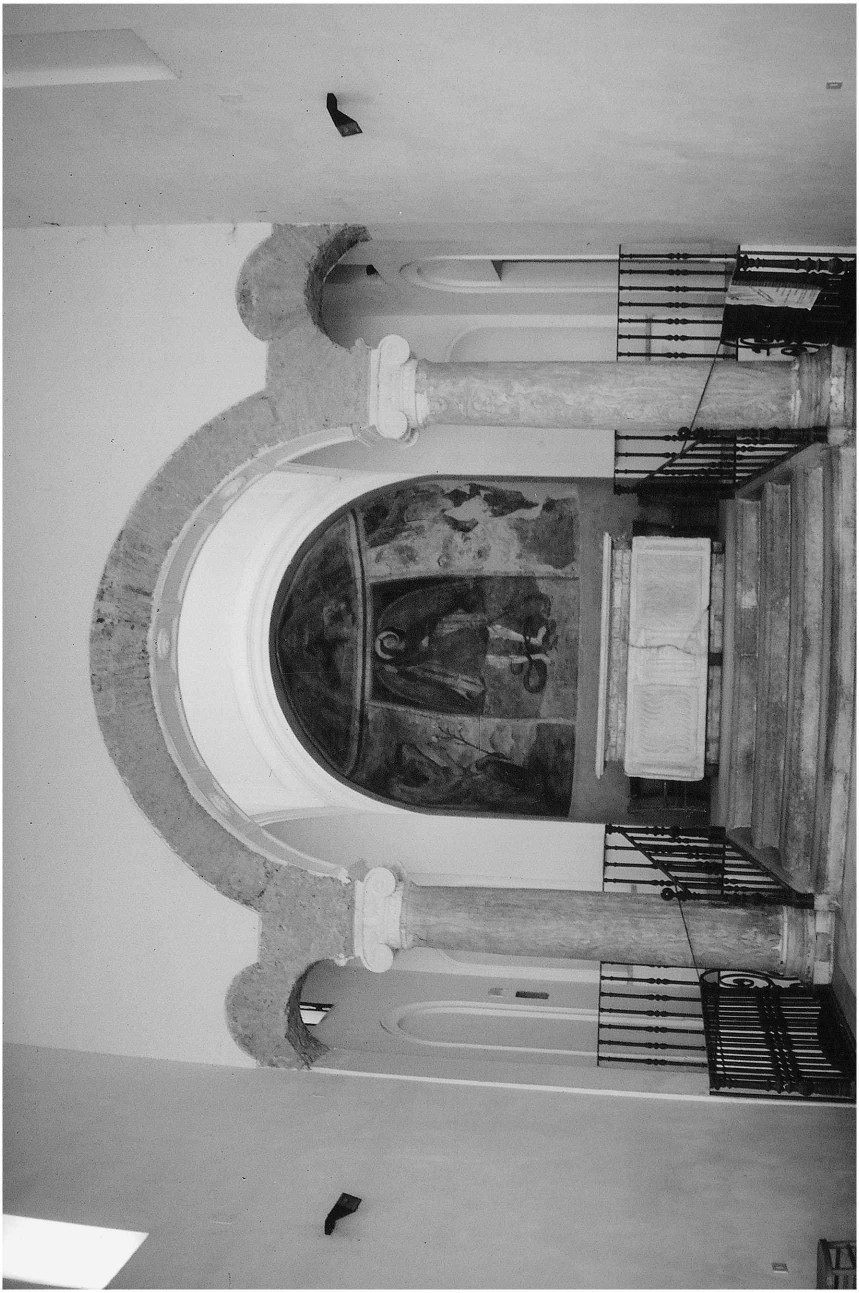

Figura 5. Capua, chiesa di San Michele a Corte, *triforium* della zona presbiteriale. (foto: B. Visentin)

Legge e delle Chiavi, con l'aggiunta singolare delle figure dei martiri Agata e Stefano, ai quali veniva intitolata la sede episcopale di Capua. Circa cento anni più tardi il Belting tornava sull'argomento e realizzava dei preziosi disegni ricostruttivi, non solo della scena absidale (fig. 6) ma anche di quelle che era ancora possibile leggere sulla parete occidentale della cripta e nell'emiciclo laterale destro.[19] La zoccolatura del muro absidale risultava divisa in riquadri decorati con elementi geometrici che creavano il motivo del finto marmo dipinto, mentre sulle pareti che separano l'abside dai due ambienti laterali si riconoscono ancora rombi nelle tinte del giallo e del nero. All'interno del vano posto a meridione sappiamo che si individuavano almeno tre grandi clipei che ornavano le pareti laterali e la volta, le figure affrescate, personaggi alati con in mano il globo terrestre, rappresentavano con ogni probabilità gli Arcangeli, dei quali è possibile riconoscere con una certa verosimiglianza solo l'immagine di destra. La parete ovest, che chiude il vano, è forse quella meglio conservata, la parte bassa del muro aveva ricevuto una decorazione dipinta che richiamava i pannelli di marmo degli edifici romani: rombi perfettamente inscritti in quadrati e, a loro volta, contenenti cerchi tracciati con il compasso sull'intonaco ancora fresco.

I grandi riquadri, in cui risultava ripartita la parete, venivano delimitati da rettangoli di dimensioni minori, che presentavano la stessa decorazione di tipo geometrico. Nella parte alta doveva essere campita, stando a quanto riusciva a riportare sulla carta il Belting, una sequenza di scene divise in cinque momenti, probabilmente la rappresentazione di alcuni miracoli del Cristo. La peculiarità planimetrica della cripta, lo stile delle scene affrescate, che trova confronti immediati nel ricco corredo pittorico di cui venne dotata l'abbazia benedettina di S. Vincenzo al Volturno, consentono una datazione del primo impianto della cappella alla seconda metà del IX secolo. Sono questi gli anni in cui gli insediamenti monastici di Montecassino e di S. Vincenzo cominciano a gravitare nell'orbita capuana costretti, dalle mutate condizioni storiche, ad una identità della loro politica con quella dei signori longobardi di Capua.[20] Una riflessione particolare merita la scelta iconografica, la raffigurazione della Consegna della Legge e delle Chiavi in posizione di rilievo, l'accostamento ai due Apostoli dei santi locali Agata e Stefano, il ciclo cristologico sulla parete occidentale, sembrano rimandare ad una influenza dell'ambiente romano sulla città di Capua. La presenza di tali immagini all'interno di una chiesa intitolata all'Arcangelo Michele, sorta nel cuore dell'area palaziale longobarda, probabilmente per volere di una committenza privata, lascerebbe pensare agli anni in cui la sede vescovile capuana risultò divisa tra la Nuova Capua e S. Maria Capua Vetere (879–882). Il presule di Capua si mantenne nel solco della tradizione e conservò la cattedra intitolata a S. Stefano, mentre il secondo fu vescovo di S. Maria cognomento Suricorum,

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[19] Si veda a tale proposito il già citato testo del Belting e L. R. Cielo, 'Capua', in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, vol. IV (Roma: Treccani, 1993), pp. 246–53.

[20] Per questo periodo denso di accadimenti si rimanda al quadro storico tracciato da Cilento, *Le origini della signoria capuana*, pp. 164–66.

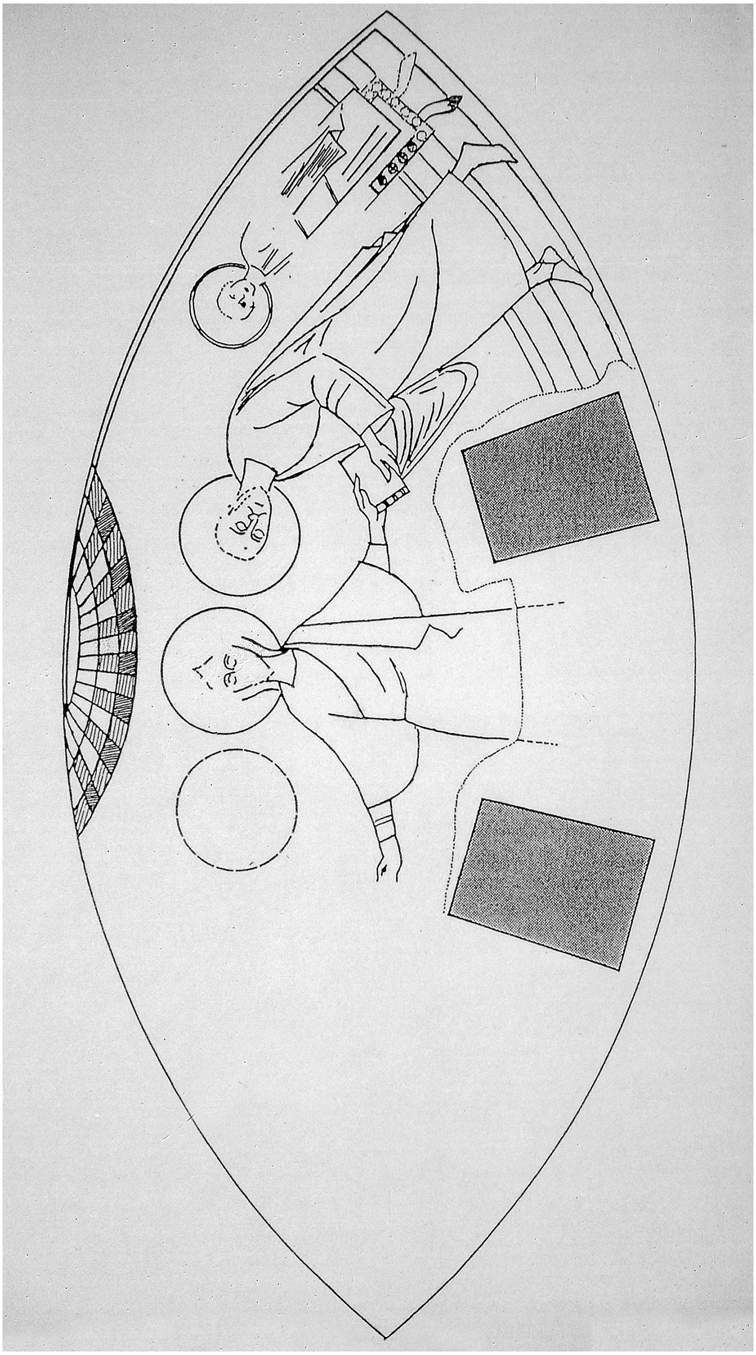

Figura 6. Capua, chiesa di San Michele a Corte, disegno ricostruttivo del Belting: l’immagine affrescata nell’abside della cripta (*Traditio legis et clavium*). (foto: B. Visentin)

secondo quanto stabilì il pontefice Giovanni VIII nominando Landonolfo, fratello del principe di Capua, sulla cattedra della nuova città sul Volturno e l'esule Landolfo nella sede della città antica.[21] Dai lavori di Cilento sono chiari gli interessi che legarono in questi anni la politica espansionistica del principe longobardo ed il pontefice, favorendo forse la costruzione, da parte di Pandonolfo, di una cappella di palazzo dove si traducessero in immagini lo schieramento della famiglia del principe al fianco del successore di Pietro e la legittimità della sede episcopale della Nuova Capua. Si giustificherebbero in questo modo le rappresentazioni della Consegna della Legge e delle Chiavi, dei miracoli di Cristo e dei martiri Stefano e Agata. Il Cristo nell'atto di consegnare la Legge e le Chiavi ai due corifèi degli Apostoli legittimava l'autorità della Chiesa romana e il suo primato sulle altre chiese, primato che sottintendeva il potere.

La parte superiore della cappella mostra un impianto notevolmente rimaneggiato, l'ingresso con triforio va riferito ad un probabile ampliamento tardo duecentesco e l'assenza di tracce murarie, che indichino i limiti della cappella in questo punto, permette di ipotizzare che il triforio appartenne ad una sorta di piccolo nartece, costituendo uno spazio esterno al S. Michele. La zona del presbiterio, ulteriormente rialzata rispetto al resto della chiesa, è inaugurata da un nuovo triforio in mattoncini (fig. 5), che pare richiamare quello dell'ingresso, mentre le colonne che reggono gli archetti delimitano una sorta di passaggio laterale. La copertura prevede un alto tiburio a pianta quadrata e l'unica decorazione superstite, con successivi rimaneggiamenti, è un affresco raffigurante l'Arcangelo Michele, disposto nell'emiciclo absidale e riferibile al XVI secolo.

Nella lettura delle varie fasi edilizie riconoscibili nel S. Michele a Corte non pare rintracciarsi alcun elemento riconducibile ad un intervento di età normanna; dal momento in cui la cappella venne costruita, nella seconda metà del secolo IX, le tracce architettoniche testimoniano un ampliamento databile al tardo XIII secolo e, successivamente, una completa rivisitazione della zona absidale nel pieno cinquecento. Ad ogni modo credo si possa parlare, per la maggior parte degli edifici longobardi di Capua, di una fase di ristrutturazione normanna, intesa a rendere manifesta l'avvenuta sostituzione dei nuovi dominatori agli antichi. Le evidenze rintracciate nelle chiese di S. Salvatore e di S. Giovanni, la ricostruzione della vecchia Cattedrale longobarda secondo un'iconografia basilicale, con cripta e quadriportico, cui si affianca l'imponente campanile, richiamano un programma edilizio ben documentato anche a Salerno, all'indomani della conquista del Guiscardo.

Capua appare una città in ascesa, nata longobarda sopravvive alla sua gente e si prepara all'epilogo dell'età sveva. I consistenti rifacimenti databili al pieno XIII secolo, messi in luce per le prime due cappelle a Corte, i resti architettonici e scultorei della monumentale porta di Federico II, danno sentore di quello che dovette essere il grandioso progetto dell'imperatore svevo.

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[21] Ibid., pp. 121–36.

Avviandomi alla conclusione vorrei riflettere sulla possibile esistenza di una relazione tra la costruzione di tre cappelle definite ‘a Corte’, all’interno della nuova città di Capua, e la progressiva affermazione di un Principato autonomo, fondato sulla gemmazione di signorie familiari, legate alla capitale da vincoli di parentela. Una chiesa privata, di committenza nobiliare, nasce quale segno di identità per la stirpe fondatrice e quale simbolo di tradizione di una famiglia, divenendo il punto di forza della sopravvivenza di tutto un popolo. Le cappelle si presentano come centri importanti all’interno dei quali si mantiene viva, per gli eredi, la coscienza della discendenza diretta e dell’appartenenza comune alla stirpe del fondatore. Questo ‘cordone ombelicale’, che lega al gruppo tutti i membri di una stessa famiglia, giustifica l’indivisibilità delle chiese private e costituisce uno degli elementi fondanti il potere. Le lotte domestiche che dilaniarono la Contea capuana tra l’879 e l’882, minandone alla radice i principi di sopravvivenza, potrebbero aver prodotto, sul piano insediativo, la costruzione di numerosi edifici, soprattutto religiosi, nei quali i personaggi che di volta in volta segnarono le sorti della nascente città sul Volturno, rappresentanti di famiglie diverse, vennero riconoscendosi. L’ascesa di Atenolfo I, segno del successo di tutta la dinastia capuana, probabilmente tolse alle cappelle la loro ragione di essere e queste presero a mutare il loro ruolo: la proprietà delle chiese risultò divisa tra i vari eredi, fino a passare nelle mani di signori differenti. La potente signoria inaugurata da Atenolfo e l’affermazione del principio dinastico associativo davano, per la prima volta, continuità logica all’indirizzo politico del Principato.

Formation of Identity and Appearance of North Italian Signoral Families in the Fourteenth Century

CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH WEBER

A citizen of a commune in medieval Italy who belonged to the governing class of his city had to show his status in public. But if in doing so he presumed more than he was entitled to in the eyes of his fellow citizens, he was likely to find himself at a social dead end, and he could still be glad if he only became the target of the mockery of his neighbourhood. This happened in the case of a Florentine craftsman who needed a shield of arms for an office he was about to take up. To this end, he took a shield to a painter, to whom he only gave the instruction to paint his coat of arms on it. When he came back in order to fetch the shield, the master had painted on it not a coat of arms, but pictures of arms. Moreover, he scolded his stupefied customer with the following words:

> You must be a big jackass! If one asked you: 'who are you?' you would hardly be able to say it, and there you come and say: 'paint me my coat of arms'. If you had belonged to the Bardi family, that would have been sufficient. What coat of arms do you have? Which is your origin? Who were your ancestors? *Deh*, that you are not ashamed![1]

Franco Sacchetti, himself a descendant of an old Florentine family, wrote down this story shortly before 1400, because the painter who felt offended in his professional self-esteem was his famous compatriot Giotto. In addition, the anecdote was intended to instruct its readers about how important it was to estimate correctly one's status in medieval urban society. The family coat of arms was a crucial medium for this. Its appearance and use visualized even the finer social gradations within the civic ruling class. Thus Opicinus de Canistris wrote in 1330 that in his hometown of Pavia the families of the *Populus* and of the nobility did not differ regarding their ways of living and their households.[2] Their social affiliation became visible only in the basic colours of their coats of arms, which were divided into white and black for the noblemen and red for the *Populares.*[3] In this way, the individual families were integrated in a visual and symbolic way into the social and political structure of their city.

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[1] 'déi essere una gran bestia, che chi ti dicesse: "Chi se'tu?" a pena lo sapresti dire; e giungi qui, e di': "Dipignimi l'arme mia". Se tu fussi stato de' Bardi, serebbe bastato. Che arma porti tu? Di qua' se' tu? Chi furono gli antichi tuoi? Deh, che non ti vergogni!': Franco Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. by Valerio Marucci, I Novellieri Italiani, 6 (Rome: Salerno, 1996), no. LXIII, pp. 181–83.

Starting from this background, I will examine in this essay the representation of families which belonged to the social elite of North Italian city-states and which succeeded in establishing a *signoria* during the fourteenth century by leaning on the continuous rule over their commune. The so-called *signori* represented a new type of ruler. Their rulership was founded on the social and political structures of the Italian city-communes, whose development has recently been examined from a general point of view by Philip Jones.[4] Their power was based on the consensus of the majority of the politically active citizens, who delegated the lordship to them.

My basic question is the same as the one in Sacchetti's anecdote: 'who are you?' It addresses the new kinds of political identities that these families developed in their new positions as lords, and it leads to further questions about the ways in which they made their power visible. What did these lords do to make a good show in public? By which instruments did they attempt to legitimize their status?

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[2] On the households of citizens from communal Italy in the late Middle Ages, see David Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, Studies in Cultural History (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), chs 4–6 (pp. 79–159 and 199–214), and Charles de La Roncière, 'La vie privée des notables toscans au seuil de la Renaissance', in *Histoire de la vie privée*, ed. by Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, vol. II, *De l'Europe féodale à la Renaissance* (Paris: Seuil, 1985), pp. 162–309 and 625–26.

[3] *Anonymi Ticinensis Liber de laudibus civitatis ticinensis*, ed. by Rodolfo Maiocchi and Ferruccio Quintavalle, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, n.s., 11.1 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1903), p. 31. Cf. Richard Salomon, *Opicinus de Canistris: Weltbild und Bekenntnisse eines avignonesischen Klerikers des 14. Jahrhunderts*, with contributions by Adelheid Heimann and Richard Krautheimer, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 1 A/B, 2 vols (London: Warburg Institute, 1936); and Hagen Keller, 'Adel, Rittertum und Ritterstand nach italienischen Zeugnissen des 11.–14. Jahrhunderts', in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener, and Thomas Zotz (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1984), pp. 581–608 (pp. 586–87); idem, 'Adel in den italienischen Kommunen', in *Nobilitas: Funktion und Repräsentation des Adels in Alteuropa*, ed. by Otto Gerhard Oexle and Werner Paravicini, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 133 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), pp. 257–72 (pp. 258–59).

[4] Philip Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Though these questions refer to the entire inventory of medieval symbolic communication, this paper concentrates only on one part to find an answer: representation by means of heraldry and insignia.[5] For the following examples I will focus on two signoral families from the modern region of Veneto, the Della Scala of Verona and the Da Carrara of Padua.[6] There will also be some comparative side glances, particularly at the Visconti of Milan.

Which transitions in the representation of these two families can be found in the formation of their rule from the beginnings until the consolidation of continuous and hereditary lordship? Which coats of arms and insignia did they use at the transitional stages in the process of the evolution in representation of signoral power? I think one can explore the formation of signoral identity especially in situations where the *signore* and his family came into contact either with the communal elite or with superior political units like the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore my question does not concern a 'private' or 'individual', but rather the 'political identity' of a family and its exponents.

The appearance of a *signore* with coats of arms and insignia has to be seen in its specific situation and from the background of the wider contexts and traditions of the signs. Family arms were not the only ones to be seen in public space. The civic institutions also made use of a complex system of heraldic signs. From the late twelfth century onwards, both the commune and urban corporations, factions and parties like the *popolo*, the institutionalized Guelfs and Ghibellines, guilds and armed companies possessed coats of arms.[7] Particularly from the studies of Richard C. Trexler we know how these arms were used in public, for example in the form of banners.[8]

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[5] On medieval heraldry as historical source, see Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris: Picard, 1979; 3rd edn, 1997), and Werner Paravicini, 'Gruppe und Person: Repräsentation durch Wappen im späteren Mittelalter', in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen: Texte – Bilder – Objekte*, ed. by Otto Gerhard Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 141 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 327–89.

[6] Biographies with further literature on single members of these families can be found in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 59 vols to date (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–) XX (1977), s.v. 'Carrara', and XXXVII (1989), s.v. 'Della Scala'. Cf. also *Gli scaligeri 1277–1387: Saggi e schede pubblicati in occasione della mostra storico-documentaria allestita dal Museo di Castelvecchio di Verona (giugno–novembre 1988)*, ed. by Gian Maria Varanini (Verona: Mondadori, 1988); Gian Maria Varanini, 'Istituzioni, società e politica nel Veneto dal comune alla signoria (secolo XIII – 1329)', in *Il Veneto nel medioevo: Dai comuni cittadini al predominio scaligero nella Marca*, ed. by Andrea Castagnetti and Gian Maria Varanini (Verona: Banca Popolare di Verona, 1991), pp. 263–422; idem, 'Propaganda dei regimi signorili: le esperienze venete del Trecento', in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento*, ed. by Paolo Cammarosano, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 201 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994), pp. 311–43; Benjamin G. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); idem, *Culture and Politics in Early Renaissance Padua*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 728 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Both familiar and official heraldry were part of the wider context of communal political representation.[9] This was an elementary component of medieval government, realized in the ritualized forms of symbolic communication, where signs, insignia, and certain gestures were used to demonstrate the mutual relationship of the participants.[10] In a similar manner, coats of arms and banners were used beyond their military function as political symbols that contributed to the creation of common identities.[11] For their representation in office, communal office-holders like the *podestà* also used their families' arms.[12] Even today they are visible as sculptures, mostly of fifteenth-century officials, on the façades of medieval Italian communal palaces.[13] Along similar lines, the *podestà*, the temporary chief magistrate of the thirteenth-century commune, had to appear in knightly armour: 'he shall be furnished with arms, abundant in horses and vestments'.[14] The image of the *podestà* as a judge but also as a knight was visible, for example, in the hall of the Paduan communal palace, where his bench was underneath the fresco of a mounted knight painted between 1271 and 1277.[15] During the thirteenth century the arms of families and political entities were used together in the representation of the communes. As tools of political practice, they were also imagined as symbols of the values of chivalry, a central aspect of the contemporary imagery of good government.[16] Another vivid example for this is the type of seal used by communes like Pistoia and Pavia that shows a mounted knight with the banner of the commune.[17]

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[7] A vivid impression of the richness of communal heraldry in late medieval Italy is given by the famous illustrations of Giovanni Sercambi's chronicle of Lucca; see Giovanni Sercambi, *Chronice*, ed. by Salvatore Bongi, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 19–21, 3 vols (Lucca: Giusti, 1892); idem, *Le illustrazioni delle Croniche nel codice Lucchese*, with historical and artistic comments by Ottavio Banti and Maria Laura Testi Cristiani, Accademia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere e Arti: Studi e testi, 10, 2 vols (Genoa: Basile, 1978).

[8] Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academic Press, 1980; repr. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); idem, 'Follow the Flag: The Ciompi Revolt Seen from the Streets', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 46 (1984), 357–92.

[9] Thomas Szabó, 'Die Visualisierung städtischer Ordnung in den Kommunen Italiens', in *Visualisierung städtischer Ordnung: Zeichen – Abzeichen – Hoheitszeichen*, ed. by Hermann Maué, Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums und Berichte aus dem Forschungsinstitut für Realienkunde (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1993), pp. 55–68.

[10] Cf. *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, ed. by Gerd Althoff, Vorträge und Forschungen, 51 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001); *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary, Publications of the German Historical Institute (Washington: German Historical Institute; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[11] For the *carroccio*, the waggon with the commune's standard, as a symbol of civic identity and patriotism, see Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 3rd edn (Harlow: Longman, 1988), pp. 100–02, and Ernst Voltmer, *Il carroccio*, Biblioteca di cultura storica, 205 (Torino: Einaudi, 1994).

[12] See, for example, the picture of Laçarius Gerardini Glandonis of Lucca, *podestà* of Genoa in 1227, in the *Annales Ianuenses*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10136, fol. 141r, as facsimile in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, vol. III, ed. by Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 13 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1923), between pp. 16 and 17.

[13] Szabó, 'Visualisierung', pp. 62–63; *Stemmi nel Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, ed. by Francesca Fumi Cambi Gado (Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1993).

Proceeding from these observations, I will first investigate the family arms of the Della Scala and Da Carrara and their significance for the status of the two families in the communal society of Verona and Padua. Then we will look at the grants of other arms and insignia to these families, which confirmed their new status as rulers. For that purpose I have chosen two exemplary events: the signoral promotion, carried out by the commune, of Giacomo Grande da Carrara in 1318, and the grant of the title of an imperial vicar to Alboino and Cangrande I della Scala by Emperor Henry VII in 1311. In addition, I will analyse the image of Cangrande I at the end of his reign found on the remains of his first monumental tomb. The sculpture on Cangrande's tomb also combines the aspects of early signoral strategies of showing status and leads to our last example, an event from the time of Francesco Novello da Carrara, which serves to illustrate the changes that had taken place during the fourteenth century.

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[14] Orfinus of Lodi, *De regimine et sapientia potestatis*, ed. by Luciana Castelnuovo, *Archivio storico lodigiano*, 16 (1968), 3–125 (v. 495, p. 48): 'armis dotatus sit, equis et veste beatus'. Orfinus, an *iudex* of Frederick of Antioch in the 1240s, gives in his poem a detailed description of the household of a *podestà*. On these officials, see now *I podestà dell'Italia comunale. Parte I: Reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine* XII *sec.–metà* XIV *sec.)*, ed. by Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, 2 vols, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo: Nuovi studi storici, 51 / Collection de l'École française de Rome, 268 (Rome: École française de Rome and Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000).

[15] *Statuti del Comune di Padova dal secolo* XII *all'anno 1285*, ed. by Andrea Gloria (Padua: Sacchetto, 1873), I,4,61 (p. 27) and IV,14,1176 (p. 359).

[16] Cf. C. Jean Campbell, *The Game of Courting and the Art of the Commune of San Gimignano, 1290–1320* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[17] Giacomo C. Bascapé, *Sigillografia: Il sigillo nella diplomatica, nel diritto, nella storia, nell'arte*, vol. 1, *Sigillografia generale: I sigilli pubblici e quelli privati*, Archivio della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa, prima collana, 10 (Milan: Giuffrè, 1969), pp. 195–205. Bascapé states that this type of seal reflects the period in the history of the Italian communes in the early twelfth century when the dominance of the nobility was yet unbroken. Though most of his examples are from the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, it would seem rash to argue that they must represent an older type from an earlier constitutional stage of the commune, only because their imagery is identified with it. Cf. Harald Drös and Hermann Jakobs, 'Die Zeichen einer neuen Klasse: Zur Typologie der frühen Stadtsiegel', in *Bild und Geschichte: Studien zur politischen Ikonographie. Festschrift für Hansmartin Schwarzmaier zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Konrad Krimm and Herwig John (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 125–78 (pp. 140–42).

The Communal Background of the Families' Arms

Both Scaligeri and Carraresi bore canting arms whose charges alluded to the families' surnames. The arms of the Della Scala are *Gules a ladder with four sometimes five rungs palewise Argent*, those of the Da Carrara are *Argent a cart palewise and displayed Gules*.[18] Evidence of the use of these family coats of arms only becomes available for us from the time when these families were already in a dominant position in their cities. But since we can assume that they developed their coats of arms under the conditions of the thirteenth-century commune, we will first explore the implications and the social use of their families' arms in the context of the rise of the Scaligeri and the Carraresi in the communal society.

The society that developed the political system of the commune since the eleventh century was divided into estates.[19] Its ruling class had a noble status, but also high social mobility, which led to a lot of different shapes and shades of nobility. Our two families are classic examples of this. The Da Carrara took part in the formation of a communal nobility, described generally by Hagen Keller as the 'development of a "feudal society", whose noble ruling class had to define their place between a dominating city and the essentially rural basis of their social position and power'.[20] At the beginning of the twelfth century, they already owned a major estate centred upon the castle *Carraria* at the foot of the Euganeian Hills.[21] When parts of the family later moved from this stronghold in the contado into Padua they named themselves after their ancestral home.

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[18] Cf. Bascapé, *Sigillografia*, pp. 264–69, and Giacomo Bascapé, Marcello Del Piazzo, and Luigi Borgia, *Insegne e simboli: Araldica pubblica e privata, medievale e moderna*, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato: Sussidi, 11 (Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, 1983; repr. 1999), pp. 298 and 313.

[19] The following titles represent only a selection: Waley, *Italian City-Republics*; Jones, *Italian City-State*; Hagen Keller, *Adelsherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien, 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 52 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979); idem, 'Das *Edictum de beneficiis* Konrads II. und die Entwicklung des Lehnswesens in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts', in *Il feudalesimo nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 47, vol. I (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2000), pp. 227–57. See the recent discussion in Chris Wickham, 'Le forme del feudalesimo', in *Il feudalesimo nell'alto medioevo*, pp. 15–46.

[20] Keller, *Adelsherrschaft*, p. 6. Cf. John Kenneth Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966), pp. 80–83.

[21] In 1114 Emperor Henry V confirmed all the clan's estates in a charter; *Acta Imperii selecta: Urkunden deutscher Könige und Kaiser 928–1398, mit einem Anhang von Reichssachen*,

Meanwhile, the Della Scala had reached a noble-like position in Verona through the social status of an *iudex*. Several members of the family took up this career of legal experts and judges. With Balduino I the family provided a consul of Verona for the first time in 1147.[22] Access to high offices like that of a consul or later that of a *podestà* demanded a purse filled with money. The family's honour and their own knightly appearance had to be flaunted: as mounted and armed knights in the military contingent of the city, which these men commanded during their term of office.[23] This expectation is explained in a passage that was added to the statutes of Verona for the composition of the *Liber iuris civilis urbis Veronae* in 1228. It claims that communal offices should only be held by *milites* and those 'who have horses and bear knightly arms'.[24] That was the moment when the arms became relevant. Because of their primary military function, coats of arms were ideal symbols of the rank of knighthood, which was, as aforementioned, linked to social status, and of the claims to the important offices retained by the powerful families of the city.[25] This aristocracy displayed its claims and rights by choosing arms, which became hereditary symbols of the families and demonstrated their continuity and unity.

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ed. by Johann Friedrich Böhmer, ed. posthumously by Julius Ficker (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1870; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1967), no. 77, p. 72.

[22] For the early history of the Della Scala, see Andrea Castagnetti, 'Formazione e vicende della signoria scaligera', in *Gli scaligeri*, pp. 3–16.

[23] See John of Viterbo, *Liber de regimine civitatum*, ed. by Caietano Salvemini, in *Scripta anecdota glossatorum*, ed. by Augusto Gaudenzi, Bibliotheca iuridica medii aevi, 3 (Bologna: Monti, 1901), pp. 215–80, no. XI, pp. 220–22, on the idealized qualities of a *podestà*, and no. CXXXVI, pp. 273–75, on his command over the civic army. On this kind of literature, cf. Fritz Hertter, *Die Podestàliteratur Italiens im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1910), and, placing it in a wider literary context, Quentin Skinner, 'Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Artist as Political Philosopher', in *Malerei und Stadtkultur in der Dantezeit: Die Argumentation der Bilder*, ed. by Hans Belting and Dieter Blume (Munich: Hirmer, 1989), pp. 85–103. The already mentioned Laçarius Gerardini Glandonis, a tough soldier, impressed the Genoese and among them the author of the 'Annales Ianuenses' as a *Miles formosus*; *Annali Genovesi*, ed. by Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, III, 16–36 (p. 16).

[24] Quoted from Ernst Salzer, *Über die Anfänge der Signorie in Oberitalien: Ein Beitrag zur italienischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, Ebering's Historische Studien, 14 (Berlin: Ebering, 1900), p. 18: 'qui tenuerint et habuerint equos et arma militaria'. Cf. Varanini, 'Istituzioni', p. 289, and Peter Lütke Westhues, *Die Kommunalstatuten von Verona im 13. Jahrhundert: Formen und Funktionen von Recht und Schrift in einer oberitalienischen Kommune*, Gesellschaft, Kultur und Schrift: Mediävistische Beiträge, 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 17–21 and 33–45.

[25] See Keller, 'Adel in den italienischen Kommunen', and Franco Cardini, *L'acciar de' cavalieri: Studi sulla cavalleria nel mondo toscano e italico (secc. XII–XV)*, Le vie della storia, 30 (Florence: Le Lettere, 1997).

So far, we can assume that in the thirteenth century our two families made use of their arms in a context of knightly representation. It probably did not differ considerably from that of their noble fellow citizens. With this in mind I will now turn to the second section by taking a look at the arms and insignia being used at a *signore*'s promotion.

Establishing Signoral Rule: Communal and Imperial Symbols

In Verona the Della Scala established their dominance after the death of Ezzelino III da Romano in 1259. The break-through of the Da Carrara *signoria* over Padua was connected with the expansion of the Scaligeri into the Marca Trevigiana in the following decades.[26] The political and military pressure reached a critical level for the city on the Brenta in the time of Cangrande I della Scala. In this situation the city council decided to elect a *signore* on 25 July 1318. The Paduan chronicler Andrea Gatari recorded the events of this day.[27] It began with the assembly of the *Consiglio generale* of the city. After a prayer for divine inspiration to make the right choice, the *communis opinio* decided that Giacomo da Carrara was the right one, because he was 'from the most noble and worthy house of Carrara, splendid among the others', and he personally possessed virtues like justice, courtliness, and patriotism.[28]

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[26] Sante Bortolami, 'Politica e cultura nell'import-export del personale itinerante di governo dell'Italia medioevale: il caso di Padova comunale', in *I podestà dell'Italia comunale*, ed. by Maire Vigueur, I, 203–58 (p. 237).

[27] *Chronicon Patavinum*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. XVII, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Milan: Typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1730), cols 1–944. On the chroniclers from the Gatari family as exponents of the milieu of the Paduan patriciate under the rule of the Carraresi, see Girolamo Arnaldi and Lidia Capo, 'I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca Trevigiana', in *Storia della Cultura Veneta*, vol. II, *Il Trecento* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976), pp. 272–337 (pp. 331–37); Isabella Lazzarini, 'Gatari, Andrea' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LII (1999), 538–39; eadem, 'Gatari, Galeazzo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LII, 539–42. Cf. also Kohl, *Padua*, pp. 39–42.

[28] Virtues are the classical argument to legitimate medieval power and government. Cf. for our context Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Francis J. Carmody, University of California publications in modern philology, 22 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), where they are discussed in the second book, accompanied later by a manual for the governance of a city, II, 73–105 (pp. 391–422); see here on the need of virtues like justice and noblesse for the *signore* to be elected, II, 74–76 (pp. 392–96). On Brunetto's method and intentions for his 'political encyclopedia', see Christel Meier, 'Cosmos politicus: Der Funktionswandel der Enzyklopädie bei Brunetto Latini', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 22 (1988), 315–56. The literature on virtues in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is immense. A summary from the art historian's point of view is given by Michaela Bautz, *Virtvtes: Studien zu Funktion und Ikonographie der Tugenden im Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: dissertation.de, 1999).

Giacomo's reaction was to refuse the honour and that — according to the historian — convinced everyone attending all the more. I quote from the following passage:

> When the council had heard his good response, he was accompanied to the palace of the commune of Padua and was given there the gonfalon of the *popolo* which was totally white with a red cross in the middle, and then he was given the book of statutes, he swore on it to observe it and to do law and justice to all.[29]

The model for this political ritual was the ceremonial sequence that accompanied the inauguration of a *podestà* or *capitano del popolo*.[30] The grant of the *popolo*'s banner and the oath on the statutes were constitutive elements of this civic ritual which was practised annually in cities all over northern and central Italy, and which had long since been a centerpiece of the commune's identity. The difference between this event and the customary ritual was of course that the governance over the city was not given to a foreigner for a predefined period of time, but indefinitely to Padua's most powerful *Cittadino*. That is why Andrea Gatari accentuates Giacomo's patriotism, which is obviously missing among the virtues required in the thirteenth-century *podestà*-manuals.

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[29] My translation. The entire episode is to be found in *Chronicon Patavinum*, cols 10E–12C: 'Era la Città di Padova per tal guerra in grandi affanni e travagli per le continue spese, & altre occorrenze, che quelle nutriscono; e parendo per la via di Commune non trovare espedizione a i fatti pertinenti a tale bisogno, nè atta provisione al riscatto di ciò, che avevano perduto, nè difensione a custodire il possesso del restante, che tenevano, deliberarono col favore e consiglio divino di fare nella Città elezione di un Cittadino, che avesse la Signoria e libertà di dominare, e a suo volere liberamente disponere sì della Città, come d'ogni altra cosa pertinente alle giurisdizioni sue, per utile e benefizio di tutti. Et essendo le parti grandi tra'Cittadini, non sapevano che deliberare, & a chi tale elezione potesse toccare. Si fece adunque Consiglio generale per la Communità, e primo pregato il Redentor nostro Gesù Cristo, che per sua spirazione si degnasse mostrare tra tanto numero di Nobili Cittadini, che vi si trovavano, a chi toccar dovesse il carico, & honorevole titolo di tale Signoria, & essendo il Consiglio ridotto in varj proponimenti, parve che di commun volere fosse fatta elezione di Messer Giacomo Grande della Nobilissima, e degna Casa da Carrara, splendida tra le altre; e tale elezione sentita da lui, subito la rifiutò, e per condizione alcuna acconsentire non volle. Il che vedendo il Consiglio, e i maggiori Cittadini, pregaronlo caldamente e con efficaci ragioni mostrarongli, che in ogni modo egli tal carico doveva accettare. Essendo Messer Giacomo huomo giusto, amorevole, & ingegnoso, costumato, e di grandissima bontà, e considerato il bisogno della sua cara e diletta Patria, humanamente tale elezione e carico accettò, offerendosi insieme con tutta Casa sua a mantenere la giustizia, e la ragione della sua Città, & essere ricordevole di tale dignitade e benefizio, & ad ognuno che potesse giustamente giovare. Udendo il Consiglio la sua buona risposta, il condusse nel Palazzo del Commune di Padova, e gli dette il Confalone del Popolo, che è bianco tutto con la Croce rossa nel mezzo, e dipoi gli dette il Libro de gli Statuti, sopra il quale giurò d'osservarli, e far ragione e giustizia a tutti. Fu tale elezione l'anno di Nostro Signore 1318. alli 24. Luglio il giorno di S. Giacomo, e S. Cristoforo; & in memoria ogni anno si correa un pallio di velluto di grana per la strada di Ponte Corbo, e stava il pallio su la piazza della biava alle zopellarie. E fu di tanto contento di tutti tale elezione, che generalmente ne fecero gran consolazione e festa.'

[30] A model for this is given in the manuals of John of Viterbo, *Liber de regimine civitatum*, nos XXXIII–LVII, pp. 227–34, and Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor*, III, 80–87 (pp. 400–09). The forthcoming study of Christoph Dartmann deals with this topic: 'Adventus ohne Stadtherr – "Herrschereinzüge" in den italienischen Stadtkommunen', in *Adventusstudien*, ed. by Peter Johanek, Angelika Lampen, and Regine Schweers (forthcoming).

If we apply Hagen Keller's interpretation of medieval investiture as presenting a symbolic image of a political order to the act as described by Gatari, we can understand the *signoria* from its image not as a break with, but as a derivation from the political order of the commune, which continued to exist.[31] Giacomo da Carrara became the lord of the city when he was invested with the banner that bore the arms of the *popolo*.

The setting also strengthened the symbolic value of the ritual and its tools. By chance, we have a description of the *Salone*, the Paduan communal palace, from the period of Giacomo's promotion. It is a part of the *Visio Egidij*, written by the *iudex* Giovanni da Nono, who from 1310 had worked at the courts of justice, which had their place in the hall of the 'principale palacium, in quo ius reddi facient'.[32] Giovanni describes the east end of the hall with St Martin's chapel and the 'dischum sigilli' next to it where the 'sigillum magnum communis' was preserved.[33] Here the *podestà* normally sat, and here was the place where the 'maius consilium' had assembled when they had restored the communal order after the liberation from the rule of Ezzelino da Romano.[34] After 1306, its windows were 'made of white glass, on which gleamed the sign of the red holy cross of the city of Padua'.[35] Giacomo da Carrara's legitimation as the first *signore* from the Da Carrara family emerged from the Paduan state imagery, especially from the communal coat of arms. Only this was able to represent that his power was based on the consensus of the community. His own arms with the red cart displayed his personal status, which was decisive for his election, but his appearance as the new lord of the city followed the model of officials like a *podestà*.

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[31] Hagen Keller, 'Die Investitur: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der "Staatssymbolik" im Hochmittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 27 (1993), 51–86.

[32] Giovanni da Nono, *Visio Egidij regis Patavie*, in *Cronache e cronisti padovani*, ed. by Giovanni Fabris, introd. by Lino Lazzarini (Padua: Rebellato, 1977), pp. 139–55 (p. 150). Hyde, *Padua*, pp. 29–43, already followed Giovanni as his cicerone on a walk through communal Padua.

[33] Giovanni da Nono, *Visio Egidij*, p. 151, and *Statuti del Comune di Padova*, I,17 (pp. 70–71).

[34] Cf. Hyde, *Padua*, pp. 1–2.

[35] Giovanni da Nono, *Visio Egidij*, p. 155: 'ex vitro albo, in quo fulgebit signum sancte crucis rubee paduane urbis'.

The importance that the Carraresi attached to the banner, a traditional communal sign of power, until the end of their reign is demonstrated by their portraits in the *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria*. Here, only those who had received the banner in reality hold it in their hands.[36] This splendid manuscript belongs to the corpus of the *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis*. The name stands for a collection of manuscripts composed for the last ruling Carraresi, Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco Novello.[37] Another miniature from the *Gesta*, produced about 1390, shows the investiture of Giacomo Grande mentioned before.[38] The scene is nearly identical with the proclamation of Guido Tarlati as *signore* of Arezzo, which can be found on his tomb from 1330.[39] The striking similarity can be explained by the derivation of these new forms of signoral representation from their common origin in communal ritual.

Another way of representing the legitimacy of signoral rule was the use of the banner of the Holy Roman Empire, which was granted to imperial vicars as, for example, in the case of Matteo Visconti after his promotion to the vicariate over Milan by King Adolf of Nassau in 1294.[40] The Milanese Dominican Galvaneo Fiamma reports in his *Chronica Galvagnana* that the Visconti then 'called himself vicar of the Holy Empire and displayed the imperial eagles in his banner'.[41] This authorization of power became more desirable and valuable with the stronger presence of the emperors of the House of Luxemburg in the *Regnum Italicum* at the same time, an issue which will be examined more closely in the next section in the discussion of the annexation of Vicenza.[42]

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[36] Varanini, 'Istituzioni', figs 63–65, p. 392. The exception is Nicolò da Carrara, who never became *signore*: Vittorio Lazzarini, 'Libri di Francesco Novello da Carrara', *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Padova*, n.s., 18 (1901–02), 25–36; repr. in idem, *Scritti di Paleografia e diplomatica*, 2nd edn, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 6 (Padua: Antenore, 1969), pp. 274–83 (p. 280).

[37] Lazzarini, 'Libri'; Arnaldi and Capo, 'I cronisti', pp. 319–31.

[38] Kohl, *Padua*, fig. 5, p. 40; cf. fig. 7, p. 70.

[39] Georgina Pelham, 'Reconstructing the Programme of the Tomb of Guido Tarlati, Bishop and Lord of Arezzo', in *Art, Politics, and Civic Religion in Central Italy 1261–1352: Essays by Postgraduate Students at the Courtauld Institute of Art*, ed. by Joanna Cannon and Beth Williamson, Courtauld Research Papers, 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 71–115 (fig. 3.5, p. 105).

[40] On the office, see Eberhard Isenmann, 'Reichsvikar, -iat', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. VII (Munich: LexMA, 1995), cols 647–48; on the banner(s) of the empire, see Adalbert Erler, 'Reichsfahne', in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. IV (Berlin: Schmidt, 1990), cols 567–69.

[41] 'Et tunc Matheus Vicecomes se vicarium sacri imperii intitulavit et aquilas imperiales in suo vexillo portavit.' Edited in Barbara Sasse Tateo, 'Die Zitierung kommunaler Register in den Chroniken des Galvaneo Fiamma', in *Kommunales Schriftgut in Oberitalien: Formen, Funktionen, Überlieferung*, ed. by Hagen Keller and Thomas Behrmann, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 68 (Munich: Fink, 1995), pp. 283–303 (p. 300).

Legitimizing Signoral and Communal Power: The Imperial Arms

When Henry VII crossed the Alps in 1310, Alboino and Cangrande I della Scala put themselves at his command.[43] According to the Paduan Albertino Mussato, their ambassadors claimed before the king that the Scaligeri had already made use of the imperial arms to maintain the rights of the empire.[44] In return for their service they were invested as imperial vicars of Verona in 1311.[45] Vicenza, situated halfway between Verona and Padua, 'a lamb between wolves' as the town's native poet and historian Ferreto Ferreti put it, revolted shortly afterwards against the Paduan rule.[46] This happened on 15 April 1311. On the following day Cangrande took the city by treason.[47]

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[42] See William M. Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City-State, 1310–1313* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960); Ellen Widder, *Itinerar und Politik: Studien zur Reiseherrschaft Karls IV. südlich der Alpen*, Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters: Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, 10 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993); Roland Pauler, *Die deutschen Könige und Italien im 14. Jahrhundert: Von Heinrich VII. bis Karl IV.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), and Jörg K. Hoensch, *Die Luxemburger: Eine spätmittelalterliche Dynastie gesamteuropäischer Bedeutung, 1308–1437* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

[43] *Acta Henrici VII Romanorum Imperatoris*, ed. by Francesco Bonaini, vol. I (Florence: Cellini, 1877; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1970), no. 47, pp. 60–61; *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, vol. IV.1, ed. by Jakob Schwalm, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1906), no. 477, pp. 430–31.

[44] 'Accessere, & Albuini, ac Canis *della* Scala Veronae Dominatorum viri solemnes legati, quos Aquilas, clypeumque Romani gestasse Imperii, servasseque constare ajebant personarum discriminibus, per quorum praedecessores, & in mortem itum fuerat': Albertino Mussato, *De gestis Heinrici VII. Caesaris, Historia Augusta*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. X, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Milan: Typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1727), cols 9–568 (I,10, col. 333B); cf. Maria Elisabeth Franke, *Kaiser Heinrich VII. im Spiegel der Historiographie: Eine faktenkritische und quellenkundliche Untersuchung ausgewählter Geschichtsschreiber der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters: Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, 9 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 25–76.

[45] Varanini, 'Istituzioni', p. 387.

[46] Varanini, 'Istituzioni', p. 394. On him, see Sante Bortolami, 'Ferreti, Ferreto de'', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XLVII, 57–60.

[47] In January 1312 he also gained the vicariate for Vicenza; Gian Maria Varanini, 'Sul dominio scaligero a Vicenza (1312–1387)', in *Gli scaligeri*, pp. 35–40.

An anonymous Paduan, who at the same time wrote a *Chronicon de potestatibus Paduae*, informs us how the lords of Verona redeemed their symbolic option.[48] Quite upset, he wrote that they entered Vicenza 'under the name and the banner of the king'.[49] He had reasons to be upset, because his hometown had also done homage to Henry VII and had accepted its own imperial vicar to keep its possessions.[50] Now the Paduans were faced with a loss that set an end to their short-time supremacy in the Marca Trevigiana. The chronicle ends with a description of their behaviour in this situation:

> after the ending of the council and the general assembly of the people, they gave his [Henry VII's] vicar the name 'podestà'. He swore among other things to govern the city of Padua according to the form of the statutes and in the usual order of the commune like a *podestà*. And they took the royal arms off the palace and the places where they had been depicted.[51]

Henry VII's reaction to this was to put Padua to the Ban of the Empire on 16 May 1313.[52] The document ends with a list of names of citizens who were proscribed as heads of the revolt. Significantly, we discover at the top of this list, just after the Este, the name of Giacomo da Carrara, followed by the second highest citizen Enrico Scrovegni. We find here the senior of the Da Carrara clan as head of a group that demonstratively destroyed the signs of imperial rule in the city's political center and reinstalled the ceremonies of communal order. Five years later, as we have seen, Giacomo would establish his lordship with these ceremonies.

In Verona, the capture of Vicenza was celebrated with pro-imperial poetry. Among the fragments of poetry preserved from the court of the Della Scala there are even two that praise the triumph by using the charge of the imperial eagle as a leitmotif. One is an epigram: 'On a bent knee Vicenza shall always pay homage / to the victorious eagles and the magnanimous Cane.'[53]

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[48] Edited by Sante Bortolami, 'Per la storia della storiografia comunale: Il "Chronicon de potestatibus Paduae"', *Archivio Veneto*, 5th series, 105 (1975), 69–121.

[49] 'sub nomine et vexillo regali': '"Chronicon de potestatibus Paduae"', ed. by Bortolami, p. 112. Cf. Albertino Mussato, *Historia Augusta*, III,1, col. 361B: 'Jamque Aquilis in forum expositis'.

[50] *Constitutiones*, IV.1, ed. by Schwalm, nos 624–28, pp. 585–89.

[51] 'Quod conspicientes Paduani in eorum iniuriam fore factum, redeuntibus subsequenti die ambaxatoribus suis de curia regis et verbis eorum in pleno consilio seriatim expositis, quodam naturali seu divino potius instinctu commoniti, finito consilio et concione publica convocata, vicario suo nomen potestatis imposuerunt, qui civitatem Paduae secundum formam statutorum et solitum communitatis ordinem ut potestas regere decetero iuravit, et insignia regalia de palacium et locis in quibus picta fuerant ammoverunt': '"Chronicon de potestatibus Paduae"', ed. by Bortolami, p. 113. The episode is also told by Mussato, *Historia Augusta*, VI,1–2, cols 415–21.

[52] *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, vol. IV.2, ed. by Jakob Schwalm, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1909–11), no. 982, pp. 1017–23.

The poem presents the authority of Cangrande as imperial vicar over Vicenza in a symbolic scene by combining the imperial arms on his banners to well-known gestures and to courtly speech. The obeisance of Vicenza is shown in the picture of the personalized city, kneeling before the eagle-banner and its bearer. To go on one's knee was also the right gesture for a subject to appear before his *signore*, who had to be addressed as *magnanime* on such occasion.[54]

We can conclude that in the political disturbances, caused by the presence of Henry VII in Italy, both rivals for the supremacy over Vicenza claimed their rights by displaying the same coat of arms, the imperial eagle. After Cangrande's triumph, his court emphasized these arms as a sign of victory, tying in with older Ghibelline traditions. The frustrated Paduans instead deleted it from their public buildings and replaced it consciously by the use of communal symbols. At the end they promoted one of their citizens of rank to defend the city as lord. In this case the Veronese *signore* remained successful, but the use of a superior coat of arms as visible legitimation for their own rule was also possible for a commune.

The Programme of Cangrande's First Sarcophagus: The Good Government of Verona

In his heyday, after the capture of Treviso, Cangrande I died unexpectedly on 22 July 1329. His corpse was brought to Verona in a funeral cortège with the heraldic display of the charges of the eagle and the ladder and was buried solemnly over the portal of S. Maria Antica, the palace church of the Della Scala.[55] Though the original tomb was changed in the time of Mastino II, some attempts have been made to reconstruct it, most recently by Peter Seiler.[56] Seiler assumed that a sarcophagus, now standing in the cemetery of S. Maria Antica, originally belonged to the ensemble of the first tomb.[57] The sculptural programme of that sarcophagus connects temporal and spiritual symbols. We can imagine Cangrande's signoral identity as a combination of the tomb's pictures that show the deceased in devotion and representing the government (fig. 1).[58] On one side, we can see the *signore* kneeling in adoration in front of the enthroned Virgin with the Christ Child. Some verses from an anonymous and fragmentary poem written on the occasion of Cangrande's death can help with the interpretation of this scene:

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[53] 'Prona genu flexo Vicentia semper adoret / Victrices aquilas, magnamimumque Canem': 'Poesie minori riguardanti gli Scaligeri', ed. by Carlo Cipolla and Flaminio Pellegrini, *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano*, 24 (1902), 7–206 (no. VII, p. 19). The second poem by the Vicentine notary Benvenuto dei Campesani begins with Cangrande's 'Cesareas aquilas, augustaque signa'; ibid., no. VIII, pp. 19–20; cf. Andrea Di Salvo, '"Celebrazioni politiche d'occasione": il caso dei primi Scaligeri', in *Le forme della propaganda politica*, ed. by Cammarosano, pp. 287–310 (p. 293). The 'victorious eagles' of the empire are of course a Ghibelline reminiscence to Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, *De bello civili libri X*, ed. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1988), I,339, p. 12. Already Orfinus of Lodi, *De regimine*, v. 43, p. 18, made use of this phrase.

[54] Cf. Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *Two Court Treatises: 'De Primo eius introitu ad aulam', 'De dilectione Regnantium'*, ed. with trans., introd., and notes by Benjamin G. Kohl and James Day, Humanistische Bibliothek. Reihe II: Texte, 24 (Munich: Fink, 1987), pp. 26–27 and 68–69. Thomas Behrmann, 'Zum Wandel der öffentlichen Anrede im Spätmittelalter', in *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, pp. 291–317 (p. 317), points out that such addresses were imagined with the gestures which accompanied them.

> My lord Can della Scala, this baron,
> has great devotion to the Virgin;
> the son of God, who has suffered the passion, oh, may he give his pardon
> to this lord who is worthy of the crown,
> lord is he of Vicenza and Verona.[59]

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[55] Paolo Rigoli, 'L'esibizione del potere: *Curie* e feste scaligere nelle fonti cronistiche', in *Gli scaligeri*, pp. 149–56 (p. 155); Peter J. Hudson, 'Il palazzo scaligero di S. Maria Antica', in *Gli scaligeri*, pp. 225–35.

[56] Peter Seiler, 'Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Grabmals von Cangrande I. della Scala', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 25 (1998), 53–77. Only after the completion of my manuscript, did I discover the essay of Hans Körner, 'Geschichtsdarstellungen im italienischen Grabmal des späten Mittelalters', in *Von Fakten und Fiktionen: Mittelalterliche Geschichtsdarstellungen und ihre kritische Aufarbeitung*, ed. by Johannes Laudage, Europäische Geschichtsdarstellungen, 1 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 309–21.

[57] I am grateful to Dr Peter Seiler (Berlin) for giving me permission to use his photographs of the sarcophagus. My thanks are also due to Professor Gian Maria Varanini (Trento) for his suggestions, and to Ulrich Fischer and the other *Anglici* at the Graduiertenkolleg 'Gesellschaftliche Symbolik im Mittelalter' (Münster) who looked over this paper.

[58] The combination is typical for North Italian monumental tombs of this time; cf. Gerhard Schmidt, 'Typen und Bildmotive des spätmittelalterlichen Monumentalgrabes', in *Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien*, ed. by Jörg Garms and Angiola Maria Romanini, Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom, 1.10 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), pp. 13–82 (pp. 23, 31–34, and 72–74).

[59] 'Misser Can da la Scala, quel barone, / in la Vergene evea gran devocione; / Fiolo de Deo, che soferí pasione, oh, li perdona / a quel signor ch'è digno de corona, / signor e de Vicença e de Verona': Cipolla and Pellegrini, 'Poesie', no. XXVI, pp. 58–60 (vv. 21–27, p. 59); I quote the corrected version from Gian Paolo Marchi, '"Valore e cortesia": l'immagine di Verona e della corte scaligera nella letteratura e nella memoria storica', in *Gli scaligeri*, pp. 485–96 (p. 496).

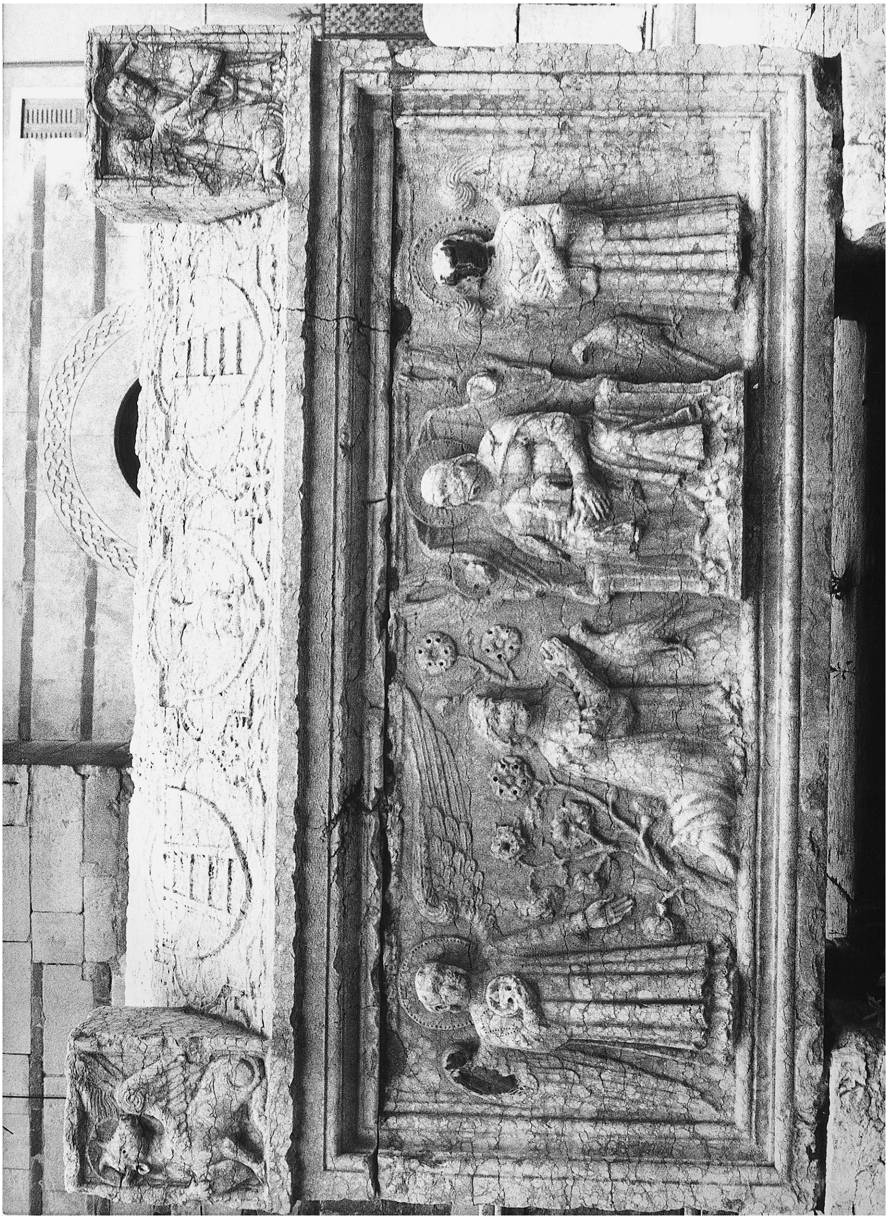

Figure 1. Sarcophagus, Verona, S. Maria Antica (*photograph courtesy of Peter Seiler*).

Although primarily a commendation of the deceased to the Madonna's intercession, the scene can also be read as a divine legitimation of his lordship. With this in mind, one is tempted to compare this Veronese image with other contemporary monuments that show rulers kneeling in front of the Madonna, for example, of the ducal tomb of Francesco Dandolo in the chapter house of the Frari church in Venice. Created after 1339 it was, according to Debra Pincus, influenced by Veronese and Paduan models.[60] Also similar is an example from Tuscany, the fresco painted in 1317 by Lippo Memmi for the hall of the communal palace of San Gimignano.[61] Here we see no *signore* or *doge*, but a *podestà* and *capitano*, the Sienese Nello Tolomei.[62] The fresco refers to the *Maestà*, painted two years earlier in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena by Lippo's brother-in-law Simone Martini. It gives evidence of workshop-connections and of the Sienese influence in a minor centre of the Val d'Elsa. In a comparative view, it demonstrates — together with the later tombs from Verona and Venice — the centrality of Marian imagery for the representation of government in the early Trecento. Independent from local constitutions and artistic styles, noblemen as heads of state are shown on public images as venerating the Virgin, whose majesty was associated with the honour and justice of good government.[63]

On the other side of Cangrande's sarcophagus, the *signore* is shown on horseback and holding a sword in his right hand (fig. 2). Steed and sword are symbols of knighthood, as we have seen above. The sword also stands for lordship and justice,

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[60] Debra Pincus, 'The Fourteenth-Century Venetian Ducal Tomb and Italian Mainland Traditions', in *Skulptur und Grabmal*, ed. by Garms and Romanini, pp. 393–400 (fig. 5, pp. 396–97). See now eadem, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 105–20, and the review by Anita F. Moskowitz, *Speculum*, 76 (2001), 501–04.

[61] Daniel Russo, 'Les représentations mariales dans l'art d'Occident: Essai sur la formation d'une tradition iconographique', in *Marie: Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo, and Daniel Russo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996), pp. 173–291 (fig. 18, p. 283); Robert Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, vol. II (Berlin: Mittler, 1900), no. 2366, p. 312; Campbell, *The Game of Courting*.

[62] Cf. Russo, 'Les représentations', fig. 17, pp. 280–83; Maria Monica Donato, '"Cose morali, e anche appartenenti secondo e' luoghi": per lo studio della pittura politica nel tardo medioevo toscano', in *Le forme della propaganda politica*, ed. by Cammarosano, pp. 491–517 (p. 494); Joanna Cannon, 'Introduction: Secular Power and the Sacred in the Art of the Central Italian City-State', in *Art, Politics, and Civic Religion in Central Italy*, pp. 1–17, with further literature. See also the essays of Gianna A. Mina, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna del Bordone: Political Statement or Profession of Faith', pp. 237–93, and Bridget Heal, '"Civitas Virginis"? The Significance of Civic Dedication to the Virgin for the Development of Marian Imagery in Siena before 1311', pp. 295–305, in the same volume.

[63] The top level of this iconographic tradition was reached when Gian Galeazzo Visconti, duke at last in 1395, was presented as crowned by the Christ Child in a miniature on top of the sermon held at his funeral; *La Lombardia delle Signorie*, with contributions by Anna Antoniazzi Villa and others, Civiltà di Lombardia (Milan: Electa, 1986), fig. 265, p. 224.

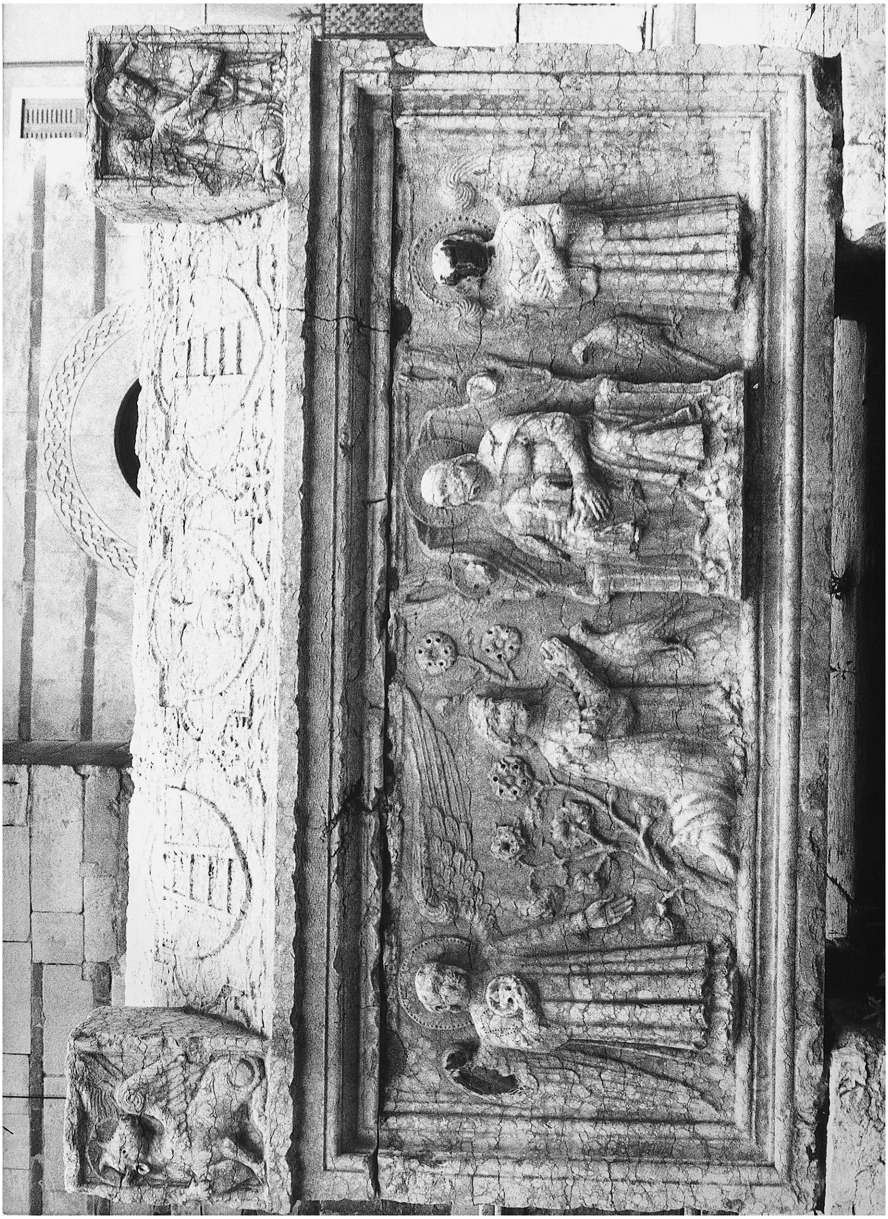

Figure 2. Sarcophagus, Verona, S. Maria Antica (*photograph courtesy of Peter Seiler*).

as we will find below from its prominent place in the funeral procession of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara.[64] The dress has a significant meaning, too. The lord wears a cap and gown and a rich furred collar. This is the characteristic costume of the communal elite, worn by nobles, knights, and *iudices* with distinctive details like the quality of the fur.[65] That the appearance of the *signore* on this side of his sarcophagus would also fit for a *podestà* from a noble family can be seen from a comparison with the funeral of the Veronese Ludovico di Sambonifacio in 1283, as described by Salimbene de Adam of Parma.[66] The Franciscan chronicler tells us that its magnificence was exceptional, because Ludovico had died during his term of office as *podestà* of Reggio Emilia and received a state funeral paid by the commune. His corpse was displayed in furred robes of red cloth and was girded with his sword and a purse. His destrier and armory are mentioned because they were given to the Franciscan convent where he was buried.[67] Giacomo Grande da Carrara and his successors are depicted in similar vestments in the miniatures of the Da Carrara manuscripts.[68]

On the lid of the sarcophagus, between acroteria with the symbols of the four evangelists, the coat of arms of the empire is displayed, flanked by two shields with the Della Scala arms. While the latter show with the affiliation also the familiar prestige, the former stands for Cangrande's vicariate.

Sited at the residence of the Della Scala, the sarcophagus presents the deceased in his temporal power and his spiritual relations, propagating by this the honour of his family. The arms, themes, and images represent the same authorities, which had been enumerated two years before in the prologue of the Veronese statutes to describe the city's honour.[69] The intention of the statutes, the good government of

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[64] Cf. Dagmar Hüpper, 'Schwert', in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, IV, cols 1570–74; Seiler, 'Untersuchungen', pp. 66–67. Cangrande's sword still exists, because it was laid into the tomb at his burial; Jasminka De Luigi Pomorišac, 'La spada di Cangrande', in *Gli scaligeri*, p. 105.

[65] Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, 'Kleider machen Leute: Zur Gruppenrepräsentation von Gelehrten im Spätmittelalter', in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen*, ed. by Oexle and von Hülsen-Esch, pp. 225–57, makes a convincing differentiation between distinctive elements but also similarities to other prestigious groups in the dress of medieval Italian academics. Cf. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Guardaroba medievale: Vesti e società dal XIII al XVI secolo* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1999).

[66] Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam: Un chroniqueur franciscain*, Témoins de notre histoire (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 54.

[67] *Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam, Ordinis minorum*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 32 (Hannover: Hahn, 1905–13; repr. 1963), p. 514. Cf. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 97.

[68] Kohl, *Padua*, fig. 5, p. 40, and fig. 7, p. 70; Varanini, 'Istituzioni', figs 63–65, p. 392, and fig. 70, p. 400.

[69] 'Ad honorem Dei et gloriose eius genitricis Marie et beatissimi Çenonis, cuius munimine Veronensis civitas, Deo propicio, defensatur, et ad honorem et reverentiam sancte matris Eccle-

Verona under the rule of Cangrande, found its visual expression in the programme of his monumental tomb, which demonstrates that in the late 1320s the commune and its ruling family had nearly the same references for their political identity.

The Carraresi as well as the Scaligeri could not long resist the opportunities that the title and the eagle banner of the empire gave to a lord. From 1348 they were imperial vicars, too. Francesco il Vecchio, who reigned from 1355 to 1388, was an important ally to Emperor Charles IV. On his way to the coronation at Rome in 1354, the monarch even stayed some time in the recently finished signoral palace at Padua.[70] The vicarial dignity would also explain the preference for frescos with imperial themes, as they were painted for the Scaligeri and the Carraresi, and for members of their courts by the Veronese Altichiero.[71]

A Princely Funeral for Francesco il Vecchio

Galeazzo Gatari's report of the funeral ceremony of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara will be our last source.[72] It will give us an impression of the representation of the Da Carrara at their final stage. The ambitious Conte di Virtù, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, had emerged victoriously from the wars that had set an end to the lordship of the Della Scala in 1387. Since 1388 Padua had been under his control as well. Francesco il Vecchio was committed to the castle of Monza, where he died on 6 October 1393. Francesco Novello da Carrara, *signore* at the banks of the Brenta since 1390, asked his Milanese overlord for the corpse of his father. An embassy accompanied it to Padua, where the funeral took place on 20 November 1393. Starting from the palace of the *signori*, a great procession took its way along the city's squares back to the baptistry of the cathedral. What kind of image did the ruling family present to the foreign ambassadors and to the masses that stood at the sides of the streets on this

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sie et sacratissimi Imperii, et ad exaltationem et magnificentiam serenissimi principis presentis et futuri Dei gracia Romanorum regis, et ad bonum statum et regimen nobilis et magnifici domini domini Canis Grandis de la Scala vicarii generalis in civitate Verone et eius districtu, et ad bonum et pacificum statum comunis et hominum ac regiminis civitatis Verone facta et ordinata sunt infrascripta statuta': *Statuti di Verona del 1327*, ed. by Silvana Anna Bianchi and Rosalba Granuzzo, with the collaboration of Gian Maria Varanini and Giordana Mariani Canova, introd. by Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, vol. I, Corpus statutario delle Venezie, 8.1 (Rome: Jouvence, 1992), p. 133, see plate I. Cf. Seiler, 'Untersuchungen', p. 66.

[70] Widder, *Itinerar*, pp. 119–21 and 171–73.

[71] Widder, *Itinerar*, pp. 374–82; John Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[72] Galeazzo Gatari and Bartolomeo Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese, confrontata con la redazione di Andrea Gatari*, ed. by Antonio Medin and Guido Tolomei, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, n.s., 17.1 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1909–31), pp. 440–44. Cf. Kohl, *Padua*, pp. 306–08, and Varanini, 'Propaganda', p. 328.

day?[73] Galeazzo Gatari, notary, historian, and loyal courtier to the Carraresi, has described that state occasion.

First came the clergy. Then a hundred mounted pages in black livery, bearing shields with the arms of the Da Carrara. They were followed by four men who displayed the arms of the city's quarters.[74] Gatari continues:

> After these followed four horses with caparisons with the below-mentioned arms, on each of them sat a noble citizen; and the first had a caparison with the arms of the Roman church, on that sat Cardino Capodivacca with a banner with the named arms in his hand, as a sign that the aforesaid lord had been *capitano* of the holy church; next to it was one, covered with the arms of the empire, on that sat Frugerino Buzzaccarini in the same manner with a banner with the named arms, that is to say the eagle, and this as a sign that the deceased had been for the empire vicar in the city of Padua. After these followed one with a caparison with the arms of the duchy of Carrara, as a sign that he had been duke of Carrara; on this sat the Trapolino with a banner with the arms of the house of Carrara: aside with this was one with a caparison with the arms of the contado of Anguillara, on that sat Nicolò Mussato, with a banner with the named arms; and one shall notice, that all of the house of Carrara are *ab antico* made by the emperor dukes and earls of the counties mentioned above. Behind these followed four horses in the manner as noted below: first came a horse covered with the arms of the *popolo* of Padua, on that sat Nicolò da Vigonza, with a large banner with the arms of the *popolo*, as a sign that the deceased had been captain of the *popolo* of Padua; beside this was another horse, covered with a caparison of white velvet with many carts on it, on that sat Francesco Frigimelica, in armour, with the sword of the lord in his hand, as a sign that he had always practised justice. After this followed my lord Michele da Rabbata, in armour, on a horse that was clad with all the arms of the *signore*, and he had a baton in his hand, as a sign for the capitanate of his city. Alongside him was my lord Francesco Dotti, in armour, on a horse, covered with Alexandrinian velvet with the devices of the *signore*, which were a golden ox and a golden globe: my lord Francesco Dotti carried in his hand the white rod, as a sign of imperial rule: these named four had on their shoulders the crests that had belonged to the old lord, like the crest of the Saracen with golden wings, the crest of the black wing on a red cushion with the white mantling, the crest of a red wheel on a white cushion, the crest on which a red cart stood upright, covered with a white cloth.[75]

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[73] On the pavement-perspective on the court as the most common of chronicles in signoral communes, see James S. Grubb, 'Corte e cronache: il principe e il pubblico', in *Origini dello Stato: Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. by Giorgio Chittolini, Anthony Molho, and Pierangelo Schiera, Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, 39 (Bologna: il Mulino, 1994), pp. 467–81.

[74] This is told by Andrea Gatari, whose report differs in some details from that of his father Galeazzo; Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, p. 441.

[75] 'Dopo questi seguí quatro cavalli coverti, ale sotoscrite insegne, suso i quali era per chadauno uno nobelle citadino; e primo era uno choverto al'arme dela chiesia di Roma, suso il quale era Cardin Cavodivacha, con una bandiera in mano ala dita arma, per segno como el

After them came men of the household and the coffin under a canopy followed by the new *signore* and his family, accompanied by ambassadors of other Italian states.

This detailed report gives us the chance to analyse how the political identity of a *signore* in the late fourteenth century was represented in public. There are two aspects that should be stressed here: the dominance of heraldic display in the ceremony and the different groups participating in it.

In this spectacular funeral cortège representatives of the deceased paraded with all the arms and insignia which defined his place in his capital and in Italy's political order. They were presented in a gradated order: from the titles held from the church and the empire to the lordships of the family and the rule over Padua. The banner of the *popolo*, the central medium on the occasion of the foundation of the Carraresi *signoria* in 1318, played only a minor role in this broader symbolic order whose centre was the persona of the dead lord. His arms and crests appear in combination with civic insignia. This dynastic dominance of the family's arms and the participation of the whole family, headed by the new *signore*, and the household are proof of a transition towards a princely identity and appearance. In the procession the whole Paduan elite was also involved. The signoral family acted together with different groups: the members of their household, noble citizens, the clergy, members of the university, and the ambassadors of Venice, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, and other

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deto signor fu capitano de Santa 'iesia; a paro a questo era uno coverto al'arma de lo 'nperio, suso el quale era Fruzerin Buzacarino, per simele con una bandiera ale dette arme, zoè l'aguilla, e questo per signo come fu per lo 'nperio vicario nela citade di Padoa. Dopo questi, seguí uno coverto al'arme del dughado da Carara, per segno come fu duxe da Carara; suso questo fu el Trapolin con una bandiera al'arme dela caxa da Carara: a paro questo, era uno coverto al'arme del conta' d'Anguilara, suso el quale era Nicolò Musato, con una bandiera ala dita arma; e nota che chadauno dila chaxa da Carara sono *ab antico* fati per lo 'nperadore duxi e conti dî luoghi detti de sora. Driedo a questi, seguiano quatro cavalli nel modo soto scrito: primo fu uno cavallo coverto al'arme del povolo di Padoa, suso el quale era Nicollò da Vigonza, con una bandiera granda al'arma del [po]pollo, per signo como fu capitano dil povolo Padoano; a paro a questo, uno altro chavalo coverto d'uno veludo bianco con molti carri per suso, suso el quale era Francescho Fricimelegha armado con la spada dil signor in mano, per segno como avia senpre fato iusticia. Dopo questo, seguy misser Michielle da Rabata, armado suso uno cavallo coverto di tute arme di quele dil signor, e avea in mano uno bastone, per signo di chapitanio di sua citade. A paro a luy, era misser Francesco Dotto armado, suso uno chavallo coverto d'uno veluto alesandrino ale divixe del signore, ciò fu uno bue d'oro e uno mondo d'oro: portò misser Francesco Doto in mano la bacheta biancha, per signo di ciesoriale signoria: avea questi IIII detti dopo le spalle i cimiri che fu del signore vechio, como era il cimiro dal saraxino con l'ale d'oro, el cimiro da l'ala nera suso uno chusinello rosso e la banda del cimiero bianca, el cimiro d'una ruda rossa suso uno cusinello biancho, el cimiro dov'era suso rito uno caro rosso coverto de una banda biancha': Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, pp. 441–42. In the translation I give the names in the modernized forms from the editor's commentary.

minor states.[76] Their presence shows that the ceremony was intended not only for the people of Padua, but also for a wider public.

The organization of the procession by heraldic display and the rich pageantry of Francesco il Vecchio's funeral cortège corresponded to the standards for a princely state funeral in the late fourteenth century, as Emperor Charles IV, Francesco's old political friend, was given in Prague in 1378.[77] The representation of power of the Carraresi in 1393 leads to the funerals of Italian princes of the fifteenth century, when arms and insignia, the dominating signs of processions in the Trecento, became part of a more complex framework of allegories and pageants.[78]

Conclusion

Looking back from this last example, I want to come to a conclusion. Representation by means of heraldry was conventional among the families of the communal ruling class of thirteenth-century northern Italy. When men from single families established a *signoria*, they at first used the same insignia as the communal office bearers, foremost the banner of the *popolo*. Besides that, the sword and the baton appear frequently as insignia of signoral lordship. I think that at first the families' arms were not able to symbolize the superiority and complexity of the new lordship. Therefore the *signori* relied on communal forms of representation. To increase their exclusiveness and legitimacy, the cities' lords were eager to acquire the arms and the title of an imperial vicar.[79] For the critical Albertino Mussato, the Della Scala disguised their own politics of power with this device, declaring that they were only trustees of the empire's dominions.[80] The continual possession of the banners of the commune and of the empire in the second half of the fourteenth century was a main pillar of the symbolic institutionalization of familiar rule over a capital with a territorial state.[81] During this period the lordship of our two families became hereditary.[82] At this stage their arms acquired a new prestige and usage, different from that of the beginning of the century, when they were first of all signs of families. Now they represented the family and the state. In this function we also find them on the coins of Verona and Padua.[83] At the end, Galeazzo Gatari explained that the arms of the Paduan lords were those of a 'Duchy of Carrara'. The same writer tells us that Francesco Novello used a banner of the *popolo* in 1404 that bore the family's red carts in the quarters of the communal cross.[84]

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[76] See Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, pp. 441–44.

[77] The main source which describes this state funeral is a relation which was incorporated into the city chronicle of Augsburg: *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte: Augsburg*, vol. I, Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, 4 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1865), pp. 59–63. Cf. František Šmahel, 'Spectaculum et pompa funebris: Das Leichenzeremoniell bei der Bestattung Kaiser Karls IV.', in idem, *Zur politischen Präsentation und Allegorie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Otto-von-Freising-Vorlesungen der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt, 9 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 1–37, and Marie Bláhová, 'Die königlichen Begräbniszeremonien im spätmittelalterlichen Böhmen', in *Der Tod des Mächtigen: Kult und Kultur des Todes spätmittelalterlicher Herrscher*, ed. by Lothar Kolmer (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997), pp. 89–111 (pp. 94–101).

[78] Cf. Philine Helas, *Lebende Bilder in der italienischen Festkultur des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Acta humaniora (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999), pp. 139–52.

[79] Varanini, 'Propaganda', p. 326.

[80] Mussato, *Historia Augusta*, I,10, col. 333B: 'dominatus non suos, sed Imperii, quorum ipsi Procuratores existunt'.

The changed value of the family's arms was accompanied by the propagation of a princely pedigree by the last two Carraresi. According to Lidia Capo, the *Gesta* mentioned above suggested the image of a long-established rule of the Da Carrara over Padua that had been passed on by dynastic continuity.[85] By transforming communal traditions, this 'invented tradition' went back to the prince's courtiers such as Nicoletto d'Alessio, chancellor to the old and the young Francesco.[86] While his arms became those of the state, the *signore* chose personal *imprese*, badges and devices, like the golden globes of Francesco il Vecchio, later on adopted by his son.[87]

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[81] The tomb of Azzo Visconti, created between 1342 and 1346, visualizes in this sense the state of the Visconti by combining and developing communal symbols; Peter Seiler, 'Das Grabmal des Azzo Visconti in San Gottardo in Mailand', in *Skulptur und Grabmal*, ed. by Jörg Garms and Angiola Maria Romanini, pp. 367–92.

[82] Cf. Salzer, *Anfänge*, p. 124.

[83] Andrea Saccocci, 'Circolazione di moneta veronese dell'età scaligera', in *Gli scaligeri*, pp. 351–64 (pp. 360 and 363); Bruno Callegher, 'Monete, medaglie e sigilli a Padova tra Duecento e Trecento', in *Giotto e il suo tempo*, ed. by Vittorio Sgarbi (Milan: Motta, 2000), pp. 276–82; cf. catalogue no. 47, pp. 415–21 in the same volume.

[84] Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, p. 536.

[85] Arnaldi and Capo, 'I cronisti', pp. 322–31; cf. Varanini, 'Propaganda', pp. 336–43.

[86] The term is used in the sense of *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). The modification of a communal tradition and other inventions in historiography under a signoral regime have been analysed for Milan by Jörg W. Busch, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Arnulf und Galvaneus Flamma: Die Beschäftigung mit der Vergangenheit im Umfeld einer oberitalienischen Kommune vom späten 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 72 (Munich: Fink, 1997), esp. pp. 180–83 and 208–33; idem, *Certi et veri cupidus: Geschichtliche Zweifelsfälle und ihre Behandlung um 1100, um 1300 und um 1475. Drei Fallstudien*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 80 (Munich: Fink, 2001), pp. 205–33; cf. Gary Ianziti, *Humanistic Historiography under the Sforzas: Politics and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

[87] Cf. Kohl, *Padua*, fig. 33, p. 305. On the use of *imprese*, see D'Arcy Jonathan D. Boulton, 'Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Paraheraldic Devices by Italian Princes, *c.* 1350–*c.* 1500', in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250–1500*, ed. by

The later Della Scala preferred a monument made of marble to one made of parchment. Their famous tombs beneath the church of S. Maria Antica show them as they wanted to be seen: as the flower of chivalry.[88] But regardless of the form of realization, representation with heraldic symbols and insignia was in both cases a centerpiece in the programmes that visualized signoral power. However, in both of our cities, the arms of signoral families had to make way for the lion of St Mark in 1406, and a few years later the gilded keys of Verona and Padua hung together as trophies beside the tomb of the new lord of the two cities, the *doge* Michele Steno.[89]

Charles M. Rosenberg, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies, 2 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), pp. 103–27; and for Milan in the fifteenth century, Gastone Cambin, *Le Rotelle Milanesi: Bottino della battaglia di Giornico 1478: Stemmi – Imprese – Insegne / Die Mailänder Rundschilde: Beute aus der Schlacht bei Giornico 1478: Wappen – Sinnbilder – Zeichen* (Fribourg: Schweizerische Heraldische Gesellschaft, 1987). Methodologically stimulating for further research in this field is Simona Slanička, *Krieg der Zeichen: Die visuelle Politik Johanns ohne Furcht und der armagnakisch-burgundische Bürgerkrieg*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 182 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002).

[88] Cf. Schmidt, ‘Typen’, pp. 20–21 and 56–57.

[89] Andrea da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia, con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe* (Venice: Ongania, 1939), pp. 103–07 with figs 30 and 31. On the symbolic representation of Venetian rule in fifteenth-century Verona and other cities of the *Terraferma*, see Lucas Burkart, *Die Stadt der Bilder: Familiale und kommunale Bildinvestition im spätmittelalterlichen Verona* (Munich: Fink, 2000).

Household Practice and Royal Programme in the High Medieval Realms of Aragón[*]

MARTA VANLANDINGHAM

Within six months of his accession in 1276 to the throne of the realms of Aragón, King Pere the Great promulgated a detailed set of ordinances for his household. These regulations described many of the duties, responsibilities, and especially the due rewards of his household's officers, from the majordomo to the chief baker, the constable, and the men who bred the royal hounds.[1] Such palatine codes were not unknown in Western monarchies, but they were completely unprecedented within the lands of the Crown of Aragón itself. So Pere the

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[*] A version of this essay appears as portions of the introduction and especially of Chapter 7 of my book *Transforming the State: King, Court, and Political Culture in the Realms of Aragon (1213–1387)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). I would very much like to thank the members of the Premodern Spanish History Association of the Midwest who read and commented on this essay.

[1] These ordinances are held in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó in Barcelona (abbreviated hereafter as ACA), Reg. Canc. 1529, fol. 1 on. They were first edited by the archivist Próspero Bofarull y Mascaró in *Procesos de las antiguas cortes y parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia*, vol. VI in the *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón* (abbreviated hereafter as *CODOIN*) (Barcelona: José Eusebio Monfort, 1850), pp. 4–16. Later they were retranscribed in Francesch Carreras y Candi, 'Redreç de la Reyal Casa: ordenaments de Pere "lo Gran" e Anfós "lo Lliberal"', *Boletín de la Real academia de buenas letras de Barcelona*, 9 (1909), 99–105. Citations to the six sets of ordinances promulgated by Pere the Great and his sons Alfons the Liberal and Jaume II, however, will be made to the appendix of my monographic study of the court, *Transforming the State*, which includes these ordinances in translation in various appendices. In addition, all the royal palatine ordinances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are examined in Karl Schwarz, *Aragonische Hofordnungen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Hofämter und Zentralbehörden des Königreichs Aragon* (Berlin: Walther Rothschild, 1913), with Pere the Great's sets addressed on pp. 4–19.

Great took quick and decisive action at the commencement of his reign to institute a mode of organization for his household that represented a significant innovation within the Arago-Catalan court. His act of codification signalled that instructions passed on directly from supervisor to subordinate and from retiree to successor, that understandings of the boundaries and perquisites of office guided solely by tradition and transmitted orally, would no longer be sufficient to maintain the continuity of the structures of the royal household. The fields of action of his household's officers would be fixed on the written page, and would therefore come more firmly under the control of the rulers who monopolized the right to create such records. Why did this important change occur? Did Pere the Great innovate so dramatically once he came to power because he consciously aimed to create a more efficient, hierarchical, bureaucratically styled household?

Before examining these questions directly, we must try to understand the developing way that Pere the Great and his successors themselves conceived of the court and the household, the monarchs' own perceptions of both the actuality of the structures in which they functioned and of their potential as tools of expanded governance. Fortunately this royal concept of the court is visible in the realms of Aragón through its elaboration and refinement in a series of palatine ordinances put forward by Pere's descendants, in a sort of dynastic tradition that sprung up in imitation of Pere the Great's act of legislative creation. The codes of Pere's sons Alfons the Liberal (1285–91) and Jaume II (1291–1327) were ever more detailed, revealing in particular the monarchs' growing concerns with the management and oversight of the royal treasure, as well as with the growing ceremonialism of court life.[2] The palatine ordinances of Pere the Ceremonious (1336–87) represent the true maturation of the genre.[3] This particular set was designed specifically, clearly, and programmatically to regulate the workings and functions of almost every aspect of the court, to dictate the court's mission. Each and every person with business in the king's court, such as scribes, court musicians, even the sweepers of the palace floor, had his or her duties described individually in minute detail, with no room for misunderstandings. The holder of each office was also placed by these ordinances within a rigid hierarchy, in which everyone knew exactly to whom they were responsible at all times. Each of these palatine codes, from the rough and to some degree ad hoc legislation of the progenitor Pere the Great to the comprehensive, coherent, and theoretically sophisticated ordinances of Pere the Ceremonious, reveals a great deal about how the monarchs viewed their surroundings. By examining the results of the Arago-Catalan monarchs' engagement with the structures and functions of their courts, we can reach a working definition of the terms 'court' and 'household' that might correspond with their own.

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[2] These codes can be found in VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, Appendices C, D, E, and F.

[3] 'Ordenacions fetes per lo molt alt senyor en Pere terç rey Darago sobra lo regiment de tots los officials de la sua cort', ACA, Reg. Canc. 1529, second part; published in *Procesos de las antiguas cortes y parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia*, ed. by Próspero Bofarull y Mascaró, vol. V in *CODOIN* (Barcelona: José Eusebio Monfort, 1850); also studied and translated into Italian in Olivetta Schena, *Le leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona* (Cagliari: Edizioni Della Torre, 1983); and studied and reproduced in *El 'Manuscrito de San Miguel de los Reyes' de las 'Ordinacions' de Pedro IV*, 2 vols (Madrid: Scriptorium, S. – Ediciones Limitadas, 1994).

At the heart of these codes is the idea of office. A member of the court had his or her status delimited according to the principle of office, in which jurisdictional areas are made permanent and are closely ordered by rules.[4] The court as such was comprised of a firmly and publicly delineated hierarchy of such offices, organized into bureaus that corresponded with the basic mechanisms of a developing of state, such as records, justice, and finance. There was naturally room 'at' court for others. For example, many relatives and companions of the king permanently belonged to his *familia*, or retinue, by virtue of attachments that had very little to do with office. In addition, the court could not have completed its complicated mandate without accommodating the many visitors who had business with the king and his administrative apparatus. Yet, the court itself was closely arranged and controlled through the rules of office to serve the king as the various limbs and organs serve the body, to extend the power of the ruler far beyond the reach of the individual man. Within this court configuration, the household was a subset, the bureau that administered the court's milieu — its level of comfort, its efficiency, its ease of movement from site to site, the face of royal grandeur it presented to the world — and as such, it had a notable effect on the authority of the monarchy. The household provided the working environment of the king. As his authority increased, the household also needed to be better ordered and more responsive to his needs, as well as to the requirements of those who helped him rule through the bureaus of the chancery and the treasury. The officers of the household had to get both of the king's bodies — the natural and the politic — to where they needed to be in a world in which royal power was not sufficiently consolidated for the establishment of national capitals.[5] The aesthetic and ceremonial aspects of the court and household were also coming to play an increasing role in supporting the Arago-Catalan monarchy's prestige, giving external expression to the king's internal majesty. Pere the Great's focus in his ordinances, therefore, on the regulation of the offices of the household is quite comprehensible in a monarch intent on expanding his domain.

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[4] The classic work on the bureaucratization of the state and the development of office is Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, 2 vols, 2nd edn trans. by Ephraim Fischoff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). For this definition of office, see p. 956.

[5] The standard work that examines this royal duality is Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

The overall bureaucratization of the court as traceable in the Arago-Catalan palatine codes is in part a codification of an existing situation in development, and in part a programme of kingship, an idealized vision of the monarchy's plan for what was to be. Yet, the mechanisms of change in the Middle Ages existed in constant discourse with the inertial forces of tradition, and with a variety of powerful interests that fought actively to protect age-old freedoms and customs from being ravaged by monarchical ambitions. The opposition faced by monarchs eager to extend their power and reach, however, did not just hamper the formation of the court into an efficient administrative body. Very often such resistance actively determined the shape of the bureaucratic structures. Also, at times direct pressure from a nobility eager to restrict the king's power could actually trigger in response the creation of an effective tool of centralization. This essay will focus on an example of the latter process in action, as we examine the initiation of the palatine regulation process. The creation of the regulations ordering the household of Pere the Great, which as we shall see was an act undertaken largely as a reaction to attempted infringement on royal prerogatives, brought a new and useful form of structure to the bureau of his court.

Pere's ordinances were the first for the Arago-Catalan realms, but were not the earliest in the medieval West. To provide just two additional examples, Louis IX of France had redacted a set of court ordinances in 1261, and Alfonso X of Castile had published a law code including the ideal functions of the officers of the court in the mid-thirteenth century.[6] It is quite possible, of course, that Pere or his advisors were aware of one or both of these codes; he had strong ties to both the French and Castilian monarchies.[7] It does not seem, however, that he acted in direct imitation of either of these prior codifications. His decrees were too dissimilar in form and function. The purpose of the ordinances of Louis IX was primarily to impose moral order on his servants and his people,[8] while Alfonso X acted in order to create a legal basis for his imperial expectations.[9] Pere the Great appears, however, to have promulgated his ordinances for the chief purpose of putting a stop to what may have been rampant abuse of the offices, and particularly of their perquisites.

Throughout his ordinances, when delineating exactly what each officer was to receive, Pere employed phrases such as 'he shall have nothing else', 'he shall have no other rights or anything else', and 'nothing else shall he have; rather all shall be the lord king's in every way; he can neither have [other things] nor seek after them, for the well-being of the lord king'.[10] Pere very clearly meant to define and restrict, once and for all, the privileges and rewards of his household officials. The encroachment on these boons must have been significant in order to bring Pere and his advisors to take such an innovative measure as the redaction of these ordinances at the commencement of his reign.

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[6] See Schwarz, *Aragonische Hofordnungen*, pp. 2–3. For the Castilian law code, see *Las siete partidas*, ed. by Robert I. Burns, S.J., 5 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

[7] For example, Pere's sister Violant was married to Alfonso X, and another sister, Isabel, was daughter-in-law to Louis IX.

[8] See William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 181.

[9] See the discussion, for example, in Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 'Image and Reality: The King Creates his Kingdom', in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. by Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 14–32.

We have evidence for this encroachment, beyond what can be deduced from the content and style of the ordinances themselves. This evidence is found in the record of a judicial hearing of October or November of 1263, while Pere the Great's father Jaume I (1213–76) held the throne.[11] The office of seneschal of Catalonia — arguably the most important of the realms of Aragón — had become a hereditary right of the powerful Montcada family from about the mid-twelfth century.[12] This office was equivalent to that of major-domo of Aragón, as well as to the later-instituted post of major-domo of Valencia. Each of these was largely an honorific title, held by a high-ranking baron. The seneschal of Catalonia, however, had won the right to act as major-domo of the king, as primary major-domo—or rather, in practice, to name a lieutenant to serve in the position of major-domo at court.[13] In 1263 Pere de Montcada held the seneschalcy. The case in question began when 'the noble Pere de Montcada, seneschal of the lord king [. . .] made a complaint against the lord king [Jaume], that said lord king had done him an injustice concerning the office of major-domo'. The noble and the monarch placed their dispute in the hands of four justices who were to act as arbitrators.[14]

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[10] VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, Appendix A, items 27, 28, and 26 respectively.

[11] ACA, Pergamins de Jaume I, n. 1760, dated 2 November 1263. This document is published in *Procesos de las antiguas cortes*, ed. by Bofarull, *CODOIN*, VI, pp. 159–64. It is also mentioned briefly, although not as a possible impetus to the creation of Pere's code, in Schwarz, *Aragonische Hofordnungen*, p. 6.

[12] For a discussion of Montcadas as seneschals, see John Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000–1230* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), particularly pp. 18–24 and 61–62.

[13] See Schwarz, *Aragonische Hofordnungen*, p. 7.

[14] *Procesos de las antiguas cortes*, ed. by Bofarull, *CODOIN*, VI, 159–60: 'In Christi nomine. Noverint universi quod cum contentio fuisset inter illustrem dominum Jacobum Dei gratia regem Aragonum Majoricarum et Valentie comitem Barchinone et Urgelli et dominum Montispesulani et nobilem Petrum de Montechateno senescalium ejusdem domini regis quod dictus Petrus de Montechateno conquerebatur ab eodem domino rege quod idem dominus rex faciebat ei injuriam de facto majordomie et super hoc dictus dominus rex et dictus Petrus de Montechateno misserunt predictam causam in posse domini Eximini Petri de Arenoso et Thomasii de Sancto Clemente et Guillelmi de Sala et Arnaldi de Boscho quod quidquid ipsi arbitri cognoscerent quod dominus rex deberet facere in predicto facto majordomie quod

The dispute involved nine specific matters in which Montcada believed the king was denying him privileges. To summarize the dispute: Montcada claimed that he should be apportioned twenty horses as major-domo. The arbiters ruled that Montcada 'should not receive, nor at any time had he received, other than sixteen animals in the following manner: while he would be at court he ought to be apportioned twelve animals, and four for his lieutenant'.[15] Montcada claimed the right to fill all the offices of the *domo* with men of his own choosing; this assertion was also denied, although later the arbiters added that he could designate the *museu*, or provisioner of the kitchen. Montcada asked to negotiate the amount of each *cena*, or hospitality tax, that was paid in Catalonia, and to have a portion of the total quantity. The judges decided he could have 20 sous from each money payment of the *cena*, or whatever portion of this tax paid in kind the king wished, but neither he nor his lieutenant could have a say in the composition or amount of the tax. The seneschal demanded the best dwellings and the best men from all castles that came into the king's power, but was granted only one better residence from fortified places that the king took through conquest. Montcada claimed also that if ever the king was in council with three or more men, that his own lieutenant had a right to be present. Again the arbiters disagreed. Finally (for our purposes), Montcada demanded all the silver cups, napkins, and other kitchen and table implements from each of three annual feasts at which he was accustomed to receive these things, and insisted that the king was doing him an injury by forcing him to accept 500 sous per feast instead. The judges replied that the money was all that Montcada or his lieutenant could ask for. They did approve, however, the continuation of his traditional rations of wax and pepper.

This case is highly significant as a clear manifestation of the fierce general struggle for power ongoing between the late medieval king and his high nobility. It also epitomizes a crucial juncture in the transition to centralized monarchy. King Jaume appears to have triumphed almost completely. Most importantly, he retained the ultimate authority over the royal court that Montcada claimed was his own right. If

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dictus dominus rex et dictus Petrus de Montechateno starent in cognitionem eorundem arbitrorum.'

[15] Ibid., p. 160: 'Primum capitulum est quod dictus Petrus de Montechateno petit quod dictus dominus rex debet sibi exibere portionem viginti animalibus. Cui petitioni respondent arbitri supradicti judicando quod dictus Petrus de Montechateno non debet accipere nec ullo tempore recepit rationem nisi sexdecim animalibus tali modo quod dum ipse sit in curia debet accipere rationem duodecim animalibus et quatuor animalibus tenenti suum locum.'

The animals were either horses for riding or for the pack. The king would provide feed and care for a number of animals per personage depending purely upon their status; the higher the rank, the more animal allowances were granted. See Ferran Soldevila, *Pere el Gran. Primera part: L'Infant* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1950), pp. 248–49, for a look at one list of royal companions and an analysis of what the number of their beasts revealed about their position in court society.

the seneschal had succeeded in imposing his claim to choose and appoint every servant of the household, the king would have lost all control over his own environment and mobility. In effect he risked transferring the monarchy to the hands of the Montcadas. Perhaps Jaume won so convincingly because he loaded the judicial bench with his own men; the wording of some of the judgements, however, indicates that the arbiters ruled according to tradition. If the implications of those who framed the sentences are to be accepted, it was Montcada who was attempting a serious encroachment on the customary rights of the king, rather than vice versa.

In 1263, at the time this case was disputed, Prince Pere was his father's main heir and quite active in the royal administration. Was it a coincidence, then, that within months of coming to power he promulgated ordinations regulating with precision just what rights each of his household officials was entitled to? Was it merely chance that, as we shall see, the privileges he listed in his ordinances for his major-domo match almost exactly those granted to Montcada earlier by the judges? It may very well not have been this particular case which led the prince to decide that, when he came to power, he would set down in writing and grant legal foundation to the limitations on the rights of his officers. Montcada, while much more of a threat than most, was probably not alone in testing and exceeding his limits. Also, the ordinances did more than just list salaries; they described duties, regulated behaviour and procedures at court, and so on. The practice of codification was spreading rapidly from the mid-thirteenth century as monarchs turned to Roman law practices, including increased reliance on written legal implements, to boost their authority. Regardless, it still seems very likely that this case — and the struggle for control over the court that it represented — had a powerful impact on Pere, propelling him into becoming the first Arago-Catalan ruler to issue such palatine codes.

These ordinances reveal a great deal about the household of King Pere the Great, though here we will utilize them only to explore the responsibilities and rewards due its directors. The highest official in the household, the officeholder who was ultimately responsible for the domestic well-being of the king at this juncture, was the major-domo.[16] As mentioned, the major-domo of the court during this period was the appointee and lieutenant of the seneschal of Catalonia. This arrangement was clearly quite lucrative both for the seneschal and for the major-domo who served in his place. The Montcada who held the title of seneschal appears to have attended the king at court no more often than did the other high nobles.[17] He certainly never lowered himself to running the household personally. His lieutenant served in a capacity in which his specific duties were few, although the heavy responsibility that he bore for the smooth functioning of the court may have kept him quite occupied overseeing his subordinates. For this service the major-domo's rewards — which he must have shared with the seneschal according to both tradition and stated agreement — were quite rich.

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[16] Very little has been written regarding this office in Arago-Catalonia in the thirteenth century; the most focused work is that of Jaime Caruana Gómez de Barreda, 'Los mayordomos de Aragón en los siglos XII y XIII', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 62 (1956), 349–77. It is lightly perused on p. 44 of Lope Pascual Martínez, 'Los oficios en la Corte de Pedro III de Aragón (1276–1285)', in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona: La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro* (Palermo: Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti, 1982), pp. 41–62. The office in light of Pere's ordinances is discussed by Schwarz in *Aragonische Hofordnungen*, pp. 5–7; see also Ludwig Klüpfel, *Verwaltungsgeschichte des Königreichs Aragon zu Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1915), pp. 15–20. Josep Trenchs, *Casa, corte y cancilleria de Pedro el Grande (1276–1285)* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1991), pp. 63–65, offers rather misleading data about the holders of the post.

Pere began his ordinances by decreeing that the major-domo had to be obeyed in all his commands relating to the running of the household, and that the major-domo would be held accountable if any damage were to occur to the king or the court, with both his person and his property at stake.[18] He and the other high officials had to look over the expenses of the household every day; and he personally paid at least some of the salaries.[19] Only the major-domo could authorize the removal from the palace of any of the king's property or stores.[20] He and the other high officials would attend upon the king as he dined, and afterwards eat together, discussing the day's business.[21] In essence the major-domo had a general mandate of responsibility; he had to remain available to watch over the household, ensure it ran smoothly, and serve as a liaison between the king and his other domestic officials.

In return for ruling over the king's palace, serving as the monarch's alter ego in the domestic sphere, and bearing the burden of accountability, the major-domo was compensated amply.[22] Most of the privileges that Pere de Montcada demanded and was awarded in 1263 are reiterated and codified in Pere's ordinances, of which six of the first eleven are concerned with what the major-domo was to receive. Exactly as the arbiters had granted, according to what they ruled was the custom, the major-domo (or seneschal) was allowed provisions for the feed and care of twelve beasts, whether riding horses or pack animals, while himself attendant upon the king. His lieutenant (or major-domo of the court) was allowed four. Also, as in the earlier ruling, the major-domo had the right to appoint the kitchen provisioner, but no one else.[23] The arbiters in 1263 had judged that the major-domo could have 20 sous from each *cena* (or hospitality tax) received in coin, and whatever the king wished to give for those paid in kind; the ordinances decreed that the servant was entitled to 20 sous from the king for each *cena* received in either manner.[24] The major-domo's main source of revenue, however, was the payment he was to receive three times a year of 500 sous — although Pere de Montcada might have been displeased with this provision in 1263, an annual salary of 1500 sous was really very generous.[25] Finally, the major-domo was entitled to a number of supplies from the pantry. Each day he could have a measure of the wax and the pepper that we have already seen was a traditional right in 1263; in addition he could have the hides of the cows which were slaughtered for meals, as well as two portions of mutton and two buckets of wine — in addition, of course, to the food he was allotted for his board.[26]

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[17] Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family*, p. 60.

[18] VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, Appendix A, item 1.

[19] Ibid., items 59 and 45.

[20] Ibid., item 46.

[21] Ibid., item 62.

[22] See ibid., item 3: 'The lord king grants to the major-domo, for serving in that office and for following the said orders and for being under the said penalty, those rewards which are written below.' See also item 10.

[23] For both beasts and provisioner, see ibid., item 11. An explanation of the significance of the number of beasts is given above, in note 15.

The only privilege that the seneschal Pere de Montcada had been granted in 1263 but which is not reiterated in Pere the Great's code is that of property in villages taken by conquest. This provision strikes the reader as a strange reward for an official whose authority was in the realm of domestic service. Its exclusion from Pere's palatine ordinances underlines its separate nature. Pere de Montcada in 1263 was mixing, intentionally or not, the prerogatives he claimed he was owed by reason of his status as major-domo with those due to a major military leader provisionally under the king's command. Pere the Great probably delivered this sort of reward directly to Ramon de Montcada, Pere de Montcada's son and successor as seneschal of Catalonia.[27] His palatine regulations, therefore, only described the payments made directly to the major-domo of the court, as well as to the other household officials. How this servant divided his salary with the seneschal who had appointed him to that position was between the two of them.

By the mid-fourteenth century the office of major-domo had evolved in several notable ways, as delineated in the extraordinarily rich and detailed palatine ordinations of Pere the Ceremonious, described above. Instead of the seneschal of Catalonia holding a monopoly over the direction of the household through his appointment of a major-domo who was probably of the knightly class, the later code dictated a system in which three noblemen — one each for Catalonia and Aragón, and one for Valencia and Majorca together — shared this authority. Two major-domos of the court who were knights in rank alternated in the actual supervision of the household. These servants answered to the nobles in charge according to the location of the household. When the king and court were in Aragón, for example, the court major-domos had to accede to the direction of the noble major-domo of Aragón, and so on for the other realms.[28] This new practice undoubtedly served to mollify the non-Catalan nobility. More importantly for the king, however, the modified system ensured that the loyalty of one of the highest officers at court was no longer owed in large part to one man whose interests often diverged from the king's; instead, the king now appointed the major-domos, who deferred in a very diffuse and unspecified manner to three competing nobles. This innovation served to strengthen the monarchy.

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[24] Ibid., item 4. The decree specifies that if the *cena* is paid in kind, the money the king gives instead is to be used for footwear.

[25] Ibid., item 9.

[26] Ibid., items 5–8.

[27] On 23 February 1264 King Jaume named Ramon de Montcada to the post of major-domo of Valencia for life (ACA, Reg. Canc. 13, fol. 255). The first mention I could find, however, of Ramon de Montcada as seneschal of Catalonia is dated 17 April 1274, from ACA, Reg. Canc. 18, fol. 66, published in Soldevila, *Pere el Gran*, doc. 44. This latter document lists both a 'Raimundo de Montechatano, senescallo Catalonie', as well as a 'Raimundo de Montechatano, domino Ffrage', Perhaps the seneschal of Catalonia and the major-domo of Valencia were not the same Ramon de Montcada.

Another important difference in the courts of Pere the Great and Pere the Ceremonious was that the latter's household was much more highly differentiated; the earlier Pere's ordinances described only a portion of the domestic offices depicted in his descendant's regulations. In Pere the Great's time many functions were filled by generic servants 'of our household'; in later times these activities would belong firmly to the provenance, for example, of 'The Carrier of Water to the Kitchen' or 'The Mixer of Dough'.[29]

Finally, the importance of the chamberlain had grown enough to rival the place of the major-domo in the fourteenth-century household. While the major-domo was still technically the head of the household in the later era, Pere the Ceremonious's ordinances divided the court into four sections under the directions respectively of the major-domo, the chamberlain, the chancellor, and the high treasury official known as the *maestre racional*, or master of accounts.[30] During the reign of Pere the Great's son Alfons the Liberal, the chamberlain took up an active and important role in managing the royal finances.[31] Perhaps the added prestige imparted by those responsibilities continued to grow, although in a more domestic direction once *his* successor Jaume II reformed the treasury. Aside from these changes — brought about through the increasing complexity and differentiation of the court bureaucracy which had resulted from the centralizing efforts of the monarchy — the basic functions of the major-domo (caring for the physical well-being of the king and his court) remained largely unaffected.

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[28] 'Ordenacions', pp. 11–12: 'don ab aquest edicte decernim observador que en la nostra cort tres nobles cavallers la un en lo regne Darago laltre en los regnes de Valencia e de Mallorcha e laltre en Cathalunya e dos altres simples cavallers doffici del majordom sien ennobleits e entres aquests empero evidenment se pertanyen los nobles cavallers cor con alscunes coses quis pertanyen al offici daquests faedores sien de magnificencia e mayors pus alt estament requeren daqell qui exercexs loffici. De necessitat encara es dos esser cavallers decorats del offici. [. . .] Los damunt ditz empero cavallers al noble majordom de la terra on nos serem mentre nos hi serem ço es que si som en lo regne de Aragon al majordom noble daquell regne e per semblant manera si som en Cathalunya al noble majordom de Cathalunya e si som en lo regne de Valencia o de Mallorcha a cascun dels nobles majordomens estants nosen la majordomia de cascun obeyran en totes aquelles coses qui sesguarden en lurs officis e axi con a majors haura.'

[29] Ibid., p. 43 ('Del Portador daygua a la cuyna'), pp. 31–33 ('Del Pastador').

[30] For the subsection under the chamberlain, see ibid., pp. 62–108.

[31] See Klüpfel, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, pp. 21–23.

Instead of the chamberlain, the second most important official in the household of Pere the Great was the *reboster*, or custodian of the royal stores. The thirteenth-century ordinances listed some of the duties and rewards of other high officials of the household, such as the scribe of accounts, the head cook, the chief porter, and so on. I shall examine the section on the custodian of stores as a final example of the intersection of practice and increasingly sovereign royal will that led to the articulation of the bureaucratically styled royal household. This official had been a member of the Arago-Catalan household since at least the late twelfth century.[32] The custodian was responsible for the maintenance and replenishment of all physical goods whatsoever of the court, from the spices and other non-perishables in the pantry to the implements of the kitchen and table to the furniture of the king's bedchamber. He was to keep a carefully detailed description and account of every single item in stock, recording when articles were added to the storeroom or lost through being 'consumed, wasted, or given by the lord king'.[33] Painstaking records were to his advantage, since he was responsible for the replacement of anything that was missing or damaged, unless he could prove that the problem had occurred due to the 'disobedience of one of his officers' or under the care of one of the other high officials.[34] He was to ensure that all goods that the king might require — but no more — were transported with the court on its journeys, and that the royal bed was set up properly at each stop.[35] The custodian of the stores would release to the appropriate chamber servant the furnishings required to make the king comfortable in his quarters.[36] Additionally, he would give over the supplies necessary to make up the kitchen and the dining hall to the meal server in charge.[37]

The custodian had a hierarchy of servants under him to assist in the performance of these exacting obligations, including a lieutenant to fill his post if he should have to absent himself from the court.[38] His responsibilities remained burdensome, however. In return for bearing their weight, he was rewarded with an annual salary of 500 sous. In addition, whenever the king made anyone a gift of a horse not of the royal stables, or gave someone the price of a horse, the custodian was to procure from the gift's recipient a single gold coin. The king, however, emphasized that 'he shall have no other rights nor anything else; no wax, no saltcellars, nor any clothing even if old or torn; rather he shall have to care for its maintenance as best he can. And he shall have to give a detailed accounting'.[39] Pere clearly wanted to put a halt to what must have been rampant pilfering from the stores, particularly when its workers employed the excuse that an item was due to be thrown out anyway.

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[32] Schwarz, *Aragonische Hofordnungen*, p. 8.

[33] VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, Appendix A, item 29.

[34] Ibid., item 34.

[35] Ibid., items 32 and 33.

[36] See list of these furnishings ibid., item 30.

[37] Ibid., item 31, itemizes many of the fixtures of the eating area, as well as the transportable stocks of the larder.

[38] Ibid., item 35.

The palatine regulations enacted by Pere the Great allow historians a clear portrait of a particular court at a specific time — though of course we must remember that the monarch was dictating the construct he wished to superimpose on his surroundings. Yet the code also allows us to view certain crucial transitional processes in action. Pere's ordinances throw a bright light on the shift from ad hoc service to the king, from a system in which household functions were defined by tradition but could easily be manipulated and exploited by individual holders, to a structure that was controlled and fixed to some degree by its reduction to a written code. Pere the Great created his ordinances largely as a response to a very specific set of problems — the struggle for power between the monarchy and the nobility as manifested in his household, the steady disappearance at the hands of his servants of the materials that made him comfortable, and the increasing need for efficient fiscal management that would empower his dreams of conquest. Yet the sort of highly self-conscious manipulation of his world and his image that is visible in the comprehensive ordinations of his descendant Pere the Ceremonious can also be glimpsed in its incipient form in the earlier code. Through the regulation of the monarch's household we can witness programmatic centralizing kingship in action.

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[39] Ibid., item 28.

Household Narratives and Lancastrian Poetics in Hoccleve's Envoys and Other Early-Fifteenth-Century Middle English Poems

JENNI NUTTALL

The 'Go, little book' formula — in which a writer instructs his text on the journey it will make after it leaves its author's hands — was a popular one in Middle English literature, particularly once Chaucer had sent his 'litel [. . .] tragedye' of *Troilus and Criseyde* to follow in the footsteps of the great European poets.[1] In this essay, I wish to examine two lesser-known envoy poems by Thomas Hoccleve written in London in the first two decades of the fifteenth century.[2] One poem was addressed to John, duke of Bedford, to accompany a presentation copy of Hoccleve's long *speculum principis*, the *Regiment of Princes*, written between 1410 and 1413.[3] The second was composed to accompany a 'pamfilet' of Hoccleve's 'balades', and was addressed to Edward, second duke of York, some time before his death at Agincourt on 25 October 1415.[4] Both poems are examples of what has been called the epilogue or epistle excusatory, and they contain many of the characteristic formulations of the humility or modesty topos, bemoaning Hoccleve's lack of talent or skill in comparison with the due reverence and top-quality workmanship that his noble patrons deserve.[5] Karl Julius Holzknecht, in his wide-ranging study of literary patronage in the Middle Ages, considered Hoccleve's poem to the Duke of York to be so formulaic and so complimentary that it had 'absolutely no point' — a challenge for any researcher.[6] However, recently we have become more wary readers of such protestations of incapacity. Discussing a range of fifteenth-century poets, David Lawton demonstrated that the dullness topos was in fact employed by poets such as Hoccleve as a 'politic response to princely or royal command'.[7] Its usage was as such 'almost always disingenuous, often implicated with problematic socio-political intervention'.[8]

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[1] For the sources, analogues, and later influence of Chaucer's envoy, see John S. P. Tatlock, 'The Epilog of Chaucer's *Troilus*', *Modern Philology*, 18 (1921), 625–59 (pp. 627–30), and R. J. Schoeck, '"Go, little book" – A Conceit from Chaucer to William Meredith', *Notes and Queries*, 197 (1952), 370–72.

[2] Quotations from the two envoys are taken from M. C. Seymour's edition of *Selections from Hoccleve* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 55–57. Further references to the poems are given by line number in the text, with the abbreviations *DB* for the envoy addressed to the Duke of Bedford and *DY* for the envoy addressed to the Duke of York and his wife. A convenient introduction to Hoccleve's life and career can be found in J. A. Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Authors of the Middle Ages, 4 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994).

[3] On Bedford, see E. Carleton Williams, *My Lord of Bedford, 1389–1435: Being a Life of John of Lancaster, First Duke of Bedford, Brother of Henry V and Regent of France* (London: Longman, 1963).

In what follows, I shall argue that Hoccleve's two short envoy poems also employ such disingenuous strategies as they negotiate the literary and presumably financial exchanges between poet and patron. Furthermore, I shall argue that it is the staging of these exchanges within the household or *familia* of his noble patrons which allows Hoccleve's disingenuous strategies to occur. I shall use the words *household* and *familia* interchangeably in this essay to refer to the domestic organization of family, attendants, and servants who surrounded and supported the head of the household, dwelling both in the king or magnate's primary residence but also accompanying him on peripatetic tours to other residences.[9] Unlike the *domus* (the permanent household which, as Chris Given-Wilson describes it, 'coped with the king's bodily needs, provided his secretariat, and formed his bodyguard'), the expanded *familia* was a larger and more loosely defined grouping who might supplement the permanent membership of the king's *domus* in order to play their part in military activities, to counsel or advise, or to participate in ceremonial social or religious occasions.[10]

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[4] York's literary interests and abilities are demonstrated by his translation of Gaston Phébus's *Livre de chasse*. See *The Master of Game by Edward, Second Duke of York: The Oldest English Book on Hunting*, ed. by W. A. Baille-Grohman and F. Baille-Grohman (London: Chatto & Windus, 1909).

[5] See Karl Julius Holzknecht's chapter on 'The Epilogue Excusatory and the "Go, Little Book" Formula' in his *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (New York: Octagon, 1966), pp. 116–23.

[6] Holzknecht, *Literary Patronage,* p. 123.

[7] David Lawton, 'Dullness and the Fifteenth Century', *English Literary History*, 54 (1987), 761–99 (p. 768).

[8] Lawton, 'Dullness and the Fifteenth Century', p. 770.

[9] On the structure and organization of the great household, see C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale Univesity Press, 1999).

[10] Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360–1413* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 2.

In each poem, the 'litil pamfilet' (*DY*, 1) or 'book' (*DB*, 3) is figured as Hoccleve's physical representative or 'messageer' (*DY*, 28), autonomously approaching *in person* the noble addressee of the text. As the modesty topos requires, Hoccleve pre-emptively acknowledges his own 'humblesse' (*DY*, 5 and *DB*, 2), 'ignorance and lewdenesse' (*DB*, 5), and general indebtedness to his noble patron, but he also extends these images of unworthiness to the physical and literary object which will be delivered. The Duke of Bedford's book is not written 'in so goodly wyse' (*DB*, 6) as it ought to be because of Hoccleve's poor eyesight. The text itself is 'vnconnyngly' (*DB*, 12) provided for in its prosody, its edifying subject matter is 'raw', and its rhetorical 'colours' are 'feeble' (*DB*, 13–14). Similarly, the texts contained in the Duke of York's 'foul book' (*DY*, 55) may have incorrect prosody, disordered structure, or rhetorical devices which are 'awry' (*DY*, 51). These auto-criticisms of the writer's ability and talent (which, so the topos claims, are inevitably reproduced in the literary quality of his work) are standard fare in late medieval modesty topoi, but Hoccleve is unusual in drawing attention to the physical appearance of the book in palaeographical terms.[11] Hoccleve is too proud to wear spectacles and thus fears the book has 'no beautee' (*DY*, 61) in its script and rubrication. As a privy seal clerk, Hoccleve was a professional scribe and, as one might expect, his three autograph manuscripts — two in the Huntington Library and one now at the University of Durham — are easily readable productions.[12] Hoccleve does make occasional copying errors but his self-accusatory descriptions of displeasing and difficult palaeography are probably more rhetorical than actual.[13] This rhetorical aspect is made clear by the interchangeability of poet and book in the *Balade to Edward, Duke of York*. Just as Hoccleve's personal incapacities are transferred to his presentation manuscript, the book itself is personified as a messenger who has no 'cheere' (in the sense of decorous appearance and social graces) and no 'eloquence' (*DY*, 25). These messenger-books are identifiable by their lack of superficial surface decoration and other pleasing intra-textual qualities, and also by their lack of suitable social decorum.

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[11] Cf., for example, the envoys written by Lydgate for his *Troy Book* (ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS, ES, 97, 103, 106, 126, 4 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1906–35), III (1910), 879, lines 92–107) and the *Temple of Glas* (ed. by J. Schick, EETS, ES, 50 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1891), p. 57, lines 1393–1403). Cf. also the envoy written to accompany a psalter commentary printed in *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell Hope Robbins, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 97, and the envoy by James I, king of Scotland, which completes *The Kingis Quair* (ed. by John Norton-Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 49–50, lines 1352–79).

[12] In addition to his work as a privy seal clerk, Hoccleve also moonlighted as a literary scribe, copying parts of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 2 (a copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*) alongside four other scribes. See A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. by M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 163–210. Hoccleve's hand can be seen in plates 53 and 54. See also H. C. Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, Scribe', *Speculum*, 12 (1937), 71–81, which includes plates of BL, Additional MS 24062, Hoccleve's privy seal formulary. Besides the formulary, Hoccleve's autograph manuscripts are San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MSS HM 111 and 744, and Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V. III. 9.

[13] John M. Bowers notes the copying errors made by Hoccleve in the two autograph copies of his translation of book two, chapter two of Henry Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*. John M.

It might be argued from these descriptions that the significant physical or social location necessary for such an interaction is merely the individual presence of the duke rather than the duke's *familia* or household as a whole. However, these envoys definitely engage with the ducal household to some degree because Hoccleve imagines them encountering other members of the *familia* beyond the named addressee of the poems. In the Bedford poem, Hoccleve worries that one 'maister Massy' (*DB*, 10) will notice the book's flaws and punish it in some unspecified manner. Similarly, Hoccleve asks that the Duke of York hide the book from 'th'onurable sighte or the presence' (*DY*, 21) of his wife, Philippa, second daughter and co-heir of John, second lord Mohun. More threateningly, Hoccleve warns that 'it shal be ful hard / For thee and me' (*DY*, 41–42) if one of York's attendants, a 'maistir Picard' (*DY*, 40), catches sight of the book.

Massy was almost certainly William Massy, recorded as the Duke of Bedford's Receiver-general and General Attorney in 13 August 1403.[14] The identity of Picard is less certain. A John Picard was nominated by Edward in letters of attorney in 1394 and stood surety for him on 22 January and 16 May 1399, but the identity of this man is unclear.[15] Reasoning by analogy from William Massy's status in Bedford's household, Thorlac Turville-Petre implies that Picard was York's Receiver-general, but this identification is far from automatic.[16] The man named in the 1399 mainprises is described as John Picard 'of London' in both cases. I have found two further references to a John Pychard or Pichard acting in some kind of legal and administrative capacity in the London Guildhall in 1402 and 1404.[17] On a different tack, a John Picard was a chapel clerk in the household of Edward's brother, John of Gaunt, in 1397, and this may be the same musician that was named as a composer in

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Bowers, 'Hoccleve's Two Copies of *Lerne to Dye*: Implications for Textual Critics', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 83 (1989), 437–72 (p. 449).

[14] Thorlac Turville-Petre and Edward Wilson, 'Hoccleve, "Maistir Massy" and the *Pearl* Poet: Two Notes', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 26 (1975), 129–33 (p. 130).

[15] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls [. . .] [of] Richard II*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1895–1909), V (1905), 477; *Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 22 vols (London: HMSO, 1911–62), XI (1929), 291, 301.

[16] Turville-Petre and Wilson, 'Hoccleve, "Maistir Massy" and the *Pearl* Poet', pp. 132–33.

[17] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 20 vols (London: HMSO, 1904–95), XVIII (ed. by J. L. Kirby, 1987), 223 and 320.

the early-fifteenth-century Old Hall manuscript connected with the King's Chapel.[18] More confusing still, a John Pykard and his wife and daughter appear in the Earl of Warwick's household accounts in 1417–21.[19] Any of these men might plausibly be the author of the 'Devynayle per Pycard', a rhymed acrostic on the subject of 'Myn owen souerayne lady dere' preserved in the earliest of John Shirley's compilation manuscripts, BL, Additional MS 16165.[20] We have no way of knowing whether the Picard Hoccleve mentions served the Duke of York in a legal, administrative, musical, or literary capacity.[21]

Whatever Picard's status in York's *familia*, both he and Massy act as guardians of decorum in their respective ducal households. Picard's responsibilities may have been primarily spiritual and secondarily aesthetic, whilst Massy was responsible for household administration in terms of logistics, finance, and discipline, but both men in the two *Balades* control access to household hospitality and acceptance into the ducal *familia*.[22] Hoccleve's manuscript representatives take the role of badly dressed or socially difficult visitors who need the approval and assistance of these guardians to remain in the household. Hoccleve pre-empts Massy's disapproval by admitting to his manuscript's failings and hopefully anticipating correction in private: 'yit truste I þat his beneuolence / Compleyne wole myn insipience / Secreetly, and what is mis rectifie' (*DB*, 16–18). Similarly, in the Duke of York's household, Hoccleve places himself and his book under Picard's 'correcioun' (*DY*, 54) but hopes that 'his herte is to me ward / So freendly þat our shame wole he hyde' (*DY*, 44–45).

So why adopt this strategy? Can any more significant intention or interpretation be attached to it beyond the witty demonstration of Hoccleve's close links with his patrons and their households? As an answer, I would like to sketch briefly some of the other ways in which what we might call household narratives were being used in literature and politics in the first decade of the fifteenth century. First and most important is one of the significant legal fictions developed in the aftermath of Henry IV's conquest and usurpation of the English throne in October 1399.[23] The Lancastrian party suggested that Richard II had resigned the crown voluntarily because he had finally been made aware of and confessed to his 'demerita notoria', his notorious flaws or faults.[24] These flaws were developed and articulated in the list of reasons for his deposition given in the widely circulated *Record and Process* narrative.[25] In the sudden rush to create after-the-fact histories of Richard's reign in the first decade of the fifteenth century, writers further assimilated and elaborated these politically charged representations of the failings of Richard and his court.[26] Authors incorporated such ideas into their retrospective accounts of the political history of the 1380s and 1390s, into their explanations of the immediate causes of Henry's usurpation, into set-piece obituaries which summed up Richard's infrequent successes and frequent failures, and into direct comparisons between a retrospectively imagined Ricardian approach to government and the hoped-for qualities of the new Lancastrian administration.[27]

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[18] Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 45 and 51, n. 71.

[19] Clifford Peterson, 'Hoccleve, the Old Hall Manuscript, Cotton Nero A.x., and the *Pearl*-poet', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 28 (1977), 49–55, and Connolly, *John Shirley*, pp. 45 and 51, n. 71.

[20] Connolly, *John Shirley*, pp. 44–45.

[21] Unfortunately, a John Picard does not appear in the surviving documentary evidence of Edward's household and military retinue. I have examined the journal of purchases for the Duke's household for the period 1 October 1409–20 June 1410 (now Northamptonshire Record Office, Westmoreland (Apethorpe) 4. xx. 4), along with the two surviving rolls recording the Duke of York's retinue during the French campaign (PRO, E 101/45/19 and E 101/45/2), without success.

[22] Janet M. Cowen and Jennifer C. Ward, '"Al myn array is bliew, what nedeth more?": Gender and the Household in *The Assembly of Ladies*', in this volume, discuss the role of household officials in regulating the access of visitors, guests, or petitioners to the palace, hall, or head of household.

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[23] Paul Strohm discusses the various strategies employed by Henry IV and the Lancastrian party to justify their claim to the throne in a chapter on 'Saving the Appearances: Chaucer's "Purse" and the Fabrication of the Lancastrian Claim' in his *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 75–94.

[24] *Rotuli parliamentorum: ut et petitiones, et placita in parliamento*, ed. by J. Strachey, 6 vols ([London]: [n.pub.], [1767–77]), III ([n.d.]), 417 (hereafter *RP*).

[25] In addition to appearing in the parliamentary roll (*RP*, III, 416–24), the *Record and Process* narrative is also preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 596. It was also used by Thomas Walsingham in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* and by the compiler of the second part of the Evesham *Historia*.

[26] For an introduction to the historiography of the deposition, see *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397–1400: The Reign of Richard II*, ed. and trans. by Chris Given-Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 1–52. See also G. B. Stow, 'Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles', *Speculum*, 59 (1984), 68–102, and Louisa Desaussure Duls, *Richard II in the Early Chronicles* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

[27] I am thinking particularly of the comparison between the merits of 'H.' and 'R.' in lines 462–77 of the third part of John Gower's *Cronica tripertita* written in 1400 (see *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. by G. C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899–1902), IV (1902), 342); the descriptions of Richard's faults and the faults of his retainers in lines I.88–104, I.112–18, I.173–78, and III.110–370 of the alliterative poem *Richard the Redeless*, also dated to the second half of 1400 (see *The Piers Plowman Tradition: A Critical Edition of Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, Richard the Redeless, Mum and the Sothsegger and The Crowned King*, ed. by Helen Barr (London: Dent, 1993), pp. 101–33); the damning epitaph for Richard in Adam Usk's *Chronicle*, the first part of which covering 1377 to 1400 being written in the spring of 1401 (see *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377–1421*, ed. and trans. by C. Given-Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 90–91); the similar epitaph in the second part of the *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi Secundi* written at the Benedictine Abbey at Evesham (see *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. by George B. Stow, Haney Foundation series, 21

One of these notorious flaws centred on Richard's imagined treatment of truth tellers who attempted to make their voices heard in his presence. In the fifth deposition article, Richard's anonymous subjects respond to the violent and illegal infringements of their rights by the king's Cheshire Guardsmen by bringing 'grete quereles and pleyntes' to 'the kyngis audience and presence'. Rather than assisting his wronged subjects, the article alleges that Richard 'toke no hede, ne gatte no fforce to ordeyne eny remedye, ne helpe ther fore'.[28] A similarly unkingly reaction occurs in article twenty-three when Richard's senior advisers attempt to present him with true advice and counsel:

> in meny grete counceilles ffor the kyng, whan the lordes off the Rewme, Justices and other were charged that they shulde trewly counceille the kyng in alle thinges touching his estate and Rewmes [. . .] whan they yaff trewe counceille affter hir discrecion and witte, they were bytterly blamed by the kyng, and reproved, that they ner not hardy to say the trouthe ffor the state and profyt off the kyng and off the Rewme.[29]

A similar account of the supposed Ricardian dislike of truth tellers and truth telling is given in more imaginative form in the sermon given by the reinstated Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, immediately after Henry had taken possession of the empty English throne in the ceremony at Westminster Hall on 30 September 1399. An official record of this sermon was included as part of the *Record and Process* narrative of the deposition, and thus it is possible to reconstruct what Arundel said (or thought he should have said with the benefit of hindsight) at this pivotal moment in the usurpation.[30] The sermon, whilst prefaced with a theme from I Samuel 9. 17, in fact takes its threefold oppositional structure from I Corinthians 13. 11. The sermon offers three examples of the differences between youthful

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([Philadelphia]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 166–67); Archbishop Arundel's harsh assessment of Richard at Conway Castle as reported by the author of the *Continuatio eulogii*, written at the Greyfriars House in Canterbury (see *Eulogium, historiarum sive temporis*, ed. by F. S. Haydon, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 9, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1858–63), III (1863), 382); and the account of Richard's 'tyranny' and fall in Thomas Walsingham's *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (see *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde, monachorum S. Albani, necnon quorundam anonymorum Chronica et annales*, ed. by H. T. Riley, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 28, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), II, 199–239).

[28] I quote from the Middle English translation of the *Record* which forms part of the London chronicle in BL, Cotton MSS, Julius B II, ed. by C. L. Kingsford in his *Chronicles of London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 19–47 (p. 27).

[29] *Chronicles of London*, ed. by Kingsford, p. 33.

[30] The official text of the sermon can be found in *RP*, III, 423, though it is omitted by Walsingham from the account in the *Annales*. I quote from the Middle English translation in Cotton Julius B II (*Chronicles of London*, ed. by Kingsford, pp. 44–46).

and mature behaviour which were thematically illustrative of the differences between Richard and Henry.[31] The second of these differences concerns youthful and mature attitudes to truth telling. A child only understands and accepts that which is 'plesing and glosyng vnto him', bitterly attacking those who 'reprovith or vndirmyneth him trevly'. This violent reaction to truthful criticism results in an atmosphere in which 'trouth hath be so mych oppressed and leyde vndir ffoot that no man durst speke'. In stark contrast with this childish household, a mature administration is one in which nothing is 'saverid' or appreciated except 'wysdom only'. With an astute allusion to Henry's own position as returning exile, Arundel predicts that mature rule will result in the return of these oppressed personifications: 'therfore trouth shall entre, and fflateryng shall goo his way and voyde.'

Narratives exemplifying Richard's unfavourable treatment of truth tellers also appear in texts composed by writers who, though broadly in favour of the Lancastrian party, were not necessarily writing officially sanctioned accounts of the deposition. In each case, these writers contrast the punitive treatment which truth tellers experience when encountering elements of the Ricardian court and the favourable treatment such truth tellers receive from the Lancastrian court. The first of these encounters is very slight, referring only to one Thomas Prestbury, Master of Theology and monk of Shrewsbury, who had been 'contra excessus suos quedam merito predicasset' ('preaching certain (entirely justifiable) things against his [Richard's] excesses'), but its context is significant.[32] The reference occurs as an aside in Adam Usk's account of the Lancastrian party's landing at Ravenspur on 4 July and their victorious journey through England towards London. At Ludlow Castle on 4 August 1399, Usk, who had joined them at Bristol, says that he procured from Henry and Archbishop Thomas Arundel the release and promotion of Prestbury who had been placed by Richard in the custody of the Abbot of Westminster.[33] While the larger motive behind this aside must be Usk's desire to commemorate his own small role in the wider narrative of the deposition, it can also be read with the kind of thematic emphasis on the supposed Lancastrian support for truth tellers outlined above. Consigned to the Abbot's custody in April 1399 'for particular causes specially moving the king' according to the official record, Prestbury is in Usk's account an identifiable figure who had spoken out against Ricardian excesses. Imprisoned and presumably silenced by Richard, Prestbury, as a truth teller (from a Lancastrian viewpoint), is recognized, restored, and rewarded by the newly emergent Lancastrian faction. Usk shows himself, Henry, and Archbishop Arundel jointly cooperating in this action, inserting himself alongside these two leading figures in a thematically significant narrative.

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[31] This characterization of Richard as an immature or childish ruler was particularly ironic given the fact that Henry and Richard were almost the same age. However, perhaps because Richard's reign began as a minority, accusations of youthful wilfulness (or of the malign influence of youthful counsellors) were consistently levelled at Richard in the post hoc justification of the deposition. He was compared to Rehoboam by the chronicler Adam Usk because he, like Richard, lost his kingdom because of 'iuuenibus consiliariis' ('the counsel of youths'). *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 76–77. These accusations draw on many of the traditions described in Fiona Dunlop's essay, below, which demonstrates why youthful kings were seen in contemporary political theory as bad rulers. Joanne Martin's essay on Older Scots literature (also in this volume) illustrates the complex relationship between literary depictions of minority rule and the historical reality of the minority rules of James IV and James V.

[32] *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 54–55.

[33] See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls [. . .] [of] Richard II*, VI (1909), 584, 592, 594, and *Calendar of the Close Rolls [. . .] [of] Richard II*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1914–27), VI (1927), 468.

In an anonymous alliterative poem now known as *Richard the Redeless*, probably written in the spring or summer of 1400 by a parliamentary clerk or a similar London-based government official, Richard's supposed inability or unwillingness to deal with truth tellers who enter the court is transformed and exaggerated into a Langlandian narrative describing the entry of a personification named 'Wit' (or elsewhere 'Wisdom') into an imagined representation of Richard's household.[34] Amidst all the flatterers, arrogant young men, and fashionably dressed idiots who occupy the Ricardian court in the rest of the poem, Wit is first unrecognized and unnoticed, then verbally and physically abused:

> He was halowid and y-huntid and y-hotte trusse
> And his dwellinge ydemed a bowe-drawte from hem,
> And ich man y-charchid to schoppe at his croune,
> Yif he nyhed hem ony nerer than they nempned.
> The portir with his pikis tho put him vttere,
> And warned him the wickett while the wacche durid:
> 'Lete sle him!' quod the sleues that slode vppon the erthe,
> And alle the berdles burned bayed on him euere,
> And schorned him, for his slaueyn was of the olde schappe. (III.228–36)

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[34] See note 27, above. Further references to this poem are given in the text by passus and line number. For the suggestion that the author was a parliamentary clerk or similar, see *Piers Plowman Tradition*, ed. by Barr, p. 17. Helen Barr discusses the date and authorship of this poem, and its possible relationship with *Mum and the Sothsegger* (a poem I will discuss later in this article), in two articles: 'The Dates of *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*', *Notes and Queries*, n.s., 37 (1990), 270–75, and 'The Relationship of *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*: Some New Evidence', *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 4 (1990), 105–33. See also Diane A. Facinelli, 'Treasonous Criticisms of Henry IV: The Loyal Poet of *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 10 (1989), 51–62, and Helen Barr's extensive discussion of the two poems in her *Signes and Sothe: Language in the Piers Plowman Tradition*, Piers Plowman Studies, 10 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994).

Finally, he is literally kicked out of the imagined Ricardian *familia* on the long points of the fashionable 'piked' shoes of the household's porter.[35] This energetically allegorical narrative may seem merely an elaborate literary exaggeration of some of the latent images present in the deposition articles and associated chronicles, but there is good evidence that such household entries and exits continued to form the stuff of practical politics in the first decade of the fifteenth century. In the Spring parliament of 1404, the Commons chose John Gower's future executor, Sir Arnold Savage, as their Speaker, who reported that they were particularly concerned about 'les grandes Charges et Dispenses de l'Ostel du Roy' ('the large financial burden and expenses of the king's household').[36] The king, lords, and Commons agreed that four specified members of the *familia regis* (the king's confessor, the Abbot of Dore Abbey, Master Richard Dereham, and one 'Crosseby de la Chambre') should be 'oustez et voidez hors d'Ostel du Roy' ('removed and deported from the king's household').[37] Following these expulsions, the Commons introduced a petition which the parliamentary roll summarizes as being intended 'pur mettre honestes persones en l'Ostell du Roi' ('to introduce honest people into the king's household').[38] As well as expelling certain household members, the Commons sought the right to replace them with 'persones honestes et vertuouses' ('honest and virtuous people').

Household expulsions also occurred during the Commons's most sustained attempt to improve Henry's government in the Long Parliament of 1406.[39] In brief, the Commons used the strength which their control over financial grants gave them to prolong debate over Henry IV's governance from 23 March 1406, when the first public pronouncement of the Commons'd complaints was made by their Speaker (Sir John Tiptoft), until late in December 1406 when the king agreed to thirty-one articles of reform and the Commons granted him financial aid in return.[40] As in

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[35] See Barr's explanation of the pun on both spiked weapon and piked shoes. *Piers Plowman Tradition*, ed. by Barr, p. 281 (note to III.232).

[36] *RP*, III, 524. I have silently expanded the abbreviations in Strachey's original diplomatic transcription. For the background to this parliament, see J. L. Kirby, *Henry IV of England* (London: Constable, 1970), pp. 163–70.

[37] *RP*, III, 525; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 197.

[38] *RP*, III, 525 (item 19).

[39] For a superbly detailed account of this parliament, see T. E. F. Wright, 'Royal Finance in the Latter Part of the Reign of Henry IV of England, 1406–1413' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1984), pp. 62–95. For more accessible publications on the subject, see A. J. Pollard, 'The Lancastrian Constitutional Experiment Revisited: Henry IV, Sir John Tiptoft and the Parliament of 1406', *Parliamentary History*, 14 (1995), 103–19, and Gwilym Dodd, 'Conflict or Consensus: Henry IV and Parliament, 1399–1406', in *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Tim Thornton (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), pp. 118–49.

[40] In contrast to previous characterizations of the parliaments of the first half of Henry IV's reign as confrontational and highly critical, the articles by Pollard and Dodd cited above argue

1404, the cost and composition of the royal household attracted a disproportionate amount of criticism. On 8 May, the Commons demanded the expulsion of forty-three named aliens from the household.[41] The composition of the *familia* was also criticized, with Tiptoft reporting the Commons's opinion that the household had 'null substance de persones vaillantz et sufficiantz, si busoigne y serroit, mes de raskaile pur la greindre partie' ('no majority of worthy and capable people, as would be of need there, but for the most part rabble').[42] Finally, the Commons produced thirty-one articles which the members of the king's council should swear to uphold.[43] Many of these articles show the Commons's continuing anxiety about certain aspects of Henry's household. Article three drew attention to the possibility of there being certain people in the household who might influence the king or queen 'pur lour encrees, ou pur lour singuler avantage, ou affection, ou maintenance d'ascune querelle' ('for their advancement, or for their individual profit, or desire, or the wrongful aiding of any legal action'). Unlike the named aliens, these dimly imagined 'persones esteantz entour la Roial Persone' ('people being around the Royal Person') are anonymous, but they are still recognizable as versions of the self-interested, avaricious, linguistically manipulative courtiers familiar from post hoc representations of Richard's *familia*.[44] Article three makes the king's councillors responsible for dismissing such persons from Henry's household. They should be 'voidez hors de company de nostre dit Seigneur le Roy, et de nostre Dame la Roigne' ('removed from the presence of our said Lord the King, and from our Lady the Queen').

These entries and exits from the royal household attracted the attention of the author of *Richard the Redeless*, who used them to structure a second poem, now

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instead that these assemblies provided merely 'limited and constructive criticism' (Dodd, 'Conflict or Consensus', p. 139). Nevertheless, whether the changes in household membership I have referred to were forced on Henry or were part of cooperatively agreed reforms, they show that the royal household was still being used as a kind of screen on which to project certain anxieties about and hopes for royal governance. Dodd suggests that 'the dismissal of household personnel in January 1404 and 1406 was also motivated purely for economic reasons and was therefore very different from the household purges of 1376, 1386 and 1388 which were mainly political in nature' (p. 128). Again, while economic factors may be the real motives for such concern, a political discourse related to household membership and composition — particularly the merits of self-interested courtiers versus more honest truth tellers — is nevertheless being used in parliament to effect financial reform.

[41] *RP*, III, 571–72 (item 29).

[42] Ibid., pp. 576–77 (item 40).

[43] Ibid., pp. 585–89 (items 67–91).

[44] The deposition articles allege that Richard gave away the Crown's resources to 'unworthy persones' or 'dyuers persones ffull vndygne': *Chronicles of London*, ed. by Kingsford, pp. 24, 30. Adam Usk criticizes both the lasciviousness and greed ('laciuiam et excessus') of his household and Richard's supposed fondness for rewarding undeserving or low-born servants unduly: *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 8–9 and 60–63.

known as *Mum and the Sothsegger*, written probably around 1409.[45] The beginning of the poem is missing in the single extant manuscript, but we can reconstruct the poem's opening narrative strategy from the recapitulative summaries given in lines 29–30 and 206–10:

> Now ye haue y-herde of the haselle names,
> Of officiers withynne and without eke,
> [. . .]
> Now is Henry-is hovs holsumly y-made
> And a meritable meyny of the most greet
> And next I haue y-named as nygh as I couthe,
> And the condicions declarid of alle,
> Rehersing no rascaille ne riders aboute.[46]

The extant section names and describes the offices of the treasurer and the chancellor, and thus we might assume that the missing opening of the poem identified and described other key officers of Henry's household. The opening section of the poem poetically constitutes the ideal household in a way which is analogous to the Commons's attempts to alter the membership of the council and household. The narrator considers that the most important household officer currently missing from the *familia* is a 'sothe-sigger' (38) or truth teller, and sets out on a quest to find one for Henry's household. The middle section of the poem (lines 99–1287) describes the narrator's energetic search to find out the current whereabouts of such a truth teller so that he can be reinstalled in the *familia regis* 'yf the king wolde / Haue hym in housholde as holsum were' (101–02). The quest motif allows the narrator to offer a great variety of truth telling commentary on the flaws and failings of the various institutions he encounters, but the images and narratives of household entries and exits are sustained throughout his journey. The narrator visits a wide range of religious institutions — 'abbeys of Augustyn and many hooly places' (537) — but their door policies are as unwelcoming to truth tellers as those of the Ricardian court in *Richard the Redeless*. Visitors are only welcome if they contribute to the upkeep of the fabric of the houses or help to maintain the institution's income:

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[45] For the text of *Mum and the Sothsegger*, see *Piers Plowman Tradition*, ed. by Barr, pp. 137–202. Further references to this poem are given in the text by line number. Previous discussions of the poem include Helen Barr and Kate Ward-Perkins, '"Spekyng for one's sustenance": The Rhetoric of Counsel in *Mum and the Sothsegger*, Skelton's *Bowge of Court* and Elyot's *Pasquil and Playne*', in *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*, ed. by Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 249–72; James Simpson, 'The Constraints of Satire in *Piers Plowman* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*', in *Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition: Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*, ed. by Helen Phillips (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. 11–30; and Andrew Wawn, 'Truth Telling and the Tradition of *Mum and the Sothsegger*', *Year's Work in English Studies*, 13 (1983), 270–87.

[46] Barr speculates that the inclusion of a reference to the exclusion of 'rascaille' from the household in line 210 may be a direct allusion to Tiptoft's complaint about 'raskaile' in the royal household in the Long Parliament of 1406. *Piers Plowman Tradition*, ed. by Barr, p. 301 (n. to line 210).

> Thay koueiten no comers but yf thay cunne helpe
> Forto amende thaire mynstre and to maynteyne thaire rent,
> Or in worke or in worde waite thaire profit,
> Or elles entreth he not til thay haue y-[sopid]. (546–49)

This door policy means that the narrator is turned away from each of these institutions because of his lack of money and his lowly estate: 'But for I was a meen man I might not entre' (540). Like the figure of Wit or Wisdom in Passus Three of *Richard*, the narrator is ejected from one of these religious houses by the porter responsible for controlling admission to the household:

> Thus thaire portier for my pourete putt me thens,
> And grauntid me of his goodnesse to go where me luste
> And to wandry where I wolde without the gates. (550–52)

Truth telling encounters first suggested in the deposition schedule and subsequently in *Richard* are here used in *Mum* to describe the present and ongoing state of affairs throughout the kingdom. The narrator visits not one household but hundreds, and finds such treatment of truth tellers endemic on every social level:

> Thenne ferkid I to fre men and frankeleyns mony,
> To bonde-men and bourgois and many other barnes,
> To knightz and to comunes and craftz-men eeke,
> To citezeyns and souurayns and to many grete sires,
> To bachilliers, to banerettz, to barons and erles,
> To princes and peris and alle maniere estatz;
> But in euery court there I came or cumpaigny outhir
> I fonde mo mvmmers atte moneth-ende
> Than of sothe-sigger[z] by seuene score thousand.
> For alle the knyghtz of the court that with the king dwellen,
> For the more partie [yee], mo than an hunthrid,
> Heulden Mvm for a maister. (788–99)

In the passage of time between the composition of *Richard* and the composition of *Mum*, such treatment of truth tellers has shifted from a supposedly Ricardian feature to a national phenomenon. Despite their initial self-presentation as a household which would offer access to external truth tellers, the narrator places the Lancastrian *familia* in the role formerly occupied by the Ricardian household. Such poetic repetition of scenarios which had earlier been employed in *Richard the Redeless* demonstrates the continuing political and literary currency of positive and negative household encounters during Henry's reign.

For my purposes here, what is particularly interesting is that Hoccleve's messenger-books are imagined in ways which are similar to the plain-speaking, plainly dressed truth tellers celebrated by the author of *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*. During his visit to the Ricardian household, Wit is 'arouutyd' ('reproached'), 'rebuked often', and 'schorned' (III.221 and 236) by the fashionable courtiers because of his old-fashioned, simple clothing, his 'holsum gyse, / Not ouerlonge, but ordeyned in the olde schappe' (III.212–13). These vestimentary contrasts between utility or simplicity and fashionability are extended in *Mum and the Sothsegger* to encompass the entire contrast between Mum's ultra-contemporary modus operandi and the narrator's more old-fashioned alternative. The narrator of *Mum* researches the question of whether keeping mum or truth telling is the more loyal behaviour in a servant by looking into the books of 'Sidrac', 'Salomon', and 'Seneca' (304–05). Having studied these sapiential authors, the narrator equates his nostalgic preference for truth telling over the new fashion for flattery and 'mum-keeping' with his earlier contrast between the utility clothing of times past and the outlandishness of contemporary fashion:

> But of the matiere Mvm might I nought finde,
> Ne no nycete of the newe [iette],
> But al homely vsage of the olde date,
> How that [good] gouuernance gracieusely endith. (310–13)

The narrator also concedes that a truth teller may lack both rhetorical style and the patience or awareness to wait until a socially appropriate occasion for his truth telling: 'He can not speke in termes ne in tyme nother / But bablith fourth bustusely as barn vn-y-lerid' (49–50). Furthermore, these failings in social decorum, in combination with his unpalatably blunt truth telling, frequently provoke violence from other members of the *familia*:

> [For] he abidith in no household half a yere to th'ende
> [But the] lord and the lady been loeth of his wordes,
> And the meyny and he mowe not accorde,
> But al to-teereth his toppe for his trewe tales. (45–48)

Such truth tellers share with Hoccleve's messenger-books a certain similarity in their old-fashioned, undecorated clothing and their lack of social decorum, particularly as regards their lack of decorous, flattering speech.

Against this political and literary background, I would argue that the projected interaction between Hoccleve's books and the senior members of the two ducal households combines the familiar modesty topos with two more contentious and contemporary possibilities: first, the sympathetic, tolerant welcome which ought to be offered to truth tellers in the ideal households presided over by good governors, and second, its politically hazardous opposite, the punishment and/or exclusion of truth tellers by unruly courtiers who both exemplify and engender the incompetent governance of their masters. The household narrative imagined for Hoccleve's books is at once flattering (with Hoccleve politely deferring to the dukes and their servants), but the narrative's structure also subtly labels Hoccleve's books as truth tellers and challenges the ducal household to recognize them as such and to welcome them in an appropriate manner.

I have already drawn attention to the resemblance between truth tellers in the two alliterative poems and the physical characteristics of Hoccleve's manuscripts. Another shared tendency is either voluntary or forcible marginalization within the spatial boundaries of the household. Hoccleve asks that the Duke of York places his manuscript 'apart' (*DY*, 39) to avoid censure from Picard and he also hopes that Massy will correct the Bedford manuscript 'secreetly' (*DB*, 18). This reticence parallels the reserve shown by Wit in the Ricardian household: 'he drough him to an herne at the hall ende' (III.211). However, this spatial withdrawal becomes punitive in the mayor's household in *Mum and the Sothsegger* where the truth teller 'dyneth this day with Dreede in a chambre, / And hath y-drunke dum-seede, and dar not be seye' (838–39). In his envoys, Hoccleve employs this possibility of physical sidelining to present initially exaggerated fears about his manuscripts' reception, before anticipating (and tacitly therefore requesting) a more welcomed and less marginalized status in the household. With more confidence, he tells the Bedford book to 'go shewe thow thy face / Beforn my seid maistir' (*DB*, 21–22) and agrees to let Picard 'looke on' (*DY*, 44) the York manuscript.

If the books are conceived of in this way, the poems stage a kind of pre-emptive test of how each ducal *familia* might deal with the arrival of a truth teller in its midst. Hoccleve initially invokes the dangerous possibility that his truth telling representatives might be punished or expelled like the majority of their human equivalents, but he also manipulates the result of the test by anticipating that the manuscripts will be privately corrected and then integrated into the household. Whilst Massy and Picard are the main agents of correction, the ultimate responsibility for the manuscripts is transferred to the heads of the ducal households, Bedford and York, the respective recipients of the manuscripts. As the books enter the two ducal households as new members, Hoccleve relinquishes his control over his manuscripts. He tells the York book that 'my lord, nat I, shal haue of thee poweer, / Axe him licence, vpon him crie and grede' (*DY*, 35–36). Similarly, Hoccleve now requires the 'licence of my lordes grace' (*DB*, 19) to give the Bedford manuscript orders and advice.

This deferral of rhetorical judgement and household control are extensions of the traditional modesty topos through which Hoccleve could effectively force the hand of his patrons by predicting and deflecting negative responses to his text. In these contexts, the actual or projected treatment of truth tellers serves as a way of measuring or conveying the positive or negative qualities of a particular household. Whilst Hoccleve's project is not overtly as radical or polemic as the *Mum*-poet's, the two *Balades* employ these politically sensitive images and narratives to challenge the two dukes to live up to these new standards of household management. Bedford or York's status as good governors is implicitly contingent on their acceptance of

Hoccleve’s book or pamphlet. Hoccleve alters a familiar topos to suggest the types of household exits, entries, and encounters which were current both in parliamentary attempts to improve Lancastrian governance and in literary polemic such as *Richard the Redeless* or *Mum and the Sothsegger*. Even in their small and conventional manner, these poetic envoys are not without interest — they have something to tell us about Lancastrian poetics and about the way in which ideas of the household or *familia* were important in both political and literary exchanges in the early fifteenth century.[47]

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[47] Other poems written during the reign of Henry IV may also bear witness to this shared literary and political interest in household governance. For example, Hoccleve’s *La Male Regle*, written in late 1405 or early 1406 and addressed to the then treasurer, Thomas Nevil, Lord Fourneval, contrasts his own treatment at the hands of the allegorical personification Health with that of two other members of the royal household, ‘Prentys and Arondel’ (lines 320–36), who were both clerks of the King’s Chapel. See A. B. Wathey, ‘Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1987), pp. 152, 166–67.

'Al myn array is bliew, what nedith more?': Gender and the Household in *The Assembly of Ladies*

JANET M. COWEN AND JENNIFER C. WARD

The theme of the household in *The Assembly of Ladies* has been both a focus of critical attention to the poem and a source of some puzzlement. The poem is dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century and is extant in three late-fifteenth-century manuscripts.[1] It thus belongs to the time when the concept of the Renaissance court was beginning to emerge in England, a process which, as David Starkey, David Morgan, and Malcolm Vale have shown, gave the court a sharper definition than earlier in the Middle Ages and which was to reach its height under the Tudors.[2] The poem throws light on the overlapping relationship between household and court, and makes it clear that courts were not confined to royalty as is often assumed. Every king, queen, lord, or lady relied on the services of the household to meet the needs of daily life. The stables, service departments, and hall ensured provisioning for family, servants, and visitors, and the chamber provided personal services; the poem highlights the role of both the steward, in charge of provisioning, and the chamberlain, at the head of the chamber staff (263–66, 328–32). The household provided the means for the lord to pursue his activities, but did not primarily concern itself with his relations with the outside world. For this, the term court is more appropriate. The meaning of the term is not clear-cut in the late Middle Ages, and the court cannot be regarded as an institution. It signified the place where the lord was present; his residence was an integral part of the court, just as the palace of Lady Loiaulte (Loyalty) is an integral part of the poem. The lord constituted a centre of attraction, with men and women, mainly from the elite, flocking to him, offering gifts, and seeking protection and patronage. This was especially the case on solemn occasions when the lord held court, and councils and feasts were held, just as Lady Loiaulte held a council in the poem. Some household servants, especially those attached to the chamber, can be described as courtiers, in that they were responsible for presenting the lord to the world.

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[1] BL, Additional MS 34360; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 19; Longleat House, Longleat MS 258 (hereafter referred to as A, Tr, L respectively). The poem appears in *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. by W. W. Skeat, 7 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894–97), VII (1897), *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 380–404. The fullest edition is in *The Floure and the Leafe and The Assembly of Ladies*, ed. by D. A. Pearsall (London: Nelson, 1962; repr. Manchester University Press, 1980). The text is also available, with briefer introduction and notes and selective marginal glosses, in *The Floure and the Leafe; The Assembly of Ladies; The Isle of Ladies*, ed. by Derek Pearsall, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990). Quotations and line numbers in this essay are from the 1962 edition.

[2] David Starkey, 'Introduction', and D. A. L. Morgan, 'The House of Policy: The Political Role of the Late Plantaganet Household, 1422–1485', in *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 1–8, 21–69; Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 15–33.

The central action of the poem focuses on the lady's court, and comprises the attendance of a group of women at an audience called by Lady Loiaulte, a lady of high rank, to whom the women present petitions. This action forms the content of a dream, related by the female narrator. In formal and generic terms the poem can be recognized as a series of love complaints within an allegorical dream vision. More specifically, it can be located within the literary traditions of the court of love.[3] Yet at the same time the poem places a great deal of emphasis on the business and formal procedures of the noble household and court; indeed, the poem even suggests an anxiety about such procedures. It is the purpose of this essay to consider possible social and political implications of the poem's conspicuous attention to household structure and process. In particular, we ask how the all-female household constructed in the poem might best be understood in relation to the predominantly male composition of actual fifteenth-century great households, and how far the idealized female community might in effect constitute an ideal for men.

We preface our discussion with a summary of the poem, as follows. The narration of the dream and the dream itself both begin in the same spot, a formal garden with a maze and an arbour. There, the narrator relates, she was walking on a September day in the company of four other ladies (5–6), their four gentlewomen (8), and a large number of knights and squires (14). One of the men asked her what she was doing, and why she looked so pale. In reply she told him how, walking one afternoon with her female companions, she lost them in the maze and, growing tired, made her way to the arbour ('herber' 48) where, musing over past events, she fell asleep. There she dreamt that she and the other women were summoned by a gentlewoman (79) to the house of Lady Loiaulte, to a council ('counsaile' 109), where they may present their petitions about anything displeasing to them. Loiaulte will gladly give them audience and assistance ('audience' 123; 'help' 126). Considerable emphasis is placed on the required dress and deportment: they must come dressed in blue with their mottoes on their sleeves (119); no excuse or delay is acceptable (112); they must not be abashed in such an exalted presence (121); and they must not take any men with them (146–47). The house is fine enough for a king and is called Plesaunt Regard (170). Through this summons, the arrangements for the journey, and the reception into the great lady's presence, members of the household of Lady Loiaulte are introduced function by function, beginning with Perseveraunce, the chamber-usher who brings the summons, and concluding with the secretary, Avisenesse (343, glossed by Pearsall 'Prudent Consideration'), who reads the bills in Lady Loiaulte's presence. All these household officers are female (see Appendix for details). There is a good deal of coming and going and waiting about in the ostensible pursuit of correct procedure, marked by an anxious attention to particularities of clothing and mottoes. A large company of other ladies and gentlewomen arrive, all dressed in blue, but so numerous that their mottoes cannot be discerned. Perseveraunce, busying herself in the interests of the narrator and her friends, asks to hear their mottoes in confidence. The narrator replies that these will be known by and by when they broach their business and reiterates, in the words used in the title of this paper, that, as she had told the porter earlier, she herself has none; it should be enough that she is in blue clothes: 'Al myn array is bliew, what nedith more?' (413).[4] Perseveraunce then says she will seek further instructions, and the narrator replies that they would be grateful for anything that can be done to forward their business, for delay in such matters is expensive as well as tedious: 'Grete cost alwey there is in tarying, / And long to sue it is a wery thyng' (419–20). Perseveraunce withdraws, comes back, and takes them to the chamberlain, who conducts them to a richly decorated chamber where the great lady herself finally appears. When they kneel and present their bills to the great lady, she receives them herself, a point which is noted as if with a certain surprise: 'and, wote ye what, (do you know what?) / Full humbly she toke hem by oon and one' (542–43). The lady then calls to the chamberlain to take the bills to the secretary (551–53), then orders her back to bring the secretary to read the bills in her presence, so that she can take advice from the ladies of her council. The bills are read. The first lady complains of a broken promise, the second that she has no reward for her service, the third that she has no security in happiness, the fourth that she cannot see her beloved when she most wishes it. The first gentlewoman complains she has given up hope, the second that her fidelity is of no avail, the third that her beloved is fixed upon another, and the fourth prays for good continuance. The end result of these procedures is a postponement. After the reading the lady summons all the petitioners to receive a general answer. This answer, introduced with a colloquial note of apparent surprise by the narrator, ‘What did she than, suppose yow, verily?’ (715, ‘What do you think she did then?’), is to announce the holding of a parliament (‘oure co*ur*t of parlement’ 720) in her palace, for the finding of ‘an open remedy’ (723). Diligence will bring written notice of the date. The company thank her humbly, considering themselves content with the situation. At this point, the narrator relates, she woke up and went immediately to record her dream. Her listener comments that the dream was well worth recording, and, on enquiring what is the title of her book, commends ‘La semble de Dames’ (752) as a suitable one.[5] With that they part and she goes to join her friends.

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[3] For comparisons, see *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), pp. 54–56, and the comprehensive collection of materials in William Allan Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the 'Court of Love'*, Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, 6 (Boston: Ginn, 1899).

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[4] The symbolism of blue as the colour of fidelity is well attested in the literature of the period. For examples, see *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), pp. 37, 156–57.

A review of the twentieth-century scholarship of the poem reveals a discernible pattern of critical interest. In the relatively infrequent discussion of the poem in the middle decades of the twentieth century, critics tended to concur in perceiving a dissonance between the poem’s ostensible mode and subject — vindication of the truth and loyalty of women — and its lively evocation of what C. S. Lewis quotably termed ‘the stir and bustle of an actual court’. The critical tendency was to argue that the poet’s fascination with details of court behaviour confuses rather than clarifies the meaning of the poem.[6] Discussion of the poem post-1980 took a perhaps predictable turn, finding in the suspended outcome of the busy proceedings a critique of the conventional womanly qualities personified by Lady Loiaulte and her followers.[7] Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson place at the centre of their analysis of the poem the disparity between, on the one hand, the details of courtly protocols and procedures suggestive of contemporary reference and, on the other hand, the all-female composition of the idealized household, which sets it apart from actual practice.[8] They argue that this incongruity suggests the redundancy of women, however virtuous, in actual court structures. In other words, they locate the poem’s vitality in the discrepancy which for earlier critics was a disabling fault.

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[5] Jane Chance, ‘Christine de Pizan as Literary Mother: Women’s Authority and Subjectivity in “The Floure and the Leafe” and “The Assembly of Ladies”’, in *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Margarete Zimmermann and Dina de Rentiis (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 245–59 (pp. 256–57), argues that there is a play on the meanings ‘likeness’ and ‘assembly’. There is dictionary support for both senses; see Adolf Tobler and Erhard Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Weidmann; Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1925–), semblé s.m.; semblee s.f.

[6] See, for example, C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 250; *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), pp. 57–58; John Stephens, ‘The Questioning of Love in the *Assembly of Ladies*’, *Review of English Studies*, 24 (1973), 129–40.

[7] Judith M. Davidoff, ‘Flouting Literary Convention: Structural Irony in *The Assembly of Ladies*’, *Mediaevalia*, 8 (1985 for 1982), 259–76; Ann McMillan, ‘“Fayre Sisters Al”: *The Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies*’, *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature*, 1 (1982), 27–42.

[8] Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson, ‘*The Assembly of Ladies*: A Maze of Feminist Sign-Reading?’, in *Feminist Criticism: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Sellers (New York: Harvester Press, 1991), pp. 171–96.

The question of whether the poem should be attributed to a female author has been debated since the time it was firmly separated from Chaucer's works by Walter Skeat.[9] This question is not the main focus of this essay. The discussion was incisively reviewed in a salutary article by Alexandra Barratt, the object of which was not primarily to mount an argument for female authorship, but to examine some of the presuppositions at work in the attribution of anonymous early literature.[10]

In the last decade there has also been reconsideration of the presuppositions at work in the identification of models for the poem. Jane Chance locates the poem in the context of the reception of Christine de Pizan in fifteenth-century England, arguing against the position which she represents as follows: 'works of fifteenth-century England either about women, or with a woman narrator, or possibly attributable to women, have in the past been masculinized by modern medievalists who have perceived these feminine aspects as Chaucerian'.[11] Chance was not, of course, the first to raise the name of Christine de Pizan in relation to the poem. References to Christine's works appear frequently among the comparisons cited in Pearsall's edition. Pearsall finds analogues there for the defence of the honour and fidelity of women, for the complaints, and for the presiding figure of Loiaulte.[12] However, the tenor of his discussion of themes and conventions is to present Christine's contribution to the debate about women as diffused, in England, through the work of writers such as Hoccleve, Charles of Orleans, and Lydgate, and to locate the model for the relation of dream and narrative frame in *The Assembly of Ladies* in Chaucer's dream poems. Chance, on the other hand, argues for a more direct influence of Christine, and a specific adoption of 'symbolic settings from her poems *Le Dit de la Rose* and *La Cité des Dames* especially'.[13]

Certain strands of Chance's argument are weak, and indeed unnecessary to her main proposition. For instance, she traces the valorization of women's language and writing in *The Assembly of Ladies* to the exemplary female deities in the *Cité* who are credited with the invention of alphabets — Isis, Carmentis — without taking account of the fact that these originary examples are in this respect identical with those in Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris*, from which Christine derived them. More to the point would be to emphasize that in the *Cité* Christine has restructured Boccaccio's series of examples of fame and infamy into a form in which the examples in question are materials in the construction of an ideal community. In this respect, Chance has a cogent case for consideration, especially since the presence of Christine's *Cité des Dames* in fifteenth-century England is demonstrable. It is included in the collected edition of Christine's works in BL, Harley MS 4431, which came into the possession of the Woodville family; the copy in BL, Royal MS 19 A XIX contains badges of the house of York; and Alice de la Pole, duchess of Suffolk, owned a copy of it.[14] There is also evidence that Christine's *Livre des Trois Vertus* (otherwise known as *Le Trésor de la Cité des Dames*) was known in fifteenth-century England: the copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fr. D 5, dated to the mid-fifteenth century, has been attributed to an English scribal hand.[15] It is therefore appropriate to consider the *Livre* as another available model of household orderliness for *The Assembly of Ladies*. However, the place of *Le Dit de la Rose* in English literary culture remains more elusive, and here Chance, in postulating a direct influence, indeed, a deliberate rewriting, risks giving a misleading impression. The presence of copies of *Le Dit de la Rose* in fifteenth-century England is not documented.[16] The *Dit* was excluded from collections of Christine's works made after 1402,[17] and by its date of composition (February 1402) it is considered to be probably too late to have been among the manuscripts sent by Christine to Henry IV in the hope of effecting her son's return to France.[18] Nor has any specific verbal similarity with other English poems of the period been remarked beyond the name of Loiaulte, in the *Dit* the goddess sent by the god of love to establish the order of the Rose for those who defend the honour of womanhood. It is difficult to resist the assumption of influence. The coincidence of a presiding figure of the same name in a dream poem with a female narrator is remarkable, as Pearsall commented: 'the choice of Loyalty as the chief figure [. . .] is in accordance with the general theme of the poem, but seems to owe something also to the appearance of the goddess Loyalty in Christine de

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[9] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, I, 44; VII, lxix–lxx. *The Assembly of Ladies* was included in the 1532 collected edition of the works of Chaucer by William Thynne, who appears to have first coined the modern anglicized form of the title. The copy of the poem now in the British Library has a note in the hand of the sixteenth-century antiquarian John Stow attributing the poem to Chaucer. The poem was included in subsequent sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of Chaucer's works, and remained in the Chaucer canon unchallenged until 1778. See *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), p. 13.

[10] Alexandra A. T. Barratt, '*The Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies*: Is there a (Sexual) Difference?', *Philological Quarterly*, 66 (1987), 1–24.

[11] Chance, 'Christine de Pizan as Literary Mother', p. 249.

[12] *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), pp. 53, 54, 57.

[13] Chance, 'Christine de Pizan as Literary Mother', p. 259.

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[14] See Carol Meale, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: Book Production and Social Status', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 201–38 (p. 208).

[15] See Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. by Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1989), p. xx.

[16] See *Poems of Cupid, God of Love*, ed. by Thelma S. Fenster and Mary Carpenter Erler (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 20–25, for brief descriptions and references to earlier work on the manuscripts.

[17] *Poems of Cupid*, ed. by Fenster and Erler, p. 17.

[18] J. C. Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan, the Earl of Salisbury and Henry IV', *French Studies*, 36 (1982), 129–43 (p. 135).

Pizan's *Dit de la Rose*'.[19] Yet we are hardly in a position to strengthen this link except insofar as the scholarship of more recent decades, in accumulating details of manuscript provenance, ownership, and use of Christine's writings, has sketched a somewhat firmer general impression of the knowledge of her work in fifteenth-century England.

Knowledge of a work, though, and use of it are two different things. Whereas Chance has postulated the influence of Christine in terms of women's authority and subjectivity in texts reflective of female wisdom and virtue, there is a demonstrably divergent context for the reception of Christine's work within which the position of *The Assembly of Ladies* must be considered. This is a context in which her works are appropriated by male writers. Mishtooni Bose has recently made a persuasive case for the borrowing from the framework of *La Cité des Dames* in the preface to a vernacular theological work of Reginald Pecock. She argues that the borrowed material — a revelation in which the writer is visited and encouraged by a group of women personifying the truths of philosophy — acts as a self-authentication of Pecock's project of writing theology in the vernacular, in other words, of extending clerical authority into new literary territory. Thus a device used for self-authentication by a female writer is turned to the interests of masculine literary authority.[20] An extensive demonstration of a similar situation is given by Jennifer Summit, who shows, with particular reference to titles, prefaces, dedications to patrons, and other pieces of textual apparatus, that 'when Christine's works were adapted to English contexts, they were produced by, and packaged as, models for, not literate women but gentlemen'.[21] Among the examples she cites are the preface to the translation of Christine's *L'Epistre d'Othea* made sometime around 1450 by Stephen Scrope, stepson of the Norfolk gentleman Sir John Fastolf, where 'Dame Christine' is represented not as the author but as the instigator of the book, said to have been compiled at her request by a group of university scholars; and a translation of Christine's *Proverbes moraulx* by Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, printed by Caxton (1478), where Caxton adds to Woodville's epilogue, which clearly ascribes authorship to Christine, a stanza of his own, commending the book to the earl, whose copy he declares he has followed faithfully, so redirecting the final emphasis from female author to male translator, and reinscribing the book within the network of relationships between printer and patron.[22]

In the final line of *The Assembly of Ladies*, in a manoeuvre typical of the ending of a dream poem, the interpretative responsibility is turned over to the reader: 'Rede wele my dreame, for now my tale is done' (756). Is the household of the poem a miniature 'City of Ladies' as Jane Chance has argued? Even if so, it could perhaps very early have been reappropriated in the interests of male bonding. It is perhaps not irrelevant to remark that William Thynne, who used the poem in his project to produce a collected works of Chaucer more comprehensive than any that had yet been attempted, rose to be a master of the household of Henry VIII. Also, the preface dedicating the edition to the king, which speaks of Thynne's zeal 'to here any thyng soundyng to the laude and honour of this your noble realme', was actually written for him by a fellow member of the household, Henry VIII's secretary.[23]

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[19] *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), p. 57.

[20] Mishtooni Bose, 'The Annunciation to Pecock: Clerical *Imitatio* in the Fifteenth Century', *Notes and Queries*, 245 (2000), 172–76.

[21] Jennifer Summit, *Lost Property: The Woman Writer and English Literary History, 1380–1589* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 68.

[22] Summit, *Lost Property*, pp. 73, 85.

Is *The Assembly of Ladies*, then, a poem about the household as much as, or more than, it is a poem about love? Even the salient passage which ostensibly highlights the theme of love invites consideration in the context of household relations. On the crystal walls of Loiaulte's audience chamber are engraved stories of women unfortunate in love, so dazzling that they are veiled with fine gauze to prevent people hurting their eyes (see Appendix for details). Such groupings, often containing these particular examples, are found elsewhere in lists of faithful women wronged in love.[24] Their presence on the chamber wall creates a context of expectation for a series of women's love complaints in the tradition of Ovid's *Heroides*, and yet the language of the petitions themselves is more ambiguous. As Pearsall has said, 'one could not be sure exactly what the ladies are complaining about if one did not already know'.[25] The word 'love' does not appear until the petition of the fourth lady, who complains that she cannnot enjoy the sight of what she loves best — the object is not even personalized here: 'there as she lovid best [. . .] / She myght nat se' (611–13). It is only in the complaint of the third gentlewoman that the theme of unrequited sexual love is more explicit: 'There she loved hir labour was in vayne / For he was sette al in another place' (668–69). The petitions in *The Assembly of Ladies* are notably less explicit as love complaints than in other poems of the period with comparable formal features. For example in *The Temple of Glass*, *The Kingis Quair*, and the anonymous *Court of Love*, the formal complaints at the centre of the poems are specifically addressed to Venus, and the topics range over unrequited love, sexual pleasure, and incompatible marital partners.[26] Arguably the metaphorical language of service and reward, of desert and remedy, is so thoroughly familiar in courtly love literature as to render the petitions of *The Assembly of Ladies* transparent as forms of amorous complaint. Yet we must take note that the concept, indeed the word, 'love' extended in the Middle Ages to a broader range of social bonds than nowadays, and featured specifically in processes of formal agreement.[27] With this in mind it seems reasonable to argue, as Boffey has done, that the pleas 'seem related much more to the concerns of life in any sort of community — a court or household, say — than to women's particular grievances against men, or indeed to grievances necessarily connected with amorous relationships', and also that the structures of the poem 'suggest much more generally the value of a forum for airing problems of a fairly comprehensive kind such as arise from the need to keep accord among people living together'.[28]

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[23] See James E. Blodgett, 'William Thynne', in *Editing Chaucer: The Great Traditon*, ed. by Paul G. Ruggiers (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1984), pp. 35–52, and the facsimile edition *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Works 1532* (London: Scolar Press, 1978), unpaginated introduction by Derek Brewer, [pp. i–ii].

[24] See *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), p. 164; Julia Boffey, '"Twenty Thousand More": Some Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Responses to *The Legend of Good Women*', in *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions. Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press; Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), pp. 279–97.

[25] *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1990), p. 31.

[26] *The Temple of Glas*, lines 144–246, in John Lydgate, *Poems*, ed. by John Norton-Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 67–112; James I of Scotland, *The Kingis Quair*, ed. by

To take an approach such as Boffey's is to value the literal terms of the poem above their traditional figurative extension as love allegory. The poem was, indeed, well grounded in the environment and ideas of the fifteenth-century nobility. Its settings were realistic and can be directly compared with fifteenth-century manuscripts and surviving buildings. Gardens like that in which the ladies and gentlewomen were walking with knights and squires at the beginning of the poem were depicted in numerous illuminated manuscripts, as in illustrations to the *Roman de la Rose*. Such a garden would have its cross alleys or walks, its spring or fountain, its flowers like daisies, pansies, forgetmenots, and speedwell, and its herbs like the pot of marjoram. It might even have its maze, as Charles V of France (1364–80) had at the Hôtel St Pol in Paris.[29]

Similar realism is shown in the account of Lady Loiaulte's palace. Perseveraunce described its high towers and the chambers and parlours with bay windows suitable for dancing and amusement (160–63), and the name Plesaunt Regard (170) seems particularly fitting. It was obviously large with plenty of lodgings for guests. The interior was as splendid as the outside. The hall where the petitions were received was an especially magnificent room, with a paved floor, paintings on the walls, and glazed windows; the lady's stone chair was ornamented with gold and sapphires, a

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John Norton-Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), lines 540–651; *The Court of Love*, lines 251–56, 575–88, 1095–1134, in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 409–47. For a more detailed comparison of the complaints in *The Assembly of Ladies* and *The Temple of Glass*, see Julia Boffey, '"Forto compleyne she had gret desire": The Grievances Expressed in Two Fifteenth-Century Dream Visions', in *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. by Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), pp. 116–28.

[27] See Michael Clanchy, 'Law and Love in the Middle Ages', in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. by John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 47–67.

[28] Boffey, '"Forto compleyne"', p. 122.

[29] Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (London: British Museum, 1995), p. 6; John Harvey, *Medieval Gardens* (London: Batsford, 1981), p. 92.

jewel representing truth and constancy, and had an embroidered canopy of state above.[30] The narrator was concerned to emphasize the richness and splendour of the room, and it formed an appropriate setting for Lady Loiaulte's court.

Such a description would bring to mind the great houses which were being built in the fifteenth century and featured both bay windows and towers. Herstmonceux Castle, built for Sir Roger Fiennes about 1441, was approached across a wide moat, and its size and imposing gatehouse still impress the visitor. The multiplication of chambers and lodgings is found in many fifteenth-century houses, as at Sir John Fastolf's Caister Castle in Norfolk, begun about ten years earlier. Here, the north-west tower dominates the rest of the building. Dancing chambers are mentioned in royal and aristocratic residences from the fourteenth century; references were made to them in Windsor Castle in the time of Edward III.[31] The greater number of rooms reflected the desire for privacy. Although the great hall continued to be used for meals, separate dining arrangements for the family are found from the later fourteenth century in both palaces and manor houses. At Haddon Hall in Derbyshire, the main entrance led into a court with lodgings and the chapel; the visitor walked across to the hall which was flanked on one side by the kitchen, buttery, and pantry and on the other by the parlour over which was the great chamber. These two rooms could only be entered from the dais end of the hall and were the place where the family, like Lady Loiaulte, lived its own life. Controlled access ensured privacy, and those who guarded this privacy exercised considerable power.[32]

The poem was describing a typical fifteenth-century great house in all its splendour, not an individual residence. It was literary convention to give the house a name which reflected its situation and its role in the story. Names were also given to real houses, like Plesaunce in Greenwich, one of the residences of Queen Margaret of Anjou, and this name was also given to other fifteenth-century buildings. Henry V built a pavilion containing a hall and chambers at Kenilworth which was approached across the lake and which was known as 'the Plesance in the marsh'.[33]

Magnificence of dress and jewellery, as well as of buildings and furnishings, were integral to the noble and courtly lifestyle of the fifteenth century. Lady Loiaulte wore a robe of blue cloth of gold with pearls and diamonds on the hem, a collar of white enamel flowers each with a ruby at the centre, and a headdress of balas rubies which signified peace and chastity.[34] All the other ladies present were wearing blue, but cloth of gold was a fabric only worn by the royal family and higher nobility. In describing dress, the poet was drawing on contemporary examples. Manuscript illuminations throw light on rich fabrics and elaborate dress, as in the picture where Christine de Pizan presented her book of poems to Isabeau of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI of France. Rich dress was essential for solemn and ceremonial occasions, such as tournaments or the court of love described in the poem. Special outfits were called for, and it was usual for the women to be dressed in one colour and to wear devices on their sleeves. For the royal tournament at Saint-Denis in May 1389, the ladies wore dark green robes of Brussels cloth lined with pale green taffeta. On the left sleeve was embroidered in gold and silver thread Charles VI's device of a broom pod set in May foliage. Green silk ribbons, some of them embroidered in gold, were used by the ladies to lead the knights into the jousting field. The queen was dressed in scarlet velvet lined with scarlet taffeta. After the jousts, the evenings were taken up with feasting and dancing. In the *Book of the Duke of True Lovers*, Christine de Pizan clothed the ladies in white silk with the device embroidered in gold, and the Duke fastened the sleeve of his Lady to the crest of his helmet for all to see.[35] Clothing signified meaning as well as display, and the blue dresses of the poem stood for steadfastness.

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[30] *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), pp. 164–65.

[31] Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), pp. 534–36; C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 63–68.

[32] F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 40; M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), p. 38.

[33] *The History of the King's Works*, ed. by H. M. Colvin, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1963–82), I and II, *The Middle Ages*, ed. by R. A. Brown and others, I, 245, 475; II, 685, 949.

The poet's knowledge of great houses, gardens, and ceremonial occasions shows an understanding of fifteenth-century noble life. The concept of hospitality was deeply rooted in the noble psyche. The nobility was committed to offer open hospitality to all, and the virtues of generosity and largesse were widely praised. Although nobles may well have been happiest when the guests were their own peers, hospitality was counted as one of the seven works of mercy, while avarice was one of the seven deadly sins. Splendour, authority, and responsibility went together, and the lord's chair was a mark of his status and his dispensing of justice and patronage.

The readiness to receive petitions from inferiors and to take appropriate action was regarded as one of the duties of the noble. The poet was aware that lawsuits were lengthy and costly (419–20), and the outcome by no means guaranteed; the poem 'London Lickpenny' made the point even more clearly with its refrain, 'For lack of money I might not speed'.[36] To be able to secure the intervention of a superior who would be able to exert influence and possibly secure a solution by arbitration was extremely valuable. So was having an intermediary who could smooth the way to the lord, and Perseveraunce played this role in the poem, arranging for lodgings, seeing the chamberlain about the petitions, and making a way for the petitioners through the crowd (386–92, 432–41). In the fifteenth century belonging to an influential network really mattered.

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[34] *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), p. 167.

[35] *The Flowering of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Joan Evans (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), p. 149 (a reproduction of the picture of Christine presenting her book to Isabeau of Bavaria); Marcel Thibault, *Isabeau de Bavière Reine de France* (Paris: Didier, 1903), pp. 122–24; *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*, selected and ed. by C. C. Willard (New York: Persea, 1994), pp. 74–76.

[36] *English Historical Documents, 1327–1485*, ed. by A. R. Myers (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1969), pp. 1079–80.

The procedure for petitioning in the poem mirrored reality. The noble did not act on his own, but with the advice of his council, a point copied by Lady Loiaulte who referred to taking good advice from the ladies of her council (565–66, 709). The summons to a council was a formal affair; Lady Loiaulte sent Perseveraunce to summon the ladies in seven days' time, and no excuses or delays were accepted (109–12, 141–43). It was usual to make petitions in person; Cecily Neville, duchess of York, regularly gave audience after dinner to all who had business to bring before her.[37] The lady's response at the end of the poem is also realistic; she took advice and deferred her reply until the next meeting of her 'court of parlement' for which Diligence would bring a written summons (708–28). A parallel can be drawn here with the king's parliament in England which by the fifteenth century was regarded as the highest court in the land, with all royal subjects having the right to present their petitions and have them heard there.[38] Lady Loiaulte was providing the petitioners with the highest form of justice. In this connection it is relevant to note that the manuscripts of the poem have both metropolitan and royal court connections.[39] The scribe of A, whose hand has been identified in other manuscripts, was evidently a professional copyist engaged in the London book trade, who is presumed to have included merchants and knights among his patrons.[40] L was the copy text for the edition by William Thynne, who, as noted above, was a member of the royal household.[41] Tr may have been owned by Roger Thorney, a London merchant whose business involved him with the royal court.[42]

In view of the poem's firm grounding in the environment and ideas of fifteenth-century noble life, there remains a question about the ladies themselves. Were they simply fantasy, or can they in any way be related to reality? There is no difficulty over Lady Loiaulte herself, as households headed by noblewomen, usually widows, were frequently found in the later Middle Ages. Such widows were often powerful and wealthy. Women such as Cecily, duchess of York, and Alice Chaucer, duchess of Suffolk, ran their own households, exercised hospitality, administered their estates, and received petitions.[43] The princess in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*, responsible for her husband, children, and subjects, had her counterpart in numerous noblewomen in England, France, and the Low Countries.[44] It is easy to picture one of these women in Lady Loiaulte's hall, sitting on her chair, presiding over the company, and dispensing justice.

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[37] J. C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 110–11; *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp. 37–38; *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry 1066–1500*, ed. and trans. by J. C. Ward (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 217.

[38] *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages*, ed. by R. G. Davies and J. H. Denton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 149, 151, 167–68.

[39] See Boffey, '"Forto compleyne"', p. 26.

[40] See Eleanor Prescott Hammond, 'A Scribe of Chaucer', *Modern Philology*, 27 (1929), 27–33; A. I. Doyle, 'An Unrecognised Piece of *Piers the Ploughman's Creed* and Other Works by the Scribe', *Speculum*, 34 (1959) 428–36; Linne R. Mooney, 'More Manuscripts Written by a Chaucer Scribe', *Chaucer Review*, 30 (1996), 401–07.

[41] See Blodgett, 'William Thynne', p. 39.

[42] See Boffey, '"Forto compleyne"', pp. 126–27.

Within the household, the concern with hierarchy and degree is typical of the fifteenth century. The narrator describes her company as five ladies and four gentlewomen, the latter being of a lower rank than the former (407–08), and asked Perseveraunce not only about her office but also her degree (99). Their humility in the presence of Lady Loiaulte reflects their own lower rank compared with that of the lady (541–42, 729–31). What is complete fantasy is having a household run wholly by women. It was usual for the lady to have female attendants in her chamber, such as the group of whom the narrator was a member. By the fifteenth century a greater proportion of the household servants was female than had been the case earlier and, sometimes, married couples worked within the household. The majority of servants in a great household, however, would be male.[45]

In spite of the fantasy of female officers, their responsibilities within the household were typical of the fifteenth century. The poet picks out a number of household officers who exercised a considerable amount of power. Perseveraunce was the usher of Lady Loiaulte's chamber and carried her staff of office; in this capacity she controlled access to the lady. Contenaunce, as porter at the gate, controlled entry to the palace. The name Largesse, given to the steward, underlines the importance of hospitality and generosity; together with the chief purveyor, Discrecioun, and the marshal of the hall, Bealchiere, she would have responsibility for entertainment and provisioning, and Bealchiere would control access to the hall and ensure good behaviour there.[46] Those who dealt with the petitions were also powerful figures:

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[43] R. E. Archer, '"How Ladies . . . who Live on their Manors Ought to Manage their Households and Estates": Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages', in *Women in Medieval English Society*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 153–56. See also the earlier example of Margaret de Lacy, countess of Lincoln, discussed in Louise J. Wilkinson, 'The *Rules* of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth-Century England', in this volume.

[44] Christine de Pizan's representation of the princess is discussed in Karen L. Fresco, 'Gendered Household Spaces in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*', in this volume.

[45] Ward, *English Noblewomen*, pp. 52–54; Woolgar, *The Great Household*, pp. 34, 36.

[46] The importance of controlling access is discussed in Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250–1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 39.

Remembraunce the chamberlain, Avisenesse the secretary, and Attemperaunce the chancellor, all had their counterparts in the greatest households. All the officers would be recognizable to a fifteenth-century noble audience, but they would be used to them in a male guise.

If *The Assembly of Ladies* to this extent constructs a fantasy world, what desires and interests does the fantasy meet? Does it create a space in which women's voices can be heard, as Chance has argued? Does it create an ironic distance between behavioural ideals for courtly women and their limited functions in actual court structures, as Evans and Johnson argue? Or does it project a model of orderly social organization established as ideal by its very distinctions from the households of real life, as Boffey has argued?[47] Does the poem have a political message?

In response to the view that the poem displays the workings of an ideal household, it is well to keep in mind the number of small but telling details which strike a note of anxiety, impatience, uncertainty, and frustration: the narrator's paleness and restlessness at the opening of the poem (17–20); the reference to delay and expense (419–20); the caution and reticence about stating the matter in hand (400–13, 682, 690); the changeability of Loiaulte's conduct of the proceedings when her order for the bills to be taken to the secretary is immediately, and without explanation, countermanded by an order for the secretary to bring them back and read them on the spot (551–67). The very preciseness of the definition of the household functionaries seems to reflect an anxiety about procedure. The point of view is that of the visitor who needs to be told who is who.

The Assembly of Ladies has a more comprehensive list of named household officers than comparable poems. In *The Kingis Quair* the dreamer sees a male usher at the door of Venus's bedchamber, and a female 'chamberere' inside (673–76). In addition, the various groups of visitors to Venus's court are diverted with conversation and music by figures called Good Will, Courage, and Repentance (556, 559, 565). The implication is that these are courtiers, but they do not have specific offices. In *The Temple of Glass*, Venus, in offering her support to the lover, encourages him to approach his lady taking Hope as his guide (892), though Dread will also be a fitting companion for him (893). Mercy will clear the way for him (897), Honest Meaning will take his message in advance (898), and 'secrenes' and 'humble port' will be go-betweens (900–01). These are insubstantial personifications — it is notable that the cited edition does not even capitalize the last two — and their position in the court setting is unspecific. That they are members of Venus's household is no more than a possible implication. In Lydgate's 'A Complaynt of a Loveres Lyfe' (also known as 'The Complaint of the Black Knight'), the lover credits his disdainful lady with a metaphorical court provided by Nature. Disdain is her chamberlain, to impede Truth (503–04); Mistrust, False-Suspicion, and Misbelief are made chief counsellors to banish Pity and Mercy (505–09).[48] In *The Court of Love* a number of attendants of unspecified function stand around the king and queen of love: 'Daunger' (129), 'Disdain' (130), 'Attendaunce', 'Diligence', 'Fortherer', 'Esperaunce' (1032–33). A gentlewoman who is 'chamberer' to the queen (158) advises the lover on the best way to approach the king. An officer called 'Rigour' administers an oath of adherence to the statutes of love (505–06). Two figures called Golden Love and Leaden Love — clearly derived from Cupid's two sets of arrows in *Le Roman de la Rose* — are designated as 'courteours' (1313), though more specific reference is obscured by a gap in the text. In addition there are figures who mingle with the petitioners and impinge on their dealings in various ways: Despair (1036) and Hope (1046), who give the lover conflicting advice; Lust and Delight, arguing in a bay window about whether love is sin or virtue (1058–62); Liar, who gossips with Flattery about the pride of women and the falseness of men (1081–82); Dissemblance (1191); Shamefastness (1198); 'Avaunter' ('boaster'), kin to Liar (1219, 1242); Envy (1255); Privy Thought (1268). It seems unclear whether these are members of the household, visitors, or hangers-on. The early-sixteenth-century *Pastime of Pleasure*, which relates the lover's education in the liberal arts at the court of Dame Doctrine, creates a more practically functional allegorical household, with some of the officers specifically designated as female: the porteress, Countenance; the marshal, Dame Reason; the eweress, Observance; the panter, Pleasance; the butler, Courteous Continuance; the chief cook, Temperance; the lady chamberlain, Fidelity; and the high steward, Liberality.[49] Set beside these examples, *The Assembly of Ladies* seems remarkable for its orderly delineation of household structure in terms of access, entertainment, and entreaty.

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[47] Boffey, '"Forto compleyne"', p. 124.

[48] In John Lydgate, *Poems*, pp. 47–66.

The household names attracted the attention of the scribes of the extant manuscripts of *The Assembly of Ladies*. The pattern of rubrication in the earliest extant copy, A, is of particular interest. Apart from line intitials, which are routinely touched in in red, and with a few exceptions which are evidently slips of the pen, red ink is regularly used to underline words in this copy in certain specific situations:

1) in the names of the lady (Loiaulte), her residence (Plesaunt Regard) and the names of the household officers on their first mention only;
2) in the words of the mottoes borne on the garments of the household and the petitioners.[50]

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[49] Stephen Hawes, *The Pastime of Pleasure*, ed. by William Edward Mead, EETS, OS, 173 (London: Early English Text Society, 1928), lines 302, 477–83. For discussion of other texts which have allegorical figures people the household, see also Fiona S. Dunlop, 'The Rule of Youth and the Rule of the *Familia* in Henry Medwall's *Nature*', and Joanna Martin's '"Had the Hous, for it is myne": Royal and Self-Reform from in Older Scots Literature from *King Hart* (*c.* 1500) to Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (*c.* 1552)', in this volume.

[50] The exceptions are as follows: 86 'sovenez', underlined in red over black, apparently the name of a flower used as an emblem, but perhaps construed as imperative plural and taken as part of the following motto; 133 'Diligence' not underlined either in black or red on this first mention, but so underlined on her first appearance in the action (198); 177 'Contenaunce'

In these two cases the red underlining is made over black underlining evidently done currently by the scribe; that is to say, the rubricator, whether or not a different person, is following a pattern indicated by the scribe. By contrast with the practice often followed, and indeed found in other texts in this manuscript, names are not routinely rubricated in this copy; for example, 'septembre' (1), 'seynt Iulian' (224), 'Jh*es*u' (294), 'Ynde' (482), and 'seynt Iame' (689) are left plain. Also, because the names of the household are rubricated only on their first mention or appearance, when their office is specified, the effect is to bring out clearly both the structure of the household and the process of the action. The functions of the household officers are delineated in relation to the stages of access by the petitioners.

Correspondingly, the mottoes have a high visual prominence in this manuscript context, which prompts the reader to draw them into a semantic equivalence. These mottoes, in one case accompanied by emblematic flowers,[51] are personal markers of the kind which, along with badges, were assumed by individuals in the period and worn freely as ornaments which were not formal armorial bearings.[52] Yet at the same time, taken in conjunction with the uniform blue of the women's dress, the semantic congruence of the mottoes suggests the practice whereby such devices were adopted by a person's dependants, associates, and servants. Although the words of the mottoes are different, they all allude to the same theme, that of constancy in effort (see Appendix for details). Though they ostensibly distinguish the wearers, they operate in the context as variations on a theme. The visual coherence of the manuscript rubrication highlights the semantic equivalence of the mottoes as a group.[53]

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underlined in black on this first mention but missed by the rubricator; 318 'Largesse' not underlined in black or red, easily explicable as a slip; 498 'Perseveraunce' underlined in red only, as if the rubricator has momentarily forgotten the principle of underlining the household names at the first mention only.

[51] Perseveraunce has her gown embroidered with 'sovenez' (86), i.e. 'remember me', a name for speedwell; see *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1962), p. 156.

[52] See W. H. St John Hope, *A Grammar of English Heraldry*, 2nd edn, rev. by Anthony R. Wagner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 48.

[53] There is one further cluster of red underlinings in this manuscript copy, that is the names in the stories of unfortunate love engraved on the chamber walls. These are underlined in red only, without the preliminary black underlining provided by the scribe. It seems as if the rubricator might have gone over the text with a slightly different or additional programme of decoration in mind from that indicated by the scribe. A further sign that the rubricator has, perhaps automatically, fallen momentarily into a different pattern is that 'cassidony' ('chalcedony') at line 478 is underlined in red, though 'saphirs' two lines later is not. Such rubrication of proper names is, of course, unremarkable in itself, but it remains notable that the rubricator has not routinely underlined all the names in the text, leaving a discernible scheme, and at the same time, whether wittingly or unwittingly, ironically giving high visibility to the pitiful and violent stories of infidelity which gleam from the bright walls of Loyalty's chamber through the protective veiling.

Given the discernible pattern of the red-on-black underlining in this copy, it seems that the scribe was creating, or perhaps working from, a clear set of signs for the reader. A series of small beacons marks out the allegorical frame of the poem and its thematic centre, and traces the process of the assembly. To the eye of the reader of the British Library copy, at least, it is clearly signalled that what is to be regarded as important is the linked group of qualities constituting the servants and dependants of Loiaulte, with their same-but-different mottoes. A similar emphasis is found in the other two manuscripts, though the visual details differ. Pearsall notes that 'the scribes of the Longleat and Trinity manuscripts [. . .] both rubricate appropriate stanza headings with the names of officers'.[54] Tr also has the names of the officers and the names of the women in the stories on the chamber walls underlined, and, like A, does not have any other names in the text underlined.[55] The usual pattern is a heading to the stanza where the officer first appears and underlining of the name on the first mention and on subsequent appearances, although this scheme is incomplete. However, despite the somewhat haphazard execution, this pattern of headings and underlining in Tr reflects a similar interest in household offices and functions to that displayed in A.

Any explanations of the allegory are bound to be a matter of speculation. What we have is the story by a presumably youthful narrator; she lacked self-confidence, as seen in her reluctance to put forward her petition. Her delight in her clothes (as well as her obstinacy in refusing to have a motto) and her willingness to lay bets as to which of the group would be most praised are traits betraying her youth and the realism of the poet's approach. As C. S. Lewis argued over sixty years ago, the poet's main concern was indeed with 'the stir and bustle of an actual court'.[56] Yet this concern seems unlikely to be that of a detached observer. The poet's concern for order possibly extended beyond the household, and there may have been a political message in mind, of immediate relevance to the England of his day. Fifteenth-century nobles relied on their households to enable them to exercise power, and the extent of their influence depended on the respect in which they were held and the attractiveness of their courts. The poet was well aware of this in the ways in which he showed Lady Loiaulte being certain that her summons to a council would be obeyed and the ladies would flock to her council. The second half of the fifteenth century was the time of the Wars of the Roses, when questions of loyalty to lord and king were paramount. Cade's rebellion in 1450 highlighted issues of favouritism and corruption at Henry VI's court, and the problems of weak government were compounded by the king's madness and court hostility to the Duke of York in the 1450s.

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[54] *The Floure and the Leafe*, ed. by Pearsall (1990), p. 31.

[55] See *Manuscript Trinity R.3.19: A Facsimile*, introd. by Bradford Y. Fletcher (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1987). We have not had the opportunity to examine the Longleat manuscript.

[56] Lewis, *Allegory of Love*, p. 249.

At the end of the 1460s, Edward IV incurred the opposition of the earl of Warwick, was driven from the throne and the realm, and had to fight his way back. Richard III's two-year reign was taken up with rebellion and civil war, and Henry VII faced a series of rebellions after his victory at Bosworth. The poem may have been underlining the need for loyalty, perseverance, diligence, prudent consideration, and self-control at court and in the households of the high nobility. The message applied to both men and women, and to servants as well as lords and ladies. Corruption might occur in household provisioning as much as in the administration of justice. Loyalty was essential within as well as outside the household. The establishment of virtue could be seen as the way to usher in an era of justice and peace, and the good lordship which was so often stressed in the fifteenth century.

APPENDIX

The Assembly of Ladies

The poem:

1–21	Garden setting; opening dialogue: narrator and a knight	
22–77	Account of the dream-setting: maze and arbour	
78–189	Account of the dream:	- the summons
190–273		- the journey
274–448		- the arrival
449–539		- the audience
540–707		- presentation and reading of bills
708–35		- the answer
736–49	The awakening; writing of the book	
750–56	Closing dialogue; entitling of the book: '"La semble de Dames", thus it hight.' (752)	

The household:

Lady LOIAULTE: her dwelling *Plesaunt Regard* (170); the motto on her jewelled throne *A Endurer* (489)
The chamber-usher PERSEVERAUNCE: her motto *Bien loialment* ('very loyally' 88)
A companion to the chamber-usher, DILIGENCE: her motto *Taunt que je puis* ('as much as I can' 208)
The porter CONTENAUNCE: her motto *A moy que je voy* ('what I see is mine' 308)
The chief purveyor DISCRECIOUN (263)
The lodgings warden ('herbergier') AQUEYNTAUNCE (269)
The steward LARGESSE (317)
The marshal of the hall BEALCHIERE (322)
The chamberlain REMEMBRAUNCE: her motto *Plus ne purroy* ('I could do no more' 363)
The secretary AVISENESSE (343)
The chancellor ATTEMPERAUNCE (508)

The petitioners:

1st lady: her motto *Sanz que jamais* ('without ever . . .' 583)
2nd lady: her motto *Une sans chaungier* ('one without changing' 590)
3rd lady: her motto *Oncques puis lever* ('I cannot ever rise' 598)
4th lady: her motto *Entierement vostre* ('entirely yours' 616)
The narrator has no motto: 'Al myn array is bliew, what nedith more?' (413)
1st gentlewoman: her motto *C'est sanz dire* ('it goes without saying' 627)
2nd gentlewoman: her motto *En dieu est* ('in God is . . .' 645)
3rd gentlewoman: her motto *Sejour ensure* ('rest assured' 666)
4th gentlewoman: her motto *Bien monest* ('well advised' 675)

The stories depicted on the crystalline walls of the audience chamber (456–66):

Phyllis: died for love of Demophon
Thisbe: killed herself for love
Cleopatra: killed for Antony
Melusine: faithlessly deceived
Anelida: complained against Arcite

The Moral Household

Preface

FELICITY RIDDY

Max Horkheimer's sardonic view of the family under capitalism was that it is the psychological agency of the society, the indispensable microstructure for the macrostructure. The family, he suggested, is where obedience to authority is taught: 'the spiritual world into which the child grows [. . .] as well as the fantasies with which he peoples the real world, his dreams and wishes, his ideas and judgments, are all dominated by the thought of man's power over man, of above and below, of command and obedience.'[1] The male child reared in this kind of structure steps out into the world, trained and ready to take his place in the patriarchal order of the town, while the female child has internalized the necessity to curtail her freedom in a life of domesticity, and to call this curtailment sacrifice rather than oppression. In the pre- (or proto-) capitalist societies covered by the essays in this section, the indispensable microstructure is not the family but the *familia* or household; as Sarah Rees Jones points out elsewhere in this book, the idea of the *oikos* as 'the foundation stone of a civilized society' goes back in the West at least as far as Aristotle. Household and family are not the same, nevertheless the late medieval household as an idea is no less instrumental than Horkheimer's idea of the bourgeois family: both sustain and are sustained by an ideology of above and below, of command and obedience.

The five papers that follow all address in different ways the processes whereby the mental worlds of the private sphere produce the value systems and social identities required by the public sphere. Four of them use diverse sources that might be loosely categorized as 'literary': a Scottish allegorical poem, *King Hart*; an English morality play, Henry Medwall's *Nature*; a Latin religious tract, *De doctrina cordis*, translated into Middle English (among other languages) as *The Doctrine of the Hert*; and Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus,* a French conduct book for women, also known as *Le Trésor de la cité des dames*. The fifth essay, and last of this group, uses documentary sources that look more familiar to the historian than to the literary scholar: sixteenth-century records of the London Court of Aldermen, and a set of fifteenth-century brothel regulations. These documents, however, turn out to be no less ideological than the other sources, and are equally susceptible, as Cordelia Beattie shows, to the close verbal analysis that is one of the literary critic's tricks of the trade.

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[1] Max Horkheimer, 'Authority and the Family', in his *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*, trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell and others (New York: Seabury Press, 1972), pp. 47–128 (p. 106).

Some of the connections between the psychic and the social, and the private and the public, are explored in the texts studied by Joanna Martin and Fiona Dunlop through the psychomachia model: characters called 'King Hart' (the protagonist of *King Hart*) and 'Man' (in *Nature*), who are both physical and moral entities, are represented as being in conflict with aspects of themselves, which are in turn represented as aspects of their households. *King Hart* and *Nature* both draw on a commonplace of the mirror-for-princes tradition, that the governor must know how to govern himself in order to govern others. The personal is also political. The psychomachia adds to this notion of the government of the self another ancient notion of the self in process. In both works the creation of an embodied moral identity is represented as a long-term struggle against one's own physical nature and the apparently independent directions it wants to take. These unruly aspects of the self become unmanageable servants in badly run households. King Hart and Man are not fixed and integrated, but disparate, changing, and unable to assert control. The stable humanist subject has, it seems, yet to be born.

Fiona Dunlop sees in Henry Medwall's *Nature* (written in the 1490s for the household of Thomas More's old master, Cardinal Morton, and printed forty years later by More's nephew, William Rastell) a powerfully instrumental sense of above and below that is mapped on to youth and age. The youthful Man starts out at the beginning of the play on a disastrous course, giving himself up to the counsel of Sensualyte instead of Reason, to the body rather than the mind. He takes the seven deadly sins into his household as servants who proceed to exploit and debase him. All this is in accordance with his nature: his 'dysfunctional familia' is a way of analysing the lack of self-control at both personal and social levels that is held to be characteristic of young men. Nevertheless, as he grows old, Man repents and asserts authority over his disorderly household, replacing Sensualyte with Reason as his chief counsellor. Dunlop concludes that here we have evidence of an age-related and gender-specific 'ideology of failure' in young men that buttresses gerontocracy: old Cardinal Morton is justified in holding his many offices because to yield to younger men would mean yielding to the personal and political incompetence of youth. There were, of course, other discourses of old age that were as unflattering to the old as these are unflattering to the young: Aristotle had, after all, characterized the elderly man as hesitant, cynical, small-minded, cowardly, utilitarian, shameless, loquacious, and querulous.[2]

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[2] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, Bk. ii, chs 12–14, trans. by W. Rhys Roberts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924); quoted in J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 191–94.

And *Nature* was written and circulated in a period in which there were other evaluations of youth as well: the early Renaissance courtly/chivalric culture that has been studied by Sidney Anglo, among others, rests on a much more optimistic view of youthful bodily strength, vigour, and energy. Nevertheless, this particular discourse of youthful moral and political incompetence sustains, Dunlop argues, a literally patriarchal system in which ambitious young men are taught to wait their turn: the household as actuality and allegory institutionalizes their deference and deferral.

King Hart, probably written within a few years of *Nature*, makes a good comparison. Jacques Le Goff has shown that the heart/king metaphor is occasionally used in the late Middle Ages in preference to the commoner metaphor of the king as head. He quotes Henry of Mondeville, Philip the Fair's surgeon, writing in the early fourteenth century: 'The heart [. . .] is located in the very middle of the chest, as befits its role as the king in the midst of his kingdom.'[3] The protagonist of *King Hart* is conspicuously not King Head: he seems to represent what Martin calls the 'lordship of desire' over a disunited self, though as a lord he is a complete failure. His 'inwarde, ythand [busy] seruitouris' are a mixed lot of physical and moral qualities who include Strenth, Lust, Wantownnes, Disport, and Fulehardenes; he never learns to listen to Reason and Conscience. He is imprisoned by Dame Plesance and finally meets his end at the hands of Decripitus — the bodily decrepitude of old age — who stabs him in the back. Martin puts all this in the context of other, more explicitly political Middle Scots advice-to-rulers literature and argues that the poem may have originally been written around 1500 with the youthful James IV in mind, presumably as a warning of what happens to the king who lets his heart rule his head. Nevertheless the fact that King Hart only repents (or has a change of Hart) on his deathbed is, as she points out, unusually pessimistic, more like the end of Henryson's *The Testament of Cresseid* (which is slightly earlier in date) than Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*. Youth, *King Hart* seems to suggest, is the heart's era; in youth the heart holds ruinous sway and only time, bringing old age and death, can do anything about it. So if there is a political message, it appears not to be the usual mirror-for-princes advice that young kings should take sage counsel; rather it seems that young kings should not be permitted to rule at all. Perhaps among the 'magnate, laird, or burgess' households in which Martin suggests the poem might have originated, we should look for one headed by someone who did not support the baronial revolt against James III that ended with his murder and the installation on the throne of the youthful James IV.

King Hart will not take sage counsel because he cannot. He is not so much 'cor' (heart) as 'corage', in its narrow sense of inclination, desire, or volition: he is wilfulness, *tout court*.[4] The heart in this sense seems to come out of a different tradition from that drawn on by Hugh of St Cher, the Dominican author of the thirteenth-century *De doctrina cordis.* This once immensely popular but now almost unknown devotional tract was translated into English in the fifteenth century as *The Doctrine of the Hert* for a female readership, as Denis Renevey argues. *De doctrina cordis*, like *King Hart* in its different way, uses the symbolism of the heart as a means of understanding the self as interiorized. The idea that the heart is the centre of consciousness and moral being is an old one, of course: it is classical as well as biblical. There are many references to the heart as the seat of emotion, thought, and judgement in the Bible, especially in the Psalms, and it is perhaps from his familiarity with these that Augustine developed the identification of the heart with subjectivity that is so marked in the *Confessions*: 'cor meum', he writes, 'ubi ego sum quicumque sum'.[5] As a bodily organ locatable within the chest, the heart allowed for a corporeal selfhood: interiority was not just an abstraction but had a physical habitation. Julian of Norwich visualizes the heart in physical terms as a kind of innermost Russian doll, enclosed under corporeal layers that start at the outside with the clothing: 'the body is cladde in the cloth, and the flesh in the skyne, and the bonys in the flesh, and the herte in the bouke [trunk/ribcage]'.[6] She also visualizes the heart with her 'gostly eye', though, as the location of the soul: 'And than our Lord [. . .] shewid me my soule in midds of my herte. I saw the soule so large as it were an endles world and as it were a blisfull kyngdom; and [. . .] I understode that it is a worshipful syte [city]. In the midds of that syte sitts our Lord Jesus, God and man.'[7] The soul is in the heart, and the city is in the soul, and Christ is in the city. The author of *Ancrene Wisse* draws on the same tradition in advising: 'Wite wel þin heorte, for sawle lif is in hire.'[8]

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[3] Jacques Le Goff, 'Head or Heart? The Political Use of Body Metaphors in the Middle Ages', in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Part Three*, ed. by Michel Feher and others (New York: Zone, 1989), pp. 13–27 (p. 21).

[4] See *MED*, corage n. 2 (a).

Renevey's subject, however, is not only what he calls 'the heart as seat of subjectivity'; he is also concerned to trace a particular strand of imagery in the text that relates to the heart as a house and to spiritual activity — the 'sawle lif' — as the performance of household chores. The idea of the household here is very different from that used by Dunlop and Martin, who are concerned with male-headed *familiae* rather than with women's domestic activities. Renevey shows that in *The Doctrine of the Hert* the heart is represented as a house that has to be cleaned and swept in preparation for the entry of Christ, symbolically, in confession. Christ is, it seems, both guest and host, both consumed — he is the undefiled eucharistic lamb that is eaten with the sour lettuce of contrition — and consumer. The text enjoins the reader to imagine her own heart as food for Christ, or more complicatedly, to imagine the preparation of her heart as food as being among the domestic activities that go on in the kitchen of the heart as a house. The reader's heart as food is basted with the lard of charity and roasted in tribulation. The grotesquerie of all this — to the modern reader — makes *The Doctrine of the Hert* (or its Latin original) quite different in tone from the picture of the heart as a house that survives from the Bavarian nunnery of St Walburg, Eichstatt, which Renevey refers to and which has recently been studied by Jeffrey Hamburger.[9] This picture, with its rosy-cheeked clothes-peg-doll of a soul being embraced by the Trinity in their little doll's house of the heart, is also Eucharistic and draws on the *Brautmystik* of the *Song of Songs*. The emphasis in *The Doctrine of the Hert* on suffering, however, and on being eaten as well as eating, seems to relate it to secular heart symbolism. The tradition of the heart as the seat of emotion, and thus of the lover's suffering, produced some bizarre fantasies, as Michael Camille has shown.[10] There are medieval illustrations of hearts being beaten, skewered, and burned that seem analogous to the heart being cooked, and there are many examples, from the *Châtelain de Couci* on, of lovers' hearts being eaten that seem to underpin an idea of love as self-sacrifice.

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[5] *Confessiones* 10.3: 'My heart, where I am whatever it is that I am'; cited by Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 29.

[6] *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich*, ed. by Georgia Ronan Crampton (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), 6:212.

[7] Ibid., 67:2794.

[8] *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle*, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien and N. R. Ker, EETS, OS, 249 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 29.

In *De doctrina cordis* domestic chores and activities are spiritualized, hallowed by the sacraments of confession and communion that they symbolize. Indeed, Renevey makes the good point that the vocation of Mary (contemplation) is represented through that of Martha (action); it's a good point particularly because it identifies a specific, idealizing, religious discourse of domesticity in the traditional representation of the active life. The relation between active and contemplative lives is also considered at the beginning of Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des trois vertus,* though here, by contrast with *De doctrina cordis*, the contemplative life is not the subject. The home lives lived by the women of differing stations in *Le Livre des trois vertus* may be interfused with prayer, but they are nevertheless represented as being valued in themselves, not because they are symbols of something else. Moreover, the women inhabit literal spaces, not figurative houses of the heart. Nevertheless, as Karen Fresco argues, these spaces are moralized: private spaces within the home — the princess's curtained bed, the merchant's wife's bedchamber, and the 'little room' of the reformed prostitute — are used by Christine as 'pedagogical sites where women can be taught right thinking and conduct'. A more hostile and reductive reading of this, and of *The Doctrine of the Hert*, might adopt the arguments of Horkheimer quoted above, and suggest that what both texts do is to encourage the female reader to internalize 'the necessity to curtail her freedom in a life of domesticity' (compare the ways in which young men's lives are imagined), and 'to call this curtailment sacrifice rather than oppression'.

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[9] See Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of Califormia Press, 1997), pp. 137–76. Renevey wants to link this picture more directly to *De doctrina cordis* than Hamburger does.

[10] Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London: Lawrence King, 1998), esp. pp. 111–19.

This household ideology of female containment is confirmed by Cordelia Beattie's study of brothels and prostitution in late medieval London. With great ingenuity she extrapolates from the most unlikely of sources — ward court records concerning prostitutes and brothel regulations — a notion of the ideal or normative household. The London brothels were located in the suburb of Southwark, adjacent to the suburb of Lambeth where Cardinal Morton's household was located and where *Nature* was first performed. Beattie's study helps us to understand more clearly what was at stake: she shows that the city fathers' idea of a good household was one in which a patriarchal authority was asserted by the household head over the moral and economic conduct of its members. Those same household heads were also responsible more widely for good behaviour on the streets. *Nature* and *King Hart* both depict worlds where servants rule and where the household head gives himself over to the very activities which city fathers were concerned to stamp out. Beattie cites a sixteenth-century entry in the records of the Court of Alderman relating to 'the evyll example for the gorgeous apparel of the common women of the Stewes to the great temptacioun of the yonge maydens wyffes and apprentices'. The notion that the allurements of prostitutes put decent men's households at risk was not new: Beattie also cites a 1417 London ordinance banning brothels that states that 'the wives, sons, daughters, apprentices and servants of reputable men of the City are oftentimes [. . .] drawn and enticed thereto'. A remarkably similar anxiety about the attractions of fashion and pleasure can be detected in *King Hart*, despite its courtly mode: when Dame Plesance (sensual pleasure) and her glamorous all-female hunting party ride by, the young king sends his servants Newgate (novelty), Wantownnes, Grene Luif (rash love), Disport, Waistgude (profligacy), and Fule-hardynes to find out more about her, and ends up in her power. In *Nature*, young Man falls prey to Sensualyte, who introduces into his household the seven sins who in turn lead him into a life of vice. The repentant old Man, dismissing his corrupt servants at the end of the play, finally assumes the responsibilities of the model householder.

Beattie shows that these responsibilities were expected even of the brothel-keeper. The regulations imply a constant struggle on the part of civic authorities to turn disorderly houses into orderly ones: prostitutes were not supposed to spend the night in brothels (and so, not being permanent household members, were not under the brothel-keeper's authority but were directly answerable to the courts). They were not allowed to card and spin with the brothel-keeper; their work was to be kept separate from the work of the household. This way of thinking may enable us to see more clearly what Christine de Pizan is doing in *Le Livre des trois vertus* with her fantasy of the reformed prostitute employed as a servant in a great house, where she spins and cares for women lying in. Living in her 'little room on a respectable street among good people', she has left the semi-vagabondage that London prostitutes were condemned to by the law; she engages in honest work; she is a member of a household and under the control of its head. The reason why men in authority were concerned that the Southwark prostitutes should not live in the brothels they frequented was, it seems, in order to ensure that they were free to leave their way of life whenever they chose. The repentant prostitute — whether or not she was a reality — was for them a sufficiently powerful model of femininity to require the protection of the law. The clear implication, as Beattie points out, is that permanent residence in a male-headed household curtailed the freedom of its subordinate members. Perhaps, then, we should not see the reformed prostitute of *Le Livre des trois vertus* in her little room as inhabiting a private space 'with a modest form of independence'; rather, she has handed herself over to the moral policing of the good household.

Finally, it must be said that there are, of course, problems in reading texts from different periods and different places in the light of one another in the ways I am suggesting. Nevertheless, the value of the juxtapositions in a collection such as this must lie in their risky power to suggest connections that we would not otherwise make and pose questions that we would not otherwise ask. In the end, it must be possible to make these connections and questions support, rather than undermine, the safer academic virtue of historical and cultural specificity.

‘Had the Hous, for it is myne’: Royal and Self-Reform in Older Scots Literature from *King Hart* (*c*. 1500) to Lyndsay’s *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (*c*. 1552)

JOANNA MARTIN

The Older Scots allegory *King Hart* tells a vivid narrative of a dangerously disordered royal household and the kingly misrule in which this results.[1] The poem recounts the passage of a royal protagonist named Hart, who is described as a ‘courtlie king’ or ‘lairde’ (a prince or overlord), from youthful frivolity in his castle full of pleasure-seeking attendants to his deathbed testament, via his capture by Dame Plesance, his aging, and his failed attempts at self-reformation under the auspices of Conscience, Wisdome, and Ressoun (lines 218, 40).[2] Composed around 1500, the poem is uniquely preserved in the late-sixteenth-century Maitland Folio Manuscript (now Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library MS

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[1] References are to *King Hart* in *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt, Scottish Text Society (hereafter STS), 4th series, 3 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1967). *King Hart* is twice attributed to Douglas in the Maitland Folio, but is no longer accepted as part of the canon of his works. See Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘Did Gavin Douglas Write *King Hart*?’, *Medium Ævum*, 28 (1959), 31–47; Florence H. Ridley, ‘Did Gavin Douglas Write *King Hart*?’, *Speculum*, 34 (1959), 402–12. A short household allegory describing the virtues of ‘prynce Honour’, and his servants, Conscience and Discretion, in *The Palis of Honoure* (lines 1792–1827) has some similarities to *King Hart*, but is not enough to confirm Douglas as the author of our poem. See Gavin Douglas, *The Palis of Honoure*, ed. by David Parkinson, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992).

[2] See *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (hereafter *DOST*), ed. by W. A. Craigie and others (Chicago: Chicago University Press; Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937–), n. ‘Lard, Laird’.

2553), and was not, as far as we know, printed until the eighteenth century.[3] This essay explores how *King Hart* is a more historically and culturally aware poem than has previously been recognized, employing ideas of misrule and 'mock king' imagery in order to engage with the recurrent Scottish predicament of minority rule and its related problems, such as factionalism, misgovernance, and the sexuality and wilfulness of young kings.[4] The poem's themes of disloyal service and the struggle for control of the king's person, and its narrative of Hart's descent into vice and mock investiture with the part of counter-king, make for a comic but incisive contribution to the advice-to-princes literature that predominated in Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This essay also suggests that *King Hart* anticipates, and may have influenced, some later Older Scots texts dating from the minority and personal rule of James V (1513–42), and the minority of Mary Queen of Scots (1542–61): these include William Stewart's 'This hyndir nicht neir be þe hour of nyne' (*c.* 1526–48?),[5] John Bellenden's *The Proheme of the Cosmographe* (*c.* 1531), the anonymous *Duncan Laideus alias Makgregouris' Testament* (*c.* 1552–84?),[6] and David Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (*c.* 1552).

In this essay, I use the terms 'household', *familia*, and 'court' to refer to the group of 'seruitouris' that attends the fictional king of the poem and that dwells in his

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[3] The poem's date of composition is discussed in Bawcutt's edition, pp. lxxviii–lxxix and will be dealt with in my University of Oxford doctoral thesis. See *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. by W. A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 2nd series, 9 and 20 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1919–27). Also see Julia Boffey, 'The Maitland Folio Manuscript as a Verse Anthology', in *William Dunbar, 'The Nobill Poyet': Essays Presented to Priscilla Bawcutt*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 40–50 (p. 45). The poem was first printed in *Ancient Scotish Poems Never Before in Print but Now Published from the MS Collections of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington*, ed. by John Pinkerton, 2 vols (London: Dilly, 1786), I, 3–43.

[4] Little has been published on the poem. Still useful is the introduction to Bawcutt's 1967 edition and Sheila Delany, '*King Hart*: Rhetoric and Meaning in a Middle-Scots Allegory', *Neophilologus*, 55 (1971), 328–41. Also see Sarah Couper, 'Reason and Desire in Older Scots Poetry, *c.* 1424–1560' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2001), ch. 4. For historical background, see Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470–1625*, The New History of Scotland, 4 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981; repr. 2001), pp. 13–14.

[5] It is not possible to date the poems of William Stewart (*c.* 1476–1548) accurately. Stewart became a royal servant in 1525/6, and it is likely that his court poems were composed after this time. See A. A. MacDonald, 'William Stewart and the Court Poetry of the Reign of James V', in *Stewart Style, 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp. 179–200 (p. 187).

[6] Once again this work cannot be precisely dated. Its possible date of composition is discussed in Janet Hadley Williams, '"We had the Ky and thai gat bot the glaikis": Catching the Echoes in *Duncan Laideus' Testament*', in *The Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature* (forthcoming).

'hous' or 'castell' (lines 33, 863, 1).[7] Although this usage elides the household and court, and does not distinguish between the *domus* and *familia*, it is one that is guided by the Scottish poet, who uses the terms 'femell' (retinue or *familia*) and 'court' ('This cumlie court thair king þai kast to keip') to describe those who care for the sovereign (lines 41, 82). If we approach the poem with formal historical distinctions in mind, it is clear that some of its allegorical personages correspond to the members of the *familia regis*, a group described by Chris Given-Wilson as composed of those who attended court in order to give counsel, receive orders, or participate in military and ceremonial activities.[8] However, the poem's action also suggests that many of Hart's 'seruitouris' correspond to Given-Wilson's *domus*, the permanent members of the household who cared for the king's practical needs and provided his bodyguard.[9] King Hart's servants taste his food, dress him, and keep watch from his castle walls. Furthermore, although many of the personifications occupy named household offices, not all of these match up precisely with their historical equivalents. For example, Dame Plesance has a chamberlain ('chalmarere'), and marshal ('merschale') (lines 303–07), and Hart employs a 'capitane' to defend his castle (line 258). In late medieval Scotland the great officers of the household were the steward, constable, and marshal, and after the reforms implemented by James I (1406–37), the chief of staff became known as the master of the royal household. Other important administrative duties were carried out by the household offices of the treasurer, comptroller, and chamberlain.[10] Some of the later allegories mentioned in this essay (for example, *Duncan Laideus alias Makgregouris' Testament*) name these key officers of the Scottish royal household with great accuracy. The fact that *King Hart* lacks such specificity does not detract from its strongly ideological perspective, and is perhaps explained by its probable composition, like much fifteenth-century Scottish literature, away from any centre of royal patronage and in a less rigidly defined aristocratic or laird household.[11]

King Hart draws on a rich literary tradition and its allegorical structure is shaped by the popular metaphor of the body politic, using the idea of the royal household and its officers as illustrative of man's mortal body and moral nature.[12] Strikingly and unconventionally, the poem places the heart, rather than the head or reason, in the role of ruler in its allegorical household, emphasizing the imperfections of human nature, the power of desire, and the fact that the lordship of reason over the self is an ideal only. [13] Thus *King Hart* has the dual perspective that is typical of much late medieval Scottish advisory literature. It is concerned with the self-governance of everyman, but also with self-control as a prerequisite for royal reform. It therefore rigorously pursues the political dimensions of its central image of Hart's dysfunctional retinue in order to comment on the very real dangers of young counsel and unregulated households in a way that challenges the boundaries between the conventional and the topical.

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[7] I also use 'court' when referring collectively to those, including members of the royal household, gathered at the residences of historical sovereigns such as James IV.

[8] Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360–1413* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 2.

[9] Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 2.

[10] For a definition of the royal household in Scotland, see Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland, 1306–1469*, The New History of Scotland, 3 (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), p. 49; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, The Edinburgh History of Scotland, 2 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1974; repr. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997), pp. 21–22.

[11] See Sally Mapstone, 'Was there a Court Culture in Fifteenth-Century Scotland?', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26 (1991), 410–22.

King Hart's troubling notion of the lordship of desire in human nature is given contemporary illustration in the 'Regiment' section of the Scottish romance *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* (*c.* 1499?), where Aristotle teaches his princely charge of the dangers of uncontrolled passion.[14] The philosopher tells Alexander how 'A realme [. . .] to ane man may liknit be' (line 9659), describing the heart as 'bot ane disire and a will' or 'the corage — quhilk is callit oure Will, / That to þe king may best be likynnyt till' (lines 9719, 9759–60).[15] According to Aristotle's exemplum, the heart is the master of the household surrounded by servants over whom he 'hes fre commandiment /And all the memberis followis his intent' (lines 9727–28). Although his 'portaris', the five wits, guard 'þe palais', the king has mortal enemies within his household, 'Ydilnes, [. . .] Lust [. . .] Ȝewthhed [. . .] Wantones [. . .] Glutoney and Covatese' (lines 9730–31, 9761–63). These, the king complains,

> Blyndit me, quhen I was myne allane,
> And all my counsallouris was fra me tane

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[12] See generally David George Hale, *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), pp. 32–47; John B. Morrall, *Political Thought in Medieval Times*, Medieval Academy Reprints, 7 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 43–44. For specific uses of the body politic analogy in medieval political writings see *Medieval Political Theory – A Reader*, ed. by Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forhan (London: Routledge, 1993).

[13] Cf. R. J. Lyall, 'Narrative Technique and Moral Purpose in Middle Scots Poetry' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1979), p. 97. On James VI's presentation of himself as the physical head of his realm, see J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 262.

[14] *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour by Sir Gilbert Hay*, ed. by John Cartwright, 2 vols, STS, 4th series, 13 and 16 (Edinburgh: Clark Constable, 1986 and Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990). I shall discuss the relationship between this romance and *King Hart* in my doctoral thesis.

[15] Elsewhere, however, Aristotle teaches that the soul 'treulie may be comparit to ane king' (line 9707).

> And braik my purposes, and changit myne entent,
> And to þare folyis gart me þus consent. (lines 9765–68)

However, inside the palace also sits the 'Grete Consale' comprised of the regulatory figures and rightful intimates or 'familiars' of the king, Vnderstanding, Ressoun, and Memor. In conjunction with them, Conscience 'schawis the hart that he hes done erroure', calling him 'before his Parliament' where Discretioun is summoned 'for to reprufe the king', and where Ressoun then passes 'forth his iugment' (lines 9751, 9754–56). With their help Aristotle's king is able to reform, promising to 'mend [. . .] sone' (lines 9733–44, 9769).

Setting aside his household allegory, Aristotle also advises that, after governing his heart, a king should see to his 'hous and famel'; if they 'mysfare' then he alone bears 'the dishonoure' (lines 10507–10). In *King Hart*, however, this process of self- and political reformation is never so unequivocally achieved. Instead, in the flower of his 'ȝouthheid' Hart is a sort of 'summer king', 'so blyth as bird in symmer schene' and 'as the rose [. . .] / In ruby colour reid', presiding at the head of a festive and disordered household over which he has little control (lines 9, 89–90).[16] He is 'vnder warde', that is, in feudal vocabulary, a minor in the guardianship of another (line 17).[17] His position is a striking literary equivalent of that of the young James IV (1473–1513), as outlined by the Spanish ambassador to Scotland in 1497 who wrote that when the king 'was a minor, he was instigated by those who held the government to do some dishonourable things. They favoured his love intrigues [. . .] in order to keep him under their subjection'.[18]

In *King Hart* Dame Nature has appointed servants, allegorically representing the disruptive aspects of the youthful self, 'to governe and to gy' the king (line 20). The young Hart therefore dwells 'vnder the wyng of Wantownnes', attended by such personifications as Grien Lust, Waistguid, Glutony, and Wilfulness, who are said to be his diligent 'seruitouris' but who in fact act as his 'gouernouris', urging him on to vice (lines 16, 33–34).[19] They keep him 'inclynit to þair curis', secure in the knowledge of their 'rewarde' (lines 35, 38). Hart's other 'seruituris', the five wits, 'teichit war at tressoun to espy', but from the beginning 'þair king betraist oft', further eroding his lordship (lines 49, 64). His retainers parody the courtesy-book advice set out, for example, in the Scottish instructional poem *Ratis Raving* (*c.* 1450?), which urges those who wish to ‘serue a lorde’, to be ‘lel, lufand, and debonare’.[20] A fragmentary Scots poem, ‘My frend gif though were a servitour’, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 (fol. 229), advocates similar ideals of service and order in the household: ‘Serviture[s]’ of all degrees must be ‘traist and obedient’, ‘kepe comandament’, and be restrained and industrious at all times.[21] Yet with such standards abandoned for self-interest at Hart’s court, the few well-meaning royal servants stand no chance of exerting any positive influence on the king: ‘Discretioun wes as than bot ȝoung of age. / He sleipit with Lust, quhair ever he micht him find’ (lines 281–82). In all, the poet notes, Hart’s ‘femell’ or *familia*, full of wayward and self-interested attendants, is vast and ‘nummerit ane milȝon and weill mo’ (lines 41–42). These ‘sory’ characters with ‘falt of gud’ (lines 511–12) throng Hart’s castle like the greedy and corrupt courtiers of James IV and V described in Dunbar’s ‘Schir ȝe haue mony seruitouris’ (*c.* 1506–07?),[22] *The Complaynt of Schir David Lindesay* (*c.* 1530), and William Stewart’s ‘Rolling In my Rememberance’ (*c.* 1526–48?).[23]

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[16] On the derisive label of 'summer king' for bad leaders, see Sandra Billington, *Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 12–13.

[17] *MED*, n. 'ward(e)'.

[18] *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. by P. H. Brown (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1891), pp. 39–49 (p. 41).

[19] See Fiona S. Dunlop, 'The Rule of Youth and the Rule of the *Familia* in Henry Medwall's *Nature*', in this volume. Medwall's play, with its household allegory and theme of the corruption of a young king by his servants, was composed in the 1490s and is therefore a near-contemporary of *King Hart*.

So, despite their allegorical guise, the presentation of Hart’s attendants as disreputable courtiers is highly persuasive. Indeed, in the course of its festivities, the late medieval Scottish court often seemed to light-heartedly, but self-consciously, acknowledge such unsettling presences in its own midst with recourse to the sort of allegorical vocabulary that we find in *King Hart*. For example, the *Treasurer’s Accounts* record numerous payments made to a certain ‘Wantounes’ and her ‘marrow[s]’ for singing before the king between 1507 and 1511.[24] References to one Janet Bair Ars, who was presumably the real-life counterpart of Dame Sensuality’s sidekick Fund-Jonet in Lyndsay’s *Satyre*, remind us of the currency of misrule festivals and amorous games in court settings, and so of the focused public perspective of *King Hart.*[25]

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[20] *Ratis Raving and Other Early Scots Poems on Morals*, ed. by R. Girvan, STS, 3rd series, 11 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1939), lines 1009–11. These themes are also treated in the anonymous Maitland Folio text, ‘My sone gif þow to the court will ga’. The Maitland Folio is paginated rather than foliated, and this poem appears on pp. 148–52. Page numbers given with texts that appear in the Maitland Folio therefore refer to the manuscript and not to Craigie’s edition.

[21] See *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and ‘The Kingis Quair’: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24*, with an introduction by Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards and an appendix by B. C. Barker-Benfield (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997).

[22] All references to Dunbar’s poems are to *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt, 2 vols, ASLS, 27, 28 (Glasgow: Association of Scottish Literary Studies, 1998). On matters of dating I follow Bawcutt’s commentary on the poems provided in volume II of this edition. For example, on the approximate dating of this poem, see II, 450.

[23] The poems by Dunbar and Stewart are also in the Maitland Folio, pp. 196–98 and 311–12 respectively.

[24] *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (hereafter *ALHTS*), ed. by T. Dickson and J. Balfour Paul, 11 vols (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1877–1916), III, 369, 372, 377, 379. The accounts also contain numerous references to payments made to women for singing to the king or in his chamber. See *ALHTS*, III, 162, 196, etc; IV, 127.

King Hart's echoes of real court practices, and its attendant anxieties about the order of the royal household and negative influences on impressionable young monarchs, are shared by several later-sixteenth-century Scottish allegories, making a persuasive case for the wider circulation of our poem than its single exemplar suggests. Hart's disreputable servants are the precursors of the company that serves the innocent young Rex Humanitas in Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, a morality play first performed in its present state in Cupar in 1552 and in an earlier form before James V at Linlithgow in 1540.[26] Rex Humanitas's servants Wantonness, Placebo, and Solace claim to be the loyal secretary and pages to their 'royall young king', but each also his 'sportour and playfeir', deviously confusing roles of service with those of self-interested recreation as they introduce him to the ways of Dame Sensuality and the Vices (lines 176–77). *King Hart*'s fears are also palpable in an earlier dream vision by William Stewart, 'This hyndir nicht neir by þe hour of nyne', which is entitled in the Maitland Folio 'Quod williame stewart to þe king'.[27] This poem contains a likely verbal echo of *King Hart*,[28] and Hart's servants foreshadow the wayward 'bairnys' such as 'ȝoung counsale', 'wilful wrang', 'falsheid', 'singular proffeit', and 'ignorance' whom Lady Verite wishes to banish from the 'counsale Sessioun and parlement' of the youthful king in favour of prudence, correction, conscience, and 'auld experience' (lines 35–36, 41–44, 66).[29]

Hart's crew also prefigures the richly dressed 'courtly gallandis' singing and dancing before the fresh-faced monarch, 'With tender dounis riseing on his beird', in John Bellenden's dream-vision debate composed *c.* 1531, *The Proheme of the Cosmographe*.[30] Amongst their number is the very loquacious Delite, who seeks to become the king's 'high empryis' above her rival Virtew.[31] She praises his amorous deeds and reiterates may of the arguments found in *King Hart* about the naturalness of young lusts. Offering the king a lecture on physiognomy, she urges him to abandon the heavy affairs of state and to seek the lover's pleasures before 'The rose, þe lillyis and þe violet [. . .] are with þe wynd ovirset' (p. 7).

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[25] *ALHTS*, IV, 62, 108, 295, 358.

[26] Sir David Lyndsay, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, ed. by R. J. Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1989, repr. 1998). 'Dame Sensuall' and other allegorized vices also make a brief appearance in Lyndsay's *Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo*, lines 658, 873. All references to Lyndsay's minor poems are to *Sir David Lyndsay: Selected Poems*, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams, ASLS, 30 (Glasgow: Association of Scottish Literary Studies, 2000).

[27] Maitland Folio, pp. 298–99. The poem is also in the Bannatyne Manuscript, fols 228–31. See MacDonald, 'William Stewart', p. 189.

[28] Cf. line 44 in Stewart's poem with line 813 in *King Hart*.

[29] Cf. Stewart's 'Precellent prince haueand prerogative' (also found in the Maitland Folio, pp. 328–29), addressed to the king in his 'tendir age'.

[30] Theo van Heijnsbergen notes that the Maitland and Bellenden families were, as royal servants and through common Douglas roots, acquainted. See his 'The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context', in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History, and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, ed. by A. A. MacDonald and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 183–225 (pp. 191–200). It is not impossible that *King Hart* was circulated

Finally, *Duncan Laideus alias Makgregouris' Testament* (*c.* 1552–84?), a poem deeply concerned with the disorder that can accompany minority rule, also continues in the *King Hart* tradition. The fictional voice of the infamous outlaw, Duncan Macgregor, describes his youthful corruption in the allegorical language of the disordered household, suggesting how royal misgovernance can cause moral waywardness and criminality in the king's subjects:

Quhen passit wes the tyme of tendir age,
And Youth with Insolence maid acquentance
And Wickitnes enfoced Evill courage,
Quhill Micht with Crueltie maid alliance,
Then Falshead tuke on him the governance
And me betaucht ane houshald for to gyde
Callit Evill cumpanie baith to gang and ryde.[32]

The master of Duncan's inner household is Oppressioun, his chamberlain Couatice, and 'priue counsalouris' Conspiracie, Inwy, and Fals repoirt (p. 151). Duncan admits that his personal misrule began during the reign of James IV, but boasts that it flourished during the minority of James V for the sole reason that 'thair wes nan me to correct, / The king wes young, the lawis wer obscurit' (p. 157).

The inverted bonds of service in King Hart's castle leave it vulnerable to attack from without, the young king and his servants easy prey for Dame Plesance's hunting party, which is variously described as a 'sute', 'muster', or 'lynnage', a militaristically ordered company 'arrayit weill' (lines 187, 156, 221, 225).[33] Typical of Hart's weakened leadership is his decision to send out servants ill equipped to meet

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between these literary families prior to the compilation of the Folio. *The Proheme* also draws on Holland's *Buke of the Howlat*, and the works of Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay.

[31] Quotations are from John Bellenden, *The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland by Hector Boece*, ed. by G. Watson, STS, 3rd series, 17 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1943), pp. 3–13 (p. 5, no line numbers are given). The poem is also printed in John Bellenden, *The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece and Translated into Scots by John Bellenden*, ed. by R. W. Chambers and others, 2 vols, STS, 3rd series, 10 and 15 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1938–41), I, pp. v–xv.

[32] Printed in *The Black Book of Taymouth with Other Papers from the Breadalbane Charter Room*, ed. by C. Innes (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), pp. 151–73 (p. 151, no line numbers are given).

[33] *DOST*, n. 'muster', n. 'linage'; *MED*, n. 'sute'.

this threat — Ȝouthheid and Fresche Delyte, followed, when this pair is captured, by Newgate, Wantoness, Grene Luif, Disport, Waistgude, and Fulehardynes. As 'Wisdome is away' it is only a matter of time before Hart and the rest of his 'cumlie ost' are taken as well (lines 190, 218). Captured and fastened up in Venus's bands, King Hart is presented to the queen and yields to her 'estait' (line 243).

In its comic portrayal of the young king's household, internally weakened by disorder and subjugated to Dame Plesance and her numerous followers ('Ane legioun liell war at hir leding', line 123), the poem gestures towards contemporary fears about maintaining large households and about factionalism at court, practices which, in the politically sensitive time of royal minority in particular, presented considerable difficulties for the keeping of the peace and upholding of the monarch's dignity. Fifteenth-century statutory legislation, passed by the Scottish Parliament during or following periods of royal minority, repeatedly sought to curb the troublesome practice of maintenance and the power of over-prominent families. In various acts passed between 1425 and 1503, subjects were enjoined not to come to court or attend justice ayres 'w^{t} him ma p*er*son*is* þan ar in his daily houshalde and familiar*is*', with 'multitude of folkis' or 'armys', but in a 'sobre and quiet man*ner*'.[34] It was prohibited that any subject 'rebell agaynis the kingis persone', and for nobles to retain disreputable individuals or assist rebels 'i*n* rede, confort, [. . .] consal or may*n*tena*n*ce'.[35]

Without any real power of his own, King Hart's amorous subjection to his queen and her retinue makes him akin to the mock kings of Scottish folk and institutional festivities such as the kings of Bean and May, *Rex Stultorum*, and Abbot of Unreason, or to the 'Prince of Love' who took on the Lord of Misrule role in festivities at the Middle Temple during the sixteenth century.[36] As Dame Plesance's 'prince of love', Hart also recalls the literary figure of the King of Love who makes several appearances in late medieval Scottish contexts. The two fifteenth-century Scots Alexander romances, *The Buik of Alexander* (*c.* 1438), and the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*, previously discussed, devote considerable space to the narration of an episode, based on *Les Voeux du Paon*, in which Alexander's lifting of the Siege of Effesoun is celebrated with the election of a King of Love to partake in a playful love debate.[37] In the first of these romances it is made clear that the King of

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[34] *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1124–1707* (hereafter *APS*), ed. by T. Thomson and C. Innes, 12 vols (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1814–75), II, 177, 16, 51. Cf. p. 7: no 'lig*is* or band*is* should be maid amang*st* his lieges i*n* þe Realme'.

[35] *APS*, II, 35. Cf. II, 243 (act of 1503).

[36] Anna Jean Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland*, St Andrews University Publications, 24 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1927), pp. 16–23; Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, *Le Prince d'Amour or The Prince of Love with a Collection of Several Ingenious Poems and Songs by Wits of the Age* (London, 1660).

[37] *The Buik of Alexander*, ed. by R. L. G. Ritchie, 4 vols, STS, 2nd series, 12, 13, 21, 25 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1921–29), vol. II. For brief discussion, see Kathryn Saldanha, '*The Thewis of Gudwomen*: Middle Scots Moral Advice with European Connections?', in *The*

Love is a ‘counterfittit king’ (line 2189), and in the second he is ‘crovnit with ane rois chaplet’, invested with appropriate kingly attributes, such as truthfulness and righteous judgement, and given an opportunity to offer advice on ‘the thewis of ane gud women’ (lines 8004, 8473). In the second romance, the election of the King of Love is also the occasion for a more profound moral lesson on the importance of the lover’s self-governance, delivered by a distinguished knight, Cassamus. Cassamus’s lecture is couched in allegorical terms, warning the young players of the dangers of disloyalty, ‘fals sembland’, ‘wrechitnes and folis corage’, and instructing that although the eyes are the heart’s messengers, the wit alone should rule the heart’s desires (line 8269). A third reference to a fashion for the courtly King of Love figure in Scottish circles is of a more historical character. In his *Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis*, John Shirley records how, just before his assassination and amidst multiple prophecies of his murder, James I was feasting and playing ‘at þe chesse’ when he humorously elected ‘a lusti’ and ‘ful amerowse’ knight as King of Love claiming to be ‘vndur [his] knighthode as in þe service of love’.[38]

In part, these mock king figures signal an inversion of the normal hierarchical order in a ludic context. However, such literary uses of pretend kings, and the explicit comparison of real kings who failed to live up to their responsibilities to the mock kings of revelry, also had advisory and admonitory functions.[39] Cassamus’s use of the King of Love game to issue lessons on self-control is a case in point, and Shirley’s reference to James’s King of Love in his *de casibus* text reminds us, by drawing together public office and personal concerns, that a king is both vulnerable to misrule and mortal like any other man. In addition, both Dunbar and Lyndsay use Lord of Misrule imagery for critical and instructional purposes. Dunbar’s complaint about the ‘ffantastik fulis bayth fals and greedy’ that cluster around James IV in his ‘Schir ȝe haue mony seruitouris’ (line 15), his playful account of Sir Thomas Norny’s position as ‘lord of evere full’, and his many references to other figures of folly who stand emblematic in the midst of rife courtly corruption, implicitly suggest

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European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, ed. by Graham Caie and others (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 287–99 (pp. 295–98).

[38] *Death and Dissent: Two Fifteenth-Century Chronicles. The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis and Warkworth’s Chronicle*, ed. by Lister M. Matheson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 23–56 (p. 34). Discussed in Sally Mapstone, ‘Kingship and *The Kingis Quair*’, in *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*, ed. by Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 51–69 (pp. 51–52).

[39] Cf. *Richard the Redeles* where Richard II is called a lord ‘over misrule’. Robert Bruce is entitled a ‘kyng of Somere’ in a fourteenth-century English ballad. See Billington, *Mock Kings*, pp. 12–13, 19, 87. *Richard the Redeles* and its depiction of the exclusion of truth-tellers from Richard II’s household, is discussed in Jenni Nuttall, ‘Household Narratives and Lancastrian Poetics in Hoccleve’s Envoys and Other Early-Fifteenth-Century Middle English Poems’, in this volume.

that the king presides over all manner of disorder, not all of which is harmless.[40] Two decades later, Lyndsay employs mock king imagery in *The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo* to warn James V of the misgoverned ruler's vulnerability to Fortune's blows. Alluding to the notorious sensuality and frivolity of this young king, the Parrot cautions that if James fails to govern himself in his 'adolescent yeris' and 'lerne to be ane kyng', he will be 'bot King of Bone' (Bean) — that is, of no more value than the temporary New Year monarch elected on Uphaliday for obtaining the portion of the Twelfth Day cake containing a bean (lines 285, 305, 337).

In *King Hart*, the mock king identity conferred on the protagonist by his amorousness similarly provides a serious commentary on the dangers of sexual misgovernance for youthful and mature monarchs alike. As the narrative continues, Dame Plesance's household is gradually weakened by disloyal retainers, enabling the king to conquer the queen in a dramatic sortie into her bedchamber. Grene Lust triumphantly announces that 'Our lord king Hartis will most now be done' for 'fairlie sall we governe ȝow and ȝouris', and the king delights to have 'dame Plesance at his will!' (lines 386–87, 402). Here, Hart's escape from the control of others is comically redolent of the assertiveness with which many of the fifteenth-century Stewart monarchs emerged from tutelage to assume their personal rule, a moment articulated in terms of a transition to amorousness in poems such as *The Kingis Quair* (*c.* 1424?) and Dunbar's *Thistle and the Rose* (*c.* 1503?). In reiterating this, *King Hart* reminds its readers that majority does not necessarily bring self-rule and strong kingship. Indeed, despite this superficial sense of hierarchy restored, Hart will spend the next 'Sewin ȝeir and moir' in the 'cure and gouernance' of those he should govern, 'schir Lyking and schir Loue', characters familiar from morality plays such as *Mundus et Infans*, and certainly not under the more desirable guardianship of Dunbar's 'nobill king' Matremony (lines 429–30).[41]

King Hart's continued subjection to his youthful passions and his resulting status as an amorous king of misrule is further signalled by the exchange of clothing and references to attire in the poem. This motif links the poem to English morality plays (including Medwall's *Nature*), where protagonists dress or are dressed as an indication of their moral state, but its use in *King Hart* is particularly politically charged, expressive of the shifting power relations in the court depicted.[42] It therefore also intersects with medieval advice writing, which often stressed the importance of the king being 'stately cled and in faire maner grathit', as Hay writes in his *Buke of the Governaunce of Princis* (*c.* 1456).[43] The splendour of the household bespoke the dignity of its sovereign, the exchange and display of clothing visually buttressing hierarchical order, ratifying obligations between the king and his servants, and performing crucial political and diplomatic functions.[44] As historians have long observed, James IV was the Stewart monarch most famous for his love of finery and display, his retainers of all degrees 'clad almost entirely at [his] expense'.[45] Furthermore, James III, IV, and V were as conscious as their Tudor and European counterparts of fostering a sense of optimism and ebullience through the exploitation of the symbolism of youthfulness in the visual presentation of the royal household.[46] Although there is no evidence that there were fixed livery colours at this time, the wardrobe accounts show the popularity of expensive fabrics and bright, highly symbolic dyes.[47] Green and black were chosen for James III's henchmen in 1474, who on another occasion wore coats exotically embroidered with gold and darnel leaves.[48] James IV's attendants for the Whitsunday celebrations of 1489 and 1491 were clad in green and yellow, and the king himself sported a coat of 'kendal grene' at the Raid of Norham in 1497.[49]

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[40] See Dunbar's 'Now lythis off ane gentill knycht' (*Of Sir Thomas Norray*, *c.* 1503–06), line 50; 'Sir Ihon Sinclair begowthe to dance' (*c.* 1511–13?), line 20; 'Schir I complane off iniuris' (*c.* 1504–12?), lines 18–27, and 'I maister Andro Kennedy' (*c.* 1490–1500?), line 73.

[41] Dunbar's 'Sen that I am a presoneir' (date unknown), line 97. In *Mundus et Infans* (*c.* 1507–08), the youthful Infans is known as Lust-Lykynge. His other names include Dalyaunce, Wantoun, Manhode, Age, and Repentaunce. In relation to the length of time that Hart is governed by 'Lykyng' and 'Loue', it is possible that the poet is alluding to the tradition of dividing the lifespan into seven-year portions. For example, in *Mundus et Infans* the first three ages are said to each last for seven years. *Mundus et Infans* is printed in *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, ed. by J. M. Manly (London: Ginn, 1925).

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[42] In Medwall's *Nature* Man is dressed in royal garments. See Dunlop, 'Rule of Youth'. Such symbolic dressing also occurs in *Mundus et Infans* and *The Castle of Perseverance* (*c.* 1400–25). For the latter, see *The Macro Plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom and Mankind*, ed. by M. Eccles, EETS, OS, 262 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969). On the use of plain clothes as a symbol of truth telling, and ostentatious fashions as a symbol of flattery in fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century texts, see Nuttall, 'Household Narratives'.

[43] *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay: The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede and The Buke of the Gouernaunce of Princis*, ed. by Jonathon A. Glenn, STS, 4th series, 21 (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1993), p. 70, lines 1–16.

[44] A. F. Sutton, 'Order and Fashion in Clothes: The King, his Household, and the City of London at the End of the Fifteenth Century', *Textile History*, 22 (1991), 253–76; Louise Olga Fradenburg, 'The Manciple's Servant Tongue: Politics and Poetry in *The Canterbury Tales*', *Journal of English Literary History*, 52 (1985), 85–118 (p. 89).

[45] *ALHTS*, II, pp. lxii–lxiii; III, p. xc. Cf. L. O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 161.

[46] On Henry VIII's extravagant youth and love of display, see J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, Yale English Monarchs (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 11–20; David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (London: Batsford, 1986), pp. 96–113; Sydney Angelo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 98–123. On Francis I, see R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 107–17.

[47] *ALHTS*, I, p. clxxvi.

[48] Ibid., p. 58.

[49] Ibid., pp. 165, 340.

Yet, while it was usual for a prince to dress in a way befitting his majesty, and to supply his retainers with a livery, typically at Whitsuntide and Yule, the process is reversed in Hart's household. Indeed, Hart's only real gesture of giving in recognition of service comes at the end of the poem during his deathbed testament, the final confirmation of his degeneracy.[50] In acknowledgement of his past lack of princely liberality, he gives to Fredome a 'threidbair cloik, sumtyme [. . .] thik of wow' (line 938). To 'Vant and Voky' (boastfulness and vanity) he bequeaths a 'rown slef', an extravagantly cut sleeve of the sort that was frequently the object of the moralist's satire (line 947).[51] Elsewhere, however, the king dons new garments at the injunction of others, indicating the extent of his powerlessness. Thus, when Ȝouthheid provides him with a newfangled livery to replace the dull 'pallioun', rotten with tears, with which Danger had dressed him, Hart emerges reflecting the attire, and misconduct, of his own retainers (line 326). Ȝouthheid makes him 'ane courtlie cote, / Als grene as gers, with goldin stremis bricht / Broudin about, fast bukkillit to his throte' (lines 329–31). This 'wourthy weid' is a copy of Ȝouthheid's own highly symbolic and opulent 'cloik / [. . .] browdin all with lustie levis grene', which, later in the poem, is appropriated by Fresche Delyte, before fading into a 'Thriftles, threidbair' rag faded of 'hew', in imitation of youth's transience (lines 154, 502–03).

In addition, Ȝouthheid gives Hart a vibrant 'wysar' or mask 'payntit [. . .] ruby reid and pairt of quhyt amang' (lines 333–34). This mask is also said to be 'fassonit [. . .] all wrang' by Hevines, and so perhaps gives the king a fortune-like face, one side smiling, the other crying (line 336). In this carnival camouflage the young king becomes an epitome of folly. His dress perhaps recalls the colourful attire recorded in the *Treasurer's Accounts* for the court entertainers of the period such as Sir Thomas Norne, 'Sande Fwle', and Curry, suggesting just how un-kingly his behaviour is.[52] Indeed, Conscience later refers to the behaviour of Hart's servants as 'buirding' or jesting, and Ressoun condemns his 'ȝoung folk seruandis' as 'bot fulis', confirming that the king has indeed become a *Rex Stultorum* figure (lines 559, 654). This moment is perhaps echoed in Lyndsay's *Satyre*, where Chastitie and Veritie help Rex Humanitas to understand that his courtiers have beguiled him and played him 'the glaiks' (line 1879) — that is, taken him for a fool.

In preparation for the consummation of his love, Hart dresses himself in an 'amouris clok' (line 412). Yet far from marking the resurgence of his supremacy, the episode merely shows the completeness of Hart's subjection to his will. Indeed the whole incident is said to be 'devysit' by his attendants, 'Loue, Desyre and Lust' (line 409). With his colourful mask, clothing, and folly-like appearance, and the collusion of his errant companions, the verb used to describe the king's dressing of himself for the occasion, 'disgysit', is highly appropriate (line 411). As well as carrying the negative sense of 'altered for the worst', the word is also suggestive of ostentation and masquerading, a sense that again refocuses the poem's mock king imagery, fits the celebratory context of the banquet with the queen, and calls to mind the popularity of disguisings at the Stewart courts, in which the king himself often participated, having mumming robes made for his use.[53]

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[50] Hart later returns Ȝouthheid's mask, but this is not an act of patronage (lines 470–71).

[51] G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), p. 123. Cf. Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes*, ed. by C. R. Blyth, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), lines 423–24.

[52] The *ALHTS* show the purchase of 'ȝallow Birge satin to ane goun to Nornee', 'quhit skins' to line it, and 'iij elne chamlot, rede and blak [. . .] to his doublat', III, 109, and many other colourful clothes in blue, yellow, and green. Cf. III, 100, 109, 307, etc. Colourful clothes were provided for 'Sande fwle' in 1490, and both Currey, the royal fool after 1495, and his man were provided with parti-coloured clothing: I, 174; III, 93, etc.

The irreverent and critical dressing of a young king as a comic Lord of Misrule figure or mummer also occurs in *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*. Alexander's enemy, Darius of Persia, sends 'certane barnis playokis scornandly' to the young conqueror, with an insulting letter in which he accuses him of 'vaneglore', 'folie', and 'wantones' and verbally dresses him as a counter-king or boy bishop, replacing the symbols of high office, variously the crown, orb, and royal robes of a king, or the mitre and staff of a bishop, with frivolous playthings and mumming costume (lines 4287, 4312–13). He sends Alexander a gold 'chaiplet' 'Like till ane myter, þat foly sould pretend, / In barnis plais or into disgysing' (lines 4334–38). Instead of an orb and sceptre he sends a 'ball' which 'betakynnys play', and a golf staff because 'The scourge betakynnys chastiment' to one who must be chastised 'as ane barne' (lines 4338, 4340–41). Darius finally suggests that Alexander go home to play, 'Cled as ane fule in-till ane purpure cote' – a 'sote' who can only 'counterfete a kingis maiestie' (lines 4516, 4517–18).

Darius's accusations of Alexander's wantonness are, of course, unjustified. The young king receives these insults 'all in gude patience, / For he was sobyr in wisdome and prudence' (lines 4354–55). In *King Hart*, however, there can be no doubt about our protagonist's persistent folly as he attempts to remain virile. With the arrival of Age, Hart does adopt 'Blak and gray', the colours of his new attendants, much disapproved of by the queen, who complains that 'thir carlis ar nocht courtlie clede' (line 739). Yet rather than signaling the king's dawning self-awareness and sobriety, the fresh attire is chosen in mourning for his esteemed companions who flee the new regime. Fondly thanking Ȝouthheid for 'gude seruice' (line 466), Hart promises

> For saik of the I will no colour reid
> Nor lusty quhyt vpone my bodie beir,

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[53] *DOST* records the sense of 'transform, alter for the worst' for the verb 'disgyse', while the noun 'disgisyng' commonly meant 'masquerade'. See *DOST*, v. 'disgyse'; n. 'disguisyng'; and cf. *MED*, v. 'disgisen', n. 'disguise', ger. 'disgising'. For references to 'gysaris' (mummers) performing before the Scottish king, see *ALHTS*, I, 184. For the king's involvement, see Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 175; *ALHTS*, III, 249.

> Bot blak and gray alway quhill I be deid.
> I will none vther wantoun wedis weir. (lines 473–76)

Conscience, who arrives at court with Age, laments the loss of the king's 'garment grene and gudlie hew' and his 'fresche face þat Ʒouthheid [. . .] maid' (line 565), and passes the resonant judgment that Hart's problems are due to the 'Ʒong Counsale' that was in him 'sa lang [. . .] seasit', and the 'wickit counsalouris' that, as a result, ran his household (lines 629, 557). A similar judgment is passed on Lyndsay's Rex Humanitas, who is said to be 'effeminate / [. . .] gydit be Dame Sensualitie', and 'with young counsall intoxicate' (lines 1121–23). However, Hart objects to this analysis and points out that it was Nature who gave him 'Ʒouthheid, first seruitour' and Wantonness, in whose 'warde, [. . .] tutourschip and cure' he was nurtured (lines 601, 604). It is thus Nature, not he, who 'did mis' (line 600). He protests that he 'followit counsale alway for the best' and accuses Conscience, his 'kyn and blude', of being a 'counsalour sle' for staying away so long (lines 598, 610, 615). To settle the dispute, Ressoun is invited to arbitrate between them. Somewhat surprisingly, however, this sage counsellor legislates that experiences such as the king's are essential for the formation of man's moral maturity, also agreeing that Conscience's self-defence ('My terme was set by ordour naturall') is valid (line 637). Ressoun asks, 'Quha gustis sweit and feld nevir of the sowre, / Quhat can he say? How may he seasoun iuge?' (lines 657–58). His lesson that 'barnis ȝoung suld lerne at auld mennis sculis' is founded on the assumption that 'Experience' alone generates the fullness of wisdom and self-knowledge (line 655).

Rather pessimistically, therefore, the poem posits nature as an insurmountable obstacle to youthful self-governance. In political terms, wisdom, conscience, and reason are indeed exiles from the households of young kings.[54] Yet, despite its comments on the value of experience, *King Hart* presents self-governance in maturity as similarly elusive. Indeed, it also suggests that even conventional 'advice to princes' texts may not be enough to facilitate reform after such a dissolute start. Ressoun's lessons on the importance of royal 'mesour and treuth', subjects central to *speculum principis* literature, are derived from the official and legalistic 'rollis' he brings with him 'raithlie to [. . .] reid' (lines 652, 648).[55] When Ressoun has delivered his

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[54] The return of Henry Bolingbroke to England in 1399 was depicted as the return of mature rule and truth from exile, in a sermon given by Archbishop Arundel. See Nuttall, 'Household Narratives'.

[55] The association of the roll primarily with official records and documents is attested by the *OED* from the late fourteenth century. See, *OED*, n. 'roll'. This moment in *King Hart* perhaps recalls the sermon of Reason (who is accompanied by Conscience) in *Piers Plowman*, Passus V. See William Langland, *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Version of the A, B, C, and Z Versions*, ed. by A. V. C. Schmidt (London: Longman, 1995), vol. I (text). Maister Esope also carries 'ane roll of paper' in Henryson's 'Lion and the Mouse', *Morall Fabillis*, line 1356. See *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. by Denton Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

'sentence', Wisdome then issues a 'wourthy document' that urges the king to 'forbeyr the work of vice' (lines 650, 670–72). It instructs Hart to allow 'Foirsicht' a place at court, and, if his 'cuntre' is to be 'all weill ȝemit', to know his friends and foes amongst his servants (lines 674–76). The description of Wisdome's text as a 'document' foregrounds its formal, instructional, and admonitory character, giving it the legalistic connotations that are unique to Older Scots.[56] However, although Hart listens to this advice, he is then said to have 'turnit abak' on Conscience in an attempt to outwit his counsellors and sustain his liaison with the queen (line 721). He promises his beloved that,

> Thocht Conscience and Wisdome me to keip
> Be cunning both, I sall thame weill begyle.
> For trewlie, quhen thai ar gone to sleip,
> I salbe heir within ane bony quhyle
> My solace sall I sleylies thus our-syle.
> Richt sall nocht rest me alway with his rewle. (lines 729–34)

Even after Dame Plesance's departure, Desyre is 'dalie at the chalmer dure, / And Ielousie [. . .] never of his presence', while Schir Eis is 'Best lovit with the king' (lines 809–10, 815–16).[57] The advisory documents of Wisdome and Ressoun are replaced by a less arduous courtly pastime, the 'taill' telling of Sin (line 808).[58] Finally, Hart's reformers relinquish all efforts to order and defend their master's 'hous' (line 863). Wisdome is too busy chatting to Wirschip to notice the threatening approach of Decrepitus and his 'mony chiftanis' (line 852). He descends into senility and wanders off, while Ressoun is worn out with fighting and Conscience, wounded by Syn, lies 'doun ane quhyle to rest' (line 891). The poem ends with Hart's writing of his testament in which he partly regrets his adherence to his worthless courtiers, but also defiantly toasts his past bawdiness, offering his unmistakably phallic 'brokin speir' to Danger (line 959).[59]

King Hart thus lacks the optimistic belief in the possibility of royal and personal reformation held by Aristotle's allegory in *The Buik of King Alexander the*

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[56] *DOST*, n. 'document'. Cf. Sally Mapstone, 'The Scots *Buke of Phisnomy* and Sir Gilbert Hay', in *The Renaissance in Scotland*, ed. by MacDonald and others, pp. 1–44 (pp. 21–22, esp. n. 71).

[57] *Ratis Raving* observes that 'malice' is often 'portar at the ȝet' during old age (line 1485).

[58] For records of payments made to 'tail tellaris' and to 'Wallass that tellis the geistis to the King', see *ALHTS*, III, 192; I, 176 (entries for 1506 and 1490).

[59] On the popularity of the literary testament in Scotland, see Julia Boffey, 'Lydgate, Henryson and the Literary Testament', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 53 (1992), 41–56; Priscilla Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 195–98; E. Wilson, '*The Testament of the Buck* and the Sociology of the Text', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 45 (1994), 157–84.

Conquerour, and by Lyndsay's *Satyre*, where Rex Humanitas is reconciled to the purposes of Correctioun, Gude Counsell, Verite, and Chastite. Even the ambivalent endings of Stewart's 'This hyndir nicht neir by þe hour of nyne', in which reform remains something to be accomplished in the future, and Bellenden's unresolved *Proheme of the Cosmographe* are not as dark as the conclusion to our allegory. In Bellenden's poem the narrator awakes before the young sovereign of his dream makes his choice between the 'wenche' Delite and Virtew with her gift of 'Wit, reason', and 'manheid' as an antidote to the 'rage of youtheid' and its 'vice and misery' (pp. 8–12). The narrator's laments about the envy and factionalism of court during his Grace's 'yeris tenderest' (p. 4) suggest that, given the potential for moral error in young courts, reform cannot be guaranteed. However, he is still able to comfort himself with the thought that as Hercules chose virtue and labour above pleasure this young king might just do the same.[60] All such trace of hope is removed from *King Hart*'s narrative of a minor who never grows into a good ruler.

The Scottish poets of the 1520s and 1530s such as Stewart, Bellenden, and Lyndsay were themselves royal servants with direct experience of the politics of minority rule. In contrast, much fifteenth-century Scottish literature, despite its advisory bent, does not emanate directly from court circles. It is therefore possible that *King Hart*, probably composed at the turn of the sixteenth century, originates from a non-courtly setting, a magnate, laird, or burgess household, perhaps, but one in which the conduct of rulers was of concern. In such settings, aristocratic and civic interests alike were keenly bound up with the peace and stability of the realm and the control of its over-mighty factions by a strong and exemplary monarch. This may also explain why the *King Hart* poet concludes on such a negative note: he is able to explore the difficulties of self-reform, rather than having to assert confidently for an audience at the centre of royal government the certain emergence of wise kingship from the most unpromising of circumstances. Furthermore, the poem's allegorical depiction of the chaotic royal household during minority rule, and under an unreformed mature monarch, ultimately extends a lesson to readers of all social classes on the importance of king and subject alike ordering their own inner households where reason must be master. Only then can the king or his subject justly rule those in his charge — his servants, dependants, and family.

Whatever the shadowy facts of its authorship, original audience, and circulation, *King Hart* still held significance for members of the household of the politically prominent Maitland family in the late sixteenth century.[61] Indeed, the Maitland Folio

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[60] According to the *Treasurer's Accounts*, Hercules was portrayed on James IV's tapestry bed hangings with Marcus Coriolanus, Susanna, and Salomon, all figures that represent appropriate kingly attributes. See *ALHTS*, II, 214.

[61] See A. A. MacDonald, 'Sir Richard Maitland and William Dunbar: Textual Symbiosis and Poetic Individuality', in *William Dunbar, 'The Nobill Poyet'*, ed. by Mapstone, pp. 134–49 (p. 136); also see his 'The Poetry of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, 13 (1972), 7–19, and 'Early

Manuscript, an important collection of the works of Dunbar, Stewart, and Richard Maitland of Lethington, offers a valuable interpretive context for *King Hart*. The poem was copied by the scribe responsible for penning the largest section of the manuscript and, indeed, is the longest text in the codex — hardly a casual addition to this family book.[62] Many of the works included in the Folio are, like *King Hart*, moral and advisory, dealing with court life and how to survive its dangerous temptations, or with youthfulness and the power of desire. One of the last poems in the manuscript combines these themes in an address to another young monarch — this time James VI, 'Our soverane Lord in to [his] tendir aige'.[63] It advises James to choose the 'counsell of guid iust men' who will 'gif ane faythfull counsell till ane king' (lines 3–4). Above all, the poem emphasizes how the king must 'do na thing in [his] minoritie / be persasioun of ewill' (lines 61–62), advice that the wilfully misgoverned protagonist of *King Hart* never heeds.

Modern Scottish Literature and the Parameters of Culture', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), pp. 77–100 (pp. 82–86); A. A. MacDonald, 'Scottish Poetry of the Reign of Mary Stewart', in *The European Sun*, ed. by Caie and others, pp. 44–61 (p. 47).

[62] Boffey, 'The Maitland Folio Manuscript', p. 42.

[63] Maitland Folio, pp. 363–65.

The Rule of Youth and the Rule of the *Familia* in Henry Medwall's *Nature*

FIONA S. DUNLOP

In recent years, failure has been one of the most frequently discussed topics in British education. There has, for example, been considerable concern about the perceived failures of boys at school. The rush to account for boys' failure has in turn revealed many interesting assumptions about the essential nature of young men. One recent news report, which outlined the results of a survey into teenagers' attitudes to school, explained that boys' disillusionment with school was linked to 'the often troubled early years of adolescence' and that 'raging hormones and physical changes are a key factor behind these problems'.[1] Elsewhere, the columnist Melanie Phillips has criticized what she sees as a liberal educational establishment for attempting to abolish failure, which she sees as necessary in defining educational success.[2] Both of these examples show something of the ways in which the failures of the young are culturally constructed. The first shows how failure may be rendered 'natural', since it is presented as a by-product of the natural development of (in this case) male bodies. This type of biological essentialism makes failure both age-related and gender-specific. The second example makes it clear how an ideology of failure may proceed from a particular political standpoint which sees failure as playing a necessary role in social systems.

Henry Medwall's interlude *Nature*, composed in the 1490s, also has an interest in failure, specifically the failure of boys and young men.[3] In Medwall's play, young men are presented as moral failures, as failures as the governors of households, and as failures as kings. On one level, the play shows its protagonist, Man, failing morally in his youth, by succumbing to his physical desires, and allowing himself to slide into a lifestyle characterized by sinfulness. The play explains this process in terms of a failure of rule or governance within a household: Man's descent into sin is presented in terms of his mismanagement of servants, who represent aspects of his nature (such as 'Sensualyte' and 'Reason') or deadly sins (such as 'Pryde').

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[1] Jonathan Scales and Rachel Taplin, 'Turn Off, Give In, and Drop Out', *Times Educational Supplement*, 23 February 2001.

[2] Melanie Phillips, *All Must Have Prizes* (London: Warner, 1998).

[3] The text was first printed by William Rastell *c.* 1530 (A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, and others, comps, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976, 1986, 1991), no. 17779), but is generally supposed to have been composed in the 1490s. Since

Kate Mertes has defined the later medieval noble or great household as a 'collection of servants, friends and other retainers around a noble and possibly his immediate family' living 'as a single community, for the purpose of creating the mode of life desired by the noble master and providing suitably for his needs'.[4] This definition understands the household not as a physical place, nor primarily in terms of its political, social, or administrative functions, but as a system of relationships focused on the person of a nobleman or noblewoman, characterized by close physical proximity to him or her. The body of servants, retainers, kin, and companions living 'as a single community' with the nobleman or -woman is usually referred to as his or her *familia*. *Nature* depicts a noble household principally in terms of the relationships between a nobleman and his servants. Since these servants are sins or aspects of Man's nature, the household — in this case, the nexus of master-servant relationships — becomes a metaphor for the internal workings of the body and soul. This metaphor carries the advantage of explaining the unseen and abstract in terms of the familiar and concrete. In what follows, I shall examine how Medwall draws on the late medieval mirrors-for-princes tradition to make Man's management of his *familia* into a metaphor for the rule of the kingdom. However, given that Medwall's young character Man fails both to exercise moral self-control and to govern his household effectively, I shall begin by considering the performance of the play and why it might be convenient for a patron to promote an ideology of youthful failure in his household.

Nature is not only a play about a noble household, but it is also a play that self-consciously refers to its own performance within a noble household. At points during the play, characters refer to the physical features of a great hall around them (such as the fire in the centre of the hall) and upbraid members of the audience for failing to perform their duties properly (such as greeting a visitor to the household, or fetching a

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the title page of this edition describes Medwall as 'chapleyn to the right reverent father in God Johan Morton, somtyme cardynall and archebyshop of Canterbury' (A1^{r}), scholars have tended to associate the first performance with Morton's household before 1500, the year in which Morton died. On Medwall's life, career, and association with Morton, see Alan H. Nelson in Henry Medwall, *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1980), pp. 2–14. On the Rastell edition, see M. E. Moeslein in Henry Medwall, *The Plays of Henry Medwall: A Critical Edition*, ed. by M. E. Moeslein (New York: Garland, 1981), pp. 391–409.

[4] Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250–1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 5.

stool).[5] Its two-part structure suggests that it was performed during a banquet, probably held to mark an important festive occasion.[6] The performance of the play would have formed part of a programme of entertainment designed not only to divert and delight those gathered there, but also to display the wealth, learning, and refined tastes of the noble patron. The patron would have presided on the dais of the hall during the performance.[7] His *familia* would have formed part of the audience, but such festive occasions were also important to noblemen as opportunities for extending hospitality to friends, influential guests, and their wider affinity in general.[8] However, as Greg Walker points out, these occasions may have been just as important in reinforcing the *familia*'s own sense of belonging to the community of the household.[9]

Nature was probably first performed in the household of John Morton: that is, in the great hall of the manor or palace where Morton was resident, and in the presence of Morton, his *familia*, and other guests.[10] Morton, who was in his seventies in the 1490s, was by this point in his career one of the leading figures in English political life and had accumulated many positions of authority, as cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, privy councillor, and Chancellor of both Oxford and Cambridge.[11] Morton's household would have been a natural focus for ambitious young men and others seeking advancement, since Morton had considerable ecclesiastical patronage at his disposal, and service in his household was one route into royal service.[12] Roper's *Life of More* (1557) gives an example of the opportunities which Morton's household offered. Roper claims that Thomas More spent part of his youth in service in the household, and that Morton was instrumental in supporting More's further education.[13]

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[5] Henry Medwall, *Nature*, in *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Nelson, pp. 92–161, I. 723–30, II. 512–19. Subsequent line references are to this edition. On the practice and purpose of drama within the great household of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, see Meg Twycross, 'The Theatricality of Medieval English Plays', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Theatre*, ed. by Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 37–84 (pp. 66–82); Suzanne Westfall, *Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Greg Walker, 'Household Drama and the Art of Good Counsel', in *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Greg Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 51–75.

[6] Westfall, *Patrons*, p. 56; Twycross, 'Theatricality', pp. 67–69.

[7] Westfall, *Patron*s, p. 2; Twycross, 'Theatricality', pp. 69, 77.

[8] Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, for example, used the revels of Twelfth Night at Thornbury Castle in 1508 to develop his relationships with local gentry. See Barbara J. Harris, *Edward Stafford, Third Duke of Buckingham, 1478–1521* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 92.

[9] Walker, 'Household Drama', p. 63.

[10] Members of the *familia* may also have performed in the interlude. See Westfall, *Patrons*, pp. 56–57.

[11] On Morton's life and career, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Sir Stephen Leslie and Sir Stephen Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1957–59), v (1957), 1048–50; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957–59), II, 1318–20; *The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill, Canterbury and York Society, 75 (Leeds: privately printed for The Canterbury and York Society by Duffield Printers, 1987), pp. vii–x.

The fifteenth century has been characterized as an age when anxiety about young men gave rise to a proliferation of texts which aimed to regulate, contain, and control them.[14] As Paul Griffiths has pointed out, with respect to the early modern period, the conception of young men as a problem is one which justifies their exclusion from positions of authority and ensures that such positions remain 'the preserve of old men'.[15] It is perhaps not surprising to find an interlude staged in Morton's household which supports the gerontocratic nature of late medieval institutions, since Morton was clearly one of the beneficiaries of this system. *Nature* can be understood as justifying the exclusion of such young men from power on the basis of their biological development; but at the same time it holds out the promise that the same natural processes will in time fashion men into ideal rulers by their old age. In other words, the play promises young men that they will reap the benefits of the system in the future if they acquiesce in their own subordination in the present.

Like several of the morality plays, *Nature* follows the experiences of a central figure (Man) who is set up as a universal representative of mankind. Like the morality play *The Castle of Perseverance* (*c.* 1425), *Nature* follows Man from birth to death.[16] At the beginning of the play, after being set on his way by Nature herself, Man must choose between two guides, and this choice determines the course his life takes. In *The Castle*, the two guides are a 'Good Angel' and a 'Bad Angel', representatives of the supernatural forces of good and evil, whereas in *Nature* the two guides are Reason and Sensualyte, aspects of Man's own nature (his intellectual and spiritual faculties, and his physical faculties).[17] Reason and Sensualyte are presented as counsellors, competing for pre-eminence in the household of a nobleman.

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[12] Christopher Harper-Bill, 'The *Familia*, Administration and Patronage of Archbishop John Morton', *Journal of Religious History*, 10 (1979), 236–52.

[13] William Roper, *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, Knighte*, ed. by Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock, EETS, OS, 197 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 5.

[14] Barbara A. Hanawalt, '"The Childe of Bristowe" and the Making of Middle-Class Adolescence', in her *'Of Good and Ill Repute': Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 178–201.

[15] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 96. See also pp. 18–33, and Keith Thomas, 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 62 (1976), 205–24 (pp. 207–14).

[16] Peter Happé, *English Drama before Shakespeare* (London: Longman, 1999), p. 85.

[17] *The Castle of Perseverance*, in *The Macro Plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, Mankind*, ed. by Mark Eccles, EETS, OS, 262 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), lines 275–455.

At Nature's advice, Man initially accepts Reason as his 'chyef counsellor'. Subsequently he is presented to the Worlde, who enthrones him as king and who persuades Man to favour Sensualyte and Worldly Affecyon (the Worlde's own protegé). Under the sway of Sensualyte, Man is introduced to the seven deadly sins, and each sin becomes a servant in Man's household. The sins proceed to use the influence they gain through their position to corrupt Man and draw him into a life of vice. Although Man does repent and submit to Reason at the end of Part One of the play, he falls again at the beginning of Part Two. Reason then raises an army to deliver Man from the influence of his sensual desires, but though Man begins to muster his forces, battle is averted when Man repents for a second time. By this time Man is ageing and losing the physical desires which inclined him toward sinfulness in his youth, so that Man's sinful guides are dismissed from his service. The play ends with Man's repentance under the influence of the *remedia* for sin.[18]

The conflation of issues of man's spiritual state and the rule of households and kingdoms, which this plot represents, has a theoretical basis in Aristotelian concepts of rule and governance, which were discussed in the later Middle Ages in princely mirrors such as Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*. Giles's convenient digest of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics* is unified by a focus on the concept of the 'rule' or 'governance' of the prince. As Judith Ferster has pointed out, this concept is particularly ambivalent.[19] It may refer to the way in which the prince should rule others, but it can also refer to the way in which the prince should rule himself. This may be understood on a practical level as bodily discipline, in advice to the prince about his daily habits and how he should eat, but it also refers to moral self-discipline.[20] Furthermore, the phrase 'rule of princes' refers to the extent to which the prince should be influenced by the advice of counsellors.

In Giles's *De regimine*, the links between different kinds of rule structure the work. Book One deals with how the prince should 'rule' himself, couched in terms of the suppression of vice and cultivation of virtue, and corresponds with *Ethics*. Book Two deals with how the prince should rule his household and corresponds with *Economics*. Book Three deals with how the prince should rule his kingdom and corresponds with *Politics*. In his introductory remarks, Giles explains that this arrangement is eminently logical, 'For he that wol be wise and kunnynge to gouerne and rule oþer schal be wise and konnynge to gouerne and to rule hymself'.[21] According to Giles, ruling oneself successfully — that is, developing the moral virtues and suppressing vice — is the necessary prerequisite for ruling others, whether as the head of a household or as a king. Indeed, kingship ought to be synonymous with moral virtue:

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[18] Reason explains this concept of the *remedia* to Man in terms of the cure of disease. To be cured of the sin he has indulged in, Man must apply himself to the virtue which is the opposite of each deadly sin, since 'the contrary in all maner of wyse / Must hele hys contrary, as physyk doth devyse'. So Man must apply meekness to cure his pride, charity to cure his wrath, patience to cure envy, and so on. See Medwall, *Nature*, II. 1038–89. Each of these virtues appears in personified form at the end of the play and instructs Man in the life of virtue.

[19] Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 39–40.

[20] See for example the advice in Johannes de Caritate's 'Þe priuyte of Priuyteis' (*c*. 1484), in *Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions*, ed. by M. A. Manzalaoui, EETS, OS, 276 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 144–51.

> For theigh this book be itytled of the lore of princes, ȝut al the puple schal be itauȝt þerby; and theigh nouȝt eueriche man may be kyng oþer prince, ȝit eueriche man schilde desire besiliche to make himself worthi to be a kyng oþer a prince.[22]

Although normally addressed to royalty or to important aristocrats, mirrors for princes were widely read in fifteenth-century England.[23] *De regimine principum* was first written in the 1270s for Philip the Fair, heir to the French throne, but became popular in later medieval England, as the sixty manuscripts of English provenance extant testify.[24] It is likely that many of the university graduates in Morton's ambit were familiar with this text, since manuscript evidence suggests that students used this like a textbook for the study of Aristotle required on arts courses.[25] Medwall's presentation of Man as a king makes sense in the context of a moral play which claims a universal application, since the idea of a king carries a moral significance as well as a political one. Medwall's conflation of a moral plot, a household plot, and a kingship plot is logical if we accept Giles's principle that the morally virtuous are those best fitted for the governance of households and nations. Like Giles, Medwall stresses the inter-relationship of moral self-discipline and household governance by depicting Man's unruly physical and spiritual nature in terms of unruly servants.

In Medwall's play, Man's moral failure and consequent failures of governance are located in the period of youth. Giles associates young men in particular with failure on the basis of their intellectual and physical development. Young men are naturally inclined to sin because reason only develops from the age of fourteen.[26] Up until this point, boys are driven by their physical nature and are completely controlled by their passions, since it is only through the exercise of reason that one is able to repress vice and develop virtue. Giles argues, for example:

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[21] Quotations from Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* are taken from John Trevisa's translation of *c.* 1400: Giles of Rome, *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the De regimine principum of Aegidius Romanus*, ed. by David C. Fowler and others (New York: Garland, 1997), p. 8, lines 8–10.

[22] Giles of Rome, *Governance of Kings*, p. 7, lines 12–16.

[23] On the popularity of the genre in later medieval England, see Richard Firth Green, 'An Adviser to Princes', in his *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 135–67.

[24] These have been identified by Charles Briggs. See Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c.1275–c.1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[25] Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum*, pp. 91–95.

[26] Giles of Rome, *Governance of Kings*, p. 141, lines 23–24.

> intemporancia is a vice most childliche, for children þat vsen not reson lyuen not by resoun but by passioun. Þerfore moste we see hem folwe delectacioun (likyng) and passions.[27]

Medwall shows us the battle between reason and the passions later in male youth in the form of the contest between the characters Reason and Sensualyte for influence over Man. Reason's defeat by Sensualyte may be ascribed to the strength of the passions in youth and the relative weakness of the capacity for reason. The rule of Sensualyte over Man is age-related, since it depends on male development. Near the beginning of the play, Sensualyte is able to predict to Reason how their struggle for influence over Man will proceed in the years ahead:

> And standyng the nonage of thys gentleman,
> On my parell take no care therfore.
> I shall demean yt as well as I can
> Tyll he be passyd forty yerys and more,
> And, Reason, then yf ye wyll, undershore
> Hys croked age when lusty youth ys spent;
> Than take uppon you [. . .].[28]

Sensualyte sees the period of male youth, his 'nonage', as his natural preserve, whereas he associates Reason with old age, the period when all passions will be spent.[29]

Nature demonstrates the young Man's failure to rule himself. Following Giles's logic, this failure should result in a failure to rule others, since the latter is contingent on the former. When *Nature* presents Man's sins as members of Man's household, the play emphasizes the interdependence of different kinds of failure of rule.[30] This strategy neatly combines the discussion of moral failure with the illustration of its consequences in the form of a dysfunctional *familia*. In Man's household the proper relations between master and servant are turned on their head. As a direct result of Man's failure to rein in his physical desires, the rule of the *familia* comes to mean the exercise of the *familia*'s power over Man, rather than the exercise of his power over the *familia*. The play makes household relations between Man and his servants into a metaphor for the individual's control of his own body and soul. However, the play also implies that, on a literal level, relations between masters and servants are determined by the degree of self-mastery which the head of the household can command.

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[27] Giles of Rome, *Governance of Kings*, p. 72, line 12.

[28] Medwall, *Nature*, I. 323–29.

[29] The term 'nonage' is the technical legal term for the period when young men are regarded as 'infants', or as incapable of acting on their own behalf in the eyes of the law. The age of majority for knights was fixed at twenty-one, as it was at this age that the law considered men capable of performing military service, an obligation inherent in landholding. See Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), II, 438–39.

[30] Joanna Martin, '"Had the Hous, for it is myne": Royal and Self-Reform in Older Scots Literature from *King Hart* (*c*. 1500) to Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (*c*. 1552)', in this volume, demonstrates that *King Hart* employs a similar strategy, by representing the undesirable characteristics of young men as servants who come to rule their master.

The subtle conflation of these ideas may be illustrated through the analysis of the episode where the first sin, Pryde, is introduced into Man's employment.[31] In moral terms, this passage explores the way in which Man succumbs to deadly sin under the influence of his sensual nature. The interlude makes pride the first sin to assail Man because pride was often considered to be the first sin to affect the individual and the sin which then led one to commit all the other sins.[32] However, Pryde describes Man as a 'gentylman [. . .] borne to gret fortunes' who 'ys dysposed algate / An housholder to be' and speaks of his ambition to be 'afeed' with Man.[33] These terms evoke the context of a great household. They also place Pryde as a gentleman servant seeking a lucrative office in the household administration which will carry an annual payment in cash, or 'fee', for his services.[34] Pryde approaches Sensualyte for help in securing an office, and their negotiation offers an insight into the way the sin of pride works on the individual couched in terms of the influence of the servant over the master. Pryde gains Sensualtye's support by offering to help Sensualyte to counteract the influence of Reason. Pryde offers to exploit the access he will have to his new master, Man, in order to flatter him regarding his abilities, with the aim of making Man think he can dispense with the counsel that Reason offers.[35] Pryde realizes that in the great household, intimacy is power.[36] In the case of Pryde and Sensualyte that power is dangerous, since it allows them effectively to rule Man.

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[31] Medwall, *Nature*, I. 827–1034.

[32] On pride as the 'leader' or 'king' of the sins, see Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), pp. 143, 185. In *The Interlude of Youth*, where Youth is first assailed by Pride under the influence of Riot, Pride also becomes a servant in Youth's household. See *The Interlude of Youth* (*c*. 1514), in *Two Tudor Interludes: Youth and Hick Scorner*, ed. by Ian Lancashire (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), pp. 101–52.

[33] Medwall, *Nature*, I. between lines 834 and 835, and I. 801–02.

[34] It was usual for individuals from the lesser nobility to enter service of other gentlemen, whether of the lesser or greater nobility. See C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 37. See also Mertes, *English Noble Household*, pp. 26–28, 62–63.

[35] Medwall, *Nature*, I. 862–85. Once Pryde is introduced to Man, he immediately begins to carry out this plan in I. 914–1017.

[36] David Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: The Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485–1547', in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 71–118. Starkey discusses the power conferred by intimacy with the monarch in the early Tudor period.

Man's failure and passivity as the head of the household are apparent when his actions are compared with Giles's description of the effective ruler of the household in Book Two of the *De regimine*. Such a lord tests his servants over a long period of time in order to gauge their trustworthiness and ability: for example, he places servants in lesser offices first, and advances them gradually as they prove themselves.[37] He is careful not to be overly familiar with his servants, so that they fail to respect him, and only entrusts his private business to the servant who has proved his selfless attachment through long years of service.[38] Man, in contrast, is only too ready to trust Pryde and the other sins who enter his service. In fact he does not even know the true identities of his servants since each of the sins assumes a pseudonym to conceal his true nature. Pryde, for example, masquerades as Worshyp.[39] Moreover, Man allows the sins to determine his conduct. At Pryde's criticism of his clothing, Man commissions Pryde to design a new set of fashionable clothes.[40] Pryde is therefore able to mould Man in his own image.

Man is an ineffective ruler in that, rather than employing servants in his business and for his profit, Man's servants are exploiting him for their profit. It is Man who conforms to his servants' values, rather than they who conform to his. However, the young Man's failure to rule effectively is also apparent in his action as king. Man is established as a king in a striking stage picture at the beginning of the play, where the Worlde seats Man on his throne and gives him royal garments to wear: a robe, a cap, and a girdle.[41] Medwall is also able to suggest a high political context by representing Reason and Sensualyte as competing counsellors. Indeed this term is used specifically of Reason, whom Man introduces to the Worlde as 'my chyef conselour'.[42] Counsel — the advice of learned, experienced, or influential men — was important to any lord for the proper conduct of his business.[43] However, counsel also has a particular significance for good kingship in mirrors for princes. In the *Secretum secretorum*, for example, the selection of counsellors and the careful evaluation of their counsel are key activities of a king.[44] English versions of the *Secretum* list the characteristics of the ideal royal counsellor, and advise the king on how to test a counsellor by pretending to be in financial straits.[45] The evil counsellor will suggest acquiring the money from the nation; the good counsellor will offer his own wealth. Faced with a choice of counsellors at the beginning of *Nature*, Man fails to apply any such strategies. Instead, he blindly rejects Reason at the prompting of the Worlde, despite Nature's earlier instructions to make Reason pre-eminent.

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[37] Giles of Rome, *Governance of Kings*, p. 283, lines 13–31.

[38] Ibid., p. 284, lines 23–41.

[39] Medwall, *Nature*, I. 436–38.

[40] Ibid., I. 1018–81. This action draws on established conventions of moral plays, where a change of costume usually symbolizes a change of moral state. See T. W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume, and Acting* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1958), pp. 73–85. In *Nature*, Pryde's costume and the clothes he designs for Man identify Pryde and Man as a specific moral type of the young man, the 'gallant', who indulges in gaming, excessive drinking, lechery, and swearing, as well as extravagantly expensive, fashionable dress. See Tony Davenport, '"Lusty fresche galaunts"', in *Aspects of Early English Drama*, ed. by Paula Neuss (Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), pp. 110–48. See also Martin, '"Had the Hous"', in this volume, on the use of this convention in *King Hart*.

[41] Medwall, *Nature*, I. 463–66.

[42] Ibid., I. 533.

[43] Carole Rawcliffe, 'Baronial Councils in the Later Middle Ages', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Charles Ross (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1979), pp. 87–108.

The issue of the advice of counsellors is crucial partly because (like other servants) they are in a position to 'rule' their master through their advice. *Nature* specifically alludes to this idea. As Man explains to the Worlde, Nature has appointed Reason as his 'chyef conselour' so that Reason will have 'the hole rule and governy of me'.[46] Man ought to be influenced by counsel, but it must be the right counsel. Choosing the right counsel is particularly necessary to the young king, according to princely mirrors, since he lacks the wisdom and experience of the mature man.[47] An *exemplum* frequently used to illustrate the connection between youth, bad counsel, and bad kingship is the biblical story of Rehoboam, king of Israel.[48] When Rehoboam comes to the throne on the death of his father Solomon, his people request a less exacting regime. Rehoboam consults his father's old counsellors, who advise him to agree to the request, and then young counsellors who advise him to impose an even harsher regime. Rehoboam takes the advice of the young men, and needless to say all ends in disaster with a popular uprising and the division of the kingdom of Israel. Judith Ferster has described this story as operating as a 'political code' in late medieval England, since it is used to criticize kings of all ages through criticism of their choice of counsellors.[49] The young king, characterized by the foolish acceptance of foolish counsel, becomes synonymous with the incompetent ruler. In *Nature*, Medwall is exploiting this 'code', using it as a kind of shorthand to indicate Man's failure as a king. The young Man's choice of the wrong counsellor — Sensualyte instead of Reason — carries implications of unsuccessful kingship which do not need to be spelled out in the play.

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[44] Ferster, *Fictions of Advice*, pp. 39–54. Greg Walker suggests reading Tudor interludes as a form of counsel offered to noble patrons, in the mirrors for princes tradition. By countenancing criticism of him or herself, the patron thus demonstrates his/her ability to accept truth-tellers and reject flatterers, and so demonstrates the qualities of a good ruler. See Walker, 'Household Drama', pp. 63–75. See also Jenni Nuttall, Household Narratives and Lancastrian Poetics in Hoccleve's Envoys and Other Early-Fifteenth-Century Middle English Poems', in this volume, on how the reception of truth-tellers is constructed as a defining moment for kings in fifteenth-century political literature.

[45] See for example *The Secrete of Secretes* (mid- and late-fifteenth-century MSS), in *Secretum Secretorum*, ed. by Manzalaoui, pp. 29–113 (pp. 77–79).

[46] Medwall, *Nature*, I. 538.

[47] See also Martin, '"Had the Hous"', in this volume, on the young king's inability to judge the counsel of his servants correctly in *King Hart*. Nuttall shows how criticism of Richard II was framed in terms of his reception of good and evil counsel. Criticism of both Richard and Henry IV was also expressed through the depiction of their badly governed households: Nuttall, 'Household Narratives', in this volume.

[48] I Kings 12. See Ferster, *Fictions of Advice*, pp. 123–34.

In *Nature*, Medwall's combination of a moral plot, a household plot, and a kingship plot makes sense when read in the light of mirrors-for-princes literature, which establishes the principle that different kinds of rule are dependent on one another. How a man rules himself in moral terms determines how he rules others, whether the members of his household or the subjects of his kingdom. Young men are associated with failure of rule on the basis of biological determinism. Their intellectual and physical development renders them incapable of ruling themselves, and hence of ruling others.

This is an ideology which clearly works to the advantage of the old, since it implies that positions of authority ought to be reserved for the old. This may be one reason why *Nature* does not really express any great anxiety about the sinfulness of the young. The first part of the play uses Man and his corruption by the sins to provoke laughter, albeit laughter which is directed at the characters' follies and which is critical of their failings. A more regretful and reflective tone is introduced in the second part of the play, as Man grows older and learns to see his youthful behaviour in a new light.[50] Reason also laments the fact that Man did not withstand his passions before he was forced to by the ageing process.[51] However, by the end of the play Reason seems to be ascribing a positive value to youthful sinfulness. He claims that 'greter reward thou shalt therfore wyn / than he that never in hys lyfe dyd syn'.[52]

By relating capacity to rule to the ageing process, *Nature* also reassures young men that their time for rule will come in due course. When the new character Age begins to assert his influence over Man in Part Two, Age calls in Reason and refuses to brook any opposition from Sensualyte.[53] In other words, the ageing male body loses the physical desires which characterized youth, so that old men are fully able to exercise reason. This change is solely due to the natural processes common to every man. The play provides an incentive for young men to acquiesce in a system which excludes them from positions of power and influence and advances those who are older. Young men, it implies, need only wait for the operations of nature to take effect in order to qualify for the rule of social institutions.

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[49] Ferster, *Fictions of Advice*, pp. 125–26.

[50] See, for example, Medwall, *Nature*, II. 1010–16.

[51] Medwall, *Nature*, II. 1018–23.

[52] Ibid., II. 1404–05.

[53] Ibid., II. 952–55. Sensualyte reports this; Age never appears in person on the playing area. This ending has been deliberately designed to emphasize the superiority of age. As Martin points out in reference to *King Hart*, it is possible to depict old age as a period when one is incapable of change, having had one's character fixed in youth: Martin, '"Had the Hous"', in this volume.

It also seems likely that the play is designed to flatter the aged John Morton. The play implies that, with the advancing years, Morton has developed the capacity for self-rule which guarantees an ability to exercise authority. Richard Southern, in his study of the staging of medieval plays, has suggested that the thrones belonging to Nature and the Worlde might have been positioned on the long axis of the hall at Lambeth.[54] There was of course one other 'throne' positioned on this axis: that of Morton positioned in the middle of the dais across the high end of the hall. In other words, when the young Man sits on the Worlde's throne he is brought into a direct spatial relationship with Morton. This arrangement of space sets up an opposition between Nature and the Worlde, but also between Morton and Man. The visual contrast between young Man and old Morton invites the audience to understand them as opposed in other ways. As young Man is established as the morally and politically incompetent ruler, old Morton is by implication constructed as morally and politically astute. If young Man represents failure, then old Morton must be the standard of success.

Nature demonstrates the ways in which ideas about the young are discursively constructed. Like the modern texts cited at the beginning of this article, *Nature* attempts to present a particular image of young men as obvious and natural, by relating their supposedly typical characteristics to physiological changes. The play presents Man's dysfunctional relationships with his *familia* as a model of his disordered body and soul, and it implies that his disordered household is also a model of the disordered kingdom. The play also implies a causal relationship between these forms of rule: Man cannot rule his household because he cannot rule himself, and he cannot rule a kingdom because he cannot rule a household. This strategy invests the household with considerable symbolic value. The play invites us to read the imagined household of the play (and the 'real' household of the performance) as evidence of the competencies of its lord. The conduct of the household — both the way the household is managed and the demeanour of the individual members of the *familia* — can be taken as evidence of the lord's capacity as a governor and even of the state of his soul. In this ideology of the household, the household is important chiefly as a sign, whose referent is the noble individual at its apex.

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[54] Richard Southern, *The Staging of Plays Before Shakespeare* (London: Faber, 1973), pp. 55–94.

Household Chores in *The Doctrine of the Hert*: Affective Spirituality and Subjectivity*

DENIS RENEVEY

Introduction

Household chores and the representation of the heart as a household are hallmarks of the Middle English version of *De doctrina cordis*, a text originally written in Latin in the thirteenth century by the Dominican Hugh of St Cher (d. 1263).[1] The association of Hugh of St Cher with the diocese of Liège and its prominent beguine communities, more particularly with his support for the building of a beguines' chapel and houses in Aarschot in 1251, prompts speculation about the impact of beguine spirituality upon the writing of the Latin treatise.[2] However, if beguine spirituality and the rise of devotion to the Eucharist in the Liège diocese fits well with the content of the Latin original, no specific internal evidence points to the beguines as the exclusive readership for the treatise.[3] In addition, the European fame of the treatise speaks for a readership coming from more diverse horizons. Despite its literary flaws,[4] the treatise quickly turned into a best seller of devotional literature, particularly appreciated by female readers, attested throughout Europe by the large circulation of the Latin version and its translation into several vernacular languages.[5] In England, the Middle English *Doctrine of the Hert,* part of the booming field of devotional literature which marks the fifteenth century, contributes to the development of the medieval subject's articulation of the self.[6] While the mystical

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* Some aspects of this essay, with a transcription and French translation of the prologue and passages relevant to cooking imagery, appear as 'L'imagerie des travaux ménagers dans *The Doctrine of the Hert*: spiritualité affective et subjectivité', in *The Heart*, ed. by Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, Micrologus, 11 (Florence: SISMEL, 2003), pp. 519–53. I am grateful to Cordelia Beattie for her useful suggestions in helping me shape this essay into a more coherent piece. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne read what was then a disorderly version of it, and her generous comments and suggestions have proved immeasurable for putting this version together. Further research on the *De doctrina cordis* is wanting, especially on manuscript contextualization and on the comparison between the Latin and Middle English (and other vernacular) versions.

[1] For a facsimile of the Latin text, see *Le Manuscrit Leyde Bibliothèque de L'Université, BPL 2579, témoin principal des phases de rédaction du traité De doctrina cordis, à attribuer au dominicain français Hugues de Saint-Cher (pseudo-Gérard de Liège): Édition en facsimilé*, ed. by Guido Hendrix (Gent: [n.pub.], 1980). For manuscript studies and discussions of authorship, see Guido Hendrix, 'Les *Postillae* de Hugues de Saint-Cher et le traité *De doctrina cordis*', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 47 (1980), 114–30; by the same author, see also '*De apercione cordis, De impedimentis* and *De custodia linguae*: Three Pseudo-Bernardine Texts Restored to their True Author, Hugh of St. Cher', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 48 (1981), 172–97; see also his 'Le *De doctrina cordis*, source directe du *Chastel périlleux*', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 50 (1983), 252–66; for a study of all known manuscripts, their textual history, and the attribution of authorship to Hugh of St Cher, see Guido Hendrix, *Hugo de Sancto Caro's Traktaat De*

Doctrina Cordis: Handschriften, Receptie, Tekstgeschiedenis en Authenticiteitskritiek, 2 vols (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 1995). For another attribution, see André Wilmart, 'Gérard de Liège: Un traité inédit de l'amour de Dieu', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 12 (1931), 345–430. See also Mary Patrick Candon, '*The Doctrine of the Hert*, Edited from the Manuscripts with Introduction and Notes' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 1963) (hereafter cited as *The Doctrine*), xlii–l, although most of her discussion, following the articles by Hendrix, is now obsolete. All quotations from *The Doctrine of the Hert* will be to this edition, with the provision of my own gloss in brackets whenever the Middle English may be problematic.

[2] On 12 November 1251, Hugh of St Cher, papal legate, issued a letter of indulgence in support of the Aarschot court beguinage. See Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200–1565* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 261.

[3] On the establishment of Corpus Christi as a liturgical feast in general, and on Hugh of St Cher's support for the feast, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 174–76.

[4] Candon states: 'After spending considerable time on a particular work there is something dissatisfying about classifying it as mediocre and if some future student of literary style should find in it hidden beauty and artistry, no one would rejoice more than I at the inaccuracy of the first judgment. Its weakness stems mainly from the monotony of the constant mathematical divisions and banal repetitions'. See *The Doctrine*, lxxix.

[5] Hendrix lists 204 manuscripts which offer *De doctrina cordis*, either in its integral or almost integral form, or with only slight deficiencies, or only selected chapters, fragments, or summaries, distributed in sixteen European countries. The text appears also in the Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish vernaculars. See *Le Manuscrit Leyde*, ed. by Hendrix, p. v; for a detailed description of all the manuscripts, see Hendrix, *Hugo de Sancto Caro's Traktaat De Doctrina Cordis*, I, 7–105.

[6] On this topic, see J. F. Benton, 'Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 263–95;

commentaries on the Song of Songs may have been instrumental in facilitating inscription of a discourse on interiority into this treatise,[7] other religious genres and devotional trends seem to have had an impact in shaping the treatise to address a female readership.[8] Although one could explicate the provision of a system which uses domestic language to shape notions of interiority and perception of the self as a misogynist medieval gesture towards the basic devotional needs of female readers, I shall show in the course of this essay how much more complex this issue is.

This essay offers a reading of the Middle English *Doctrine of the Hert* as a powerful tool in the development of interiority, with a consideration of the female reader as symbolic embodiment of the late medieval devotional subject. More precisely, it argues that the architectural space of the household and the discussion of its chores play a significant role in shaping that sense of interiority, engraving into the reader's mental screen an interactive scenario set in the household and especially its eventful kitchen.[9] An analysis of the representation of the architectural space of the household in this essay sheds light on an imaginary setting with strong bodily and domestic connotations.[10] Before engaging further with the ways in which those spaces

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see also Colin M. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

[7] For a study specifically devoted to this aspect of the mystical commentaries on the Song of Songs, and their impact on English mystical literature, see Denis Renevey, *Language, Self and Love: Hermeneutics in the Writings of Richard Rolle and the Commentaries on the Song of Songs* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001).

[8] For example, texts like the anonymous thirteenth-century *Sawles Warde* and *Le Livre de seynts medecine* also offer strategies for the use of female or secular readers. See *Sawles Warde: An Early Middle English Homily, ed. from the Bodley, Royal and Cotton MSS. by R. M. Wilson*, ed. by R. M. Wilson, Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs, 3 (Leeds: Kendal, 1938), and the fourteenth-century *Le Livre de seynts medecine: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. by Emile Jules François Arnould, Anglo-Norman Texts, 2 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940). For a translation of *Sawles Warde*, see *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, trans. by Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: The Paulist Press, 1991); for a partial translation of *Le Livre*, see *Culture of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, ed. by Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul (London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

[9] One needs to be aware that most domestic chores in a gentry household, with the exception of the laundry, were undertaken by men. However, the case may have been different in less high-status households. See Ffiona Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman: Life in a Gentry Household in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 23. For additional information on gentry households, see Christopher M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); see also Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976).

[10] As this essay will show, the architecture of the household represented in the treatise is too general to allow for a tentative association with material spaces specific to particular

contribute to the shaping of a language of interiority, a brief overview of the manuscript context and the general organization of the treatise is necessary.[11] It will be followed by a discussion of the audience and how this relates to the text.

The Text

The Doctrine of the Hert is found in four manuscripts, all dated from the fifteenth century.[12] Manuscript context and evidence of ownership point to a complex path of circulation and transmission. For instance, it is found as part of a collection which includes two additional items in MS Cosin: 'A lettre of relygyous governaunce sent to a relygyous woman' and 'A lettere sent to a relygyous woman of þe twelue frutys of the Hooly Goost and of the frut of charyte'.[13] This manuscript, copied in a hand from Suffolk, is probably the one that belonged to the Franciscan nunnery of Bruisyard, in Suffolk (as noted in a bequest in 1481 by Margaret Purdans). It is possible that Margaret Purdans offered MS Cosin for the use of a Franciscan nun, Lady Margaret Yaxley, from Bruisyard, and that, following her death in 1480, she bequeathed it to the Franciscan nunnery.[14] However, even if there is valuable evidence of circulation of *The Doctrine of the Hert* from lay hands into religious ones, one cannot necessarily imply reading practice on the part of the lay individual in this particular case.[15] The Trinity College manuscript, with *The Doctrine* as its sole item, provides another case of Franciscan ownership. The last flyleaf has a reference to 'dame cristyne seint Nicholas of þe menoresse of london' bequeathing her book to the office

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female modes of religious lives. For an archaeological consideration of the spaces inhabited by female religious, see Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), pp. 106–56.

[11] This essay is the first substantial published thematic study on this text written in English. However, see also the forthcoming book of Christiania Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind: A Study of Medieval Architectural Allegory* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003). Whitehead places the treatise in the larger context of the allegorization of ecclesiastical interiors, with Old Testament examples as precedents. She notes the text's sensibilities towards new economic values; see Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, pp. 122–28.

[12] The manuscripts are Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 330; Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V. III. 24; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS B. 14. 15; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 132. See *The Doctrine*, pp. viii–xiv.

[13] For an edition of those items, see *A Devout Treatyse Called the Tree & xii Frutes of the Holy Goost*, ed. by J. J. Vaissier (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1960).

[14] See David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Book and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries*, Cistercian Studies Series, 158 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 121–22. See also Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 46 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 76.

[15] See Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety,* p. 77.

of the Franciscan abbey on 9 March 1455.[16] The Fitzwilliam manuscript, however, which contains the same two additional items as found in MS Cosin, does not provide evidence of ownership. Also, the fourth Middle English version is found as the only item in MS Laud Misc. 330, with no medieval ownership indication.[17] While female Franciscan ownership of manuscripts containing the Middle English version clearly points to a reading public of nuns, the question of lay ownership and reading must be handled with more caution. The current evidence may point to the commissioning of books by the laity for relatives leading the religious life, rather than the making of books for their own personal use, even if the treatise does not exclude lay readers.

The Doctrine of the Hert is divided into seven chapters, each devoted to a step through which the heart is drawn to participate in union with God.[18] Each chapter considers a specific aspect of the work involving the heart, which has to be prepared (ch. 1), watched (ch. 2), opened (ch. 3), consolidated (ch. 4), offered (ch. 5), lifted up (ch. 6), and eventually cut (ch. 7). Each of these operations is made possible by the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Also, each of them is supported by a reference to a biblical passage, which serves in the making of specific symbolic representations. The long first chapter, which covers about half of the treatise, offers detailed representations of the preparation of the heart, which includes the household imagery, the consumption and the cooking of meat, as well as the image of a spouse waiting for her husband (to be discussed further below). As to the keeping watch over, and the defence of, the heart, which makes the second chapter, the symbolic representations of the precious container and the besieged castle are the pervasive images. For the opening of the heart, it is the imagery of the book and of the door which characterizes this section (ch. 3). The metaphor of the book of consciousness appears for the first time at this particular moment of the treatise.[19] The consolidation of the heart, which appears in the fourth chapter, is also rich in symbolic elements. The author makes reference to a quality that is called fortitude and which can only be established with the help of the twelve articles of the faith, as expounded in the Nicene Creed. The brief fifth chapter speaks about the way the heart has to be offered, following good counsel. The penultimate chapter, which discusses the lifting up of the heart, makes reference to meditation, hope, desire, and good intention. The last chapter, which discusses the chopping of the heart, discusses the heart's detachment with regard to carnal affections. If chapters two to six are less systematic in their use of a metaphorical discourse, the final chapter makes heavy use of metaphorical utterances, for instance in its use of carnal language to describe the behaviour of the spiritual lover, according to the tradition of the Song of Songs.

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[16] *The Doctrine*, pp. xii–xiii. See also Bell, *What Nuns Read*, p. 149; Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, p. 19, n. 44.

[17] The only ownership ascription is to Archbishop Laud, with the date of 1633. See *The Doctrine of the Hert*, pp. viii–ix.

[18] For a detailed analysis of the content of the treatise, see *The Doctrine of the Hert*, pp. xxxii–xli.

[19] Hugh of St Cher makes reference to the text of *conscientia* as the 'book of the heart' which will have to be opened and read at the end of time. See Gesse M. Gellrich, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 163. For further developments on this metaphor as used by Hugh of St Cher, see Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 58–60.

Certain aspects of the Middle English *Doctrine of the Hert* work as shaping elements that the reader must interiorize as part of the identity formation process. To paraphrase Bartlett, identities are shaped when subjects interiorize prescriptive discourses on sex, the body, and the institutions which govern human activity.[20] My analysis of *The Doctrine of the Hert* contributes to the argument that affective spirituality participates in the making of the medieval subject by demonstrating how a rich symbolic system, supported by the metaphorical discourse of the household and its chores, helps shape that sense of self and interiority.[21]

The architectural space of the household and its attendant chores, profusely used in the long first chapter of *The Doctrine of the Hert*, make up the matrix by which the reader can configure the geography of her own inner landscape. Also, images representing architectural space often serve as mnemonic tools in medieval theological treatises. *The Doctrine of the Hert*, as an offshoot of that tradition in its specific focus on the household and its objects, makes reading an instance of the process of memorization.[22] The affective input of the household imagery and its chores serve as powerful images for that activity. The author of the treatise invites a reading practice which appeals to the reader's *affectus*, that part of the soul where emotions (or *affectiones*) dwell, in order to facilitate interiorization of the information:

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[20] See Anne Clark Bartlett, *Male Authors, Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 31.

[21] For a study of the development of virginity as a religious ideal, with reference to householding and repentance, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c. 1150–1300: Virginity and its Authorizations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 123–50.

[22] For an analysis of those texts using architectural imagery as a mnemonic device, see Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*. On the study of memory in the medieval period, the reference book is Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Attention of the heart and its representation as a household in the late medieval period has also been pointed out by Jeffrey Hamburger in his study on the visual culture of the Benedictine convent of St Walburg, in the vicinity of the town of Eichstätt in Germany. Some of the manuscript drawings which belonged to the convent resonate with the imagery found in *De doctrina cordis*. We know that Middle High German portions of *De doctrina cordis* were available from a *Sammelhandschrift* in the library of St Walburg. Despite Hamburger's reticence to name *De doctrina cordis* as the source for the drawings, the heart as seat of subjectivity is conveyed by means of household analogies clearly similar to those found in *De doctrina cordis*. See Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), in particular ch. 4.

> Hertly redyng [affective reading] is a gracious mene to gostly feeling. In þis wyse þerfor schuld þis tretyce be rad & herd & þan wil Oure Lord worche be His grace, namly þer þe hertis be clene that redith it or heriþ hit. (*The Doctrine*, 2)

The preparation of the heart ('þou schalt make thin hert redy', *The Doctrine*, 5) calls for a series of three analogies: the preparation of the house for the reception of a host, the cooking of meat for its consumption, and the personal preparation of a spouse to welcome her husband. The first analogy elaborates on the theme of the return of the warrior-knight, a theme recurrently used in religious lyrics and the well-known English thirteenth-century anchoritic text, *Ancrene Wisse*.[23] The impact of the imagery is re-enforced in this particular context by a strategy which helps the reader to enter into an introspective mood by linking the lover-knight theme to the household space and the task of cleaning it:

> Now, Sister, ȝif þat þou wilt worthily receyue þis blessed champion, first þou most make clene þin hous of þin hert, and þan þou most aray it, and aftirward kepe wele þe ȝates of þe same hous. The brome [broom] wherwith þe hous of þi soule and of þin hert schal be made clene is drede [fear] of God for as Salomon seith: *Timor domini expellit peccatum*. He seith: Drede of God puttyth away synne and þat is by confession. Seynt Austin seith: A soule þat knowith her synnes and of þat knewleche becometh dredful [fearful] is anone [at once] enduced to be schryuen. Knowleche of þe synnes by þe mouth in confession is noþing ellis but puttyng out filthes of þe hous of our hert by þe dore of the mouth with þe brome of þe tonge. (*The Doctrine*, 6–7)

Cleaning the house corresponds to spiritual cleaning which confession makes possible. Such recurring analogies in this treatise play a crucial role in the identity formation process for the reader. It allows her to shape herself as subject by interiorizing household images and cleaning activities. The decision of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that all Christians must confess annually made necessary the development of manuals of pastoral theology inviting introspection and knowledge of the self.[24] *The Doctrine of the Hert* finesses methods of introspection developed during confession by inviting the female reader to maintain the inner state that confession triggers as a permanent, daily state, configured and sustained via the memorization of the visual aids provided by the treatise.[25]

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[23] For a study on this theme, see Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 44–55; see also by the same author, 'The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature', in *Arts and Doctrine: Essays on Medieval Literature*, ed. by Heather O'Donoghue (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 99–117. See also Michael Evans, 'An Illustrated Fragment of Peraldus's Summa of Vice: Harleian MS 3244', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), 14–68. Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis* is found together with a summary of Hugh of St Cher's *De doctrina cordis* in BL, Royal MS 11 B III. See Hendrix, *Hugo de Sancto Caro's Traktaat De Doctrina Cordis*, I, 57. For a study of the lover-knight in *Ancrene Wisse*, see Dennis Rygiel, 'The Allegory of Christ the Lover-Knight in *Ancrene Wisse*: An Experiment in Stylistic Analysis', *Studies in Philology*, 73 (1976), 343–64.

This particular system is marked by the peculiar nature of the visual aids which serve for the internalization of the main doctrine of the treatise. For, indeed, the female reader is invited to become a contemplative by means of images which make reference to a world bustling with household activity. The devotional treatise refers to the world of the active Martha in order to turn its female readership into a contemplative Mary. In so doing, it requests its female reader to reconfigure her own self by interiorizing and figuratively redesigning Martha's role. It is worthwhile noting that the Middle English text makes a direct reference to the episode of Martha and Mary of Bethany, stressing the qualities of the latter while confusing her with Mary Magdalene:[26]

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[24] See Robert Norman Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 26–27, 30, 33–34.

[25] Bella Millett offers a groundbreaking reading of *Ancrene Wisse*, Part 5, which places this sophisticated and highly specialized piece in close connection with confessional aids which followed the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Dominican involvement with confession in general, and Hugh of St Cher's personal contributions to confessional literature in particular, invite similar rapprochement between conditions of confessions and the *De doctrina cordis* as well. See Bella Millett, '*Ancrene Wisse* and the Conditions of Confession', *English Studies*, 3 (1999), 193–215.

[26] According to medieval interpretations of the biblical episode found in Luke 10. 38–42 and John 12. 1–8. See Giles Constable, 'The Interpretation of Mary and Martha', in his *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1–141. On the medieval confusion between Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene, see his pp. 6–8. In view of the significance of these two biblical figures with regard to the topic of the household, one needs to mention the following points made by Constable. He argues that, when Martha stands for the active life, and Mary for the contemplative one, medieval authors often insist on both the progression from one life to the other and their combination. Within the monastic life, Mary was regarded as the figure of hermits, anchorites, and recluses. In the twelfth century and later, Martha was increasingly regarded as a figure for serving others and performing good housekeeping (with reference to her work in the kitchen) while Mary, associated with Mary Magdalene, was associated with sin and repentance. In works addressed to cloistered religious, the common practice was to praise Mary as an ideal and to distinguish her from Martha, whereas Hugh of St Cher's commentary on Luke offers a relatively positive role to Martha. It was also common practice to apply their roles to men as well as to women. Martha was used for superiors among the beguines. Constable explains this as a result of St Francis calling senior brothers or sisters of small communities 'Marthas' (in order to stress their responsibilities towards the sons), and those who had no contact with the outside world 'Marys'. When the beguines were accused of heresies, the term was used against them. Walter Simons offers evidence that it is in the northern Netherlands and Germany that superiors were called Martha, with reference to the hospital work which took an important part of their beguine life. See Simons, *Cities of Ladies*, p. 85. I am most grateful to

> Þenk þat He þe whiche dwellith in þin hert wille be þin aduokat in alle maner of causes for to answere for þe as he dide for Mari Maudeleyn. Ȝif þou wilt be stille He axet no noþer reward of þe for His salarye but stilnes. Knowist þou not wele how He answered for Mari Maudeleyn to þe Pharise Simon þe whiche grucched [complained] at þe mete [meal] and seid þus:
>
> ȝif He þis were a verry [true] prophete He myȝt sone wite what þis woman is for sche is a synner. To þis sche answered noþing but sche wept and Oure Lord answerid for here. And also to hire Sister Martha þat playned vppon [complained about] hir to Oure Lord sche answered no word but Our Lord answerid for hire. (*The Doctrine*, 14–15)[27]

Although the episode above describes Martha in a negative light, and opposed to her sister Mary, the reference to householding, a role filled by Martha with increasingly positive connotations in the late medieval period, suggests a generally positive appropriation and internalization of her role in the treatise.[28]

After having considered sweeping as a synonym for confession, the author follows with the cleaning of the house with water. Maximum cleanliness is therefore equated with the washing of the floor:

> Many þer ben þe whiche done as a slow [lazy] seruant doth þat whan sche schold swepe here hous and put out þe filth sche castith grene rusches [straw] aboue and hide þe filth [. . .] And also lieue [believe] it wel þat welle water [water from a spring] of contricion is a necessarye þing to clensyng of þe flore of þe conscience. For riȝt as dust may not clerly be swept out of an hous without water so may not filth of synne without contricion. (*The Doctrine*, 8–9)

Michel Pastoureau who first drew my attention on the importance of the figures of Martha and Mary in this work.

[27] For the importance of Mary Magdalene as patron saint of female communities, see Simons, *Cities of Ladies*, pp. 87–90. Out of seventy-eight beguinages invoking saints as patrons in the Low Countries, eight of them involved Mary Magdalene, which places her in fourth position, after the Virgin Mary, Katherine, and Elizabeth. Mary Magdalene, the repentant prostitute, makes an appropriate character in a treatise marked by penitential and Eucharistic characteristics. For Hugh of St Cher's concern for the Penitents of Mary Magdalene at Leuven, and his ongoing interest in beguines and nuns, see Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture: With Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), p. 193. In his capacity of cardinal-legate, Hugh of St Cher took under his protection the Brussels beguinage; see McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, p. 178. For Mary Magdalene as patron saint of hospitals and nunneries on the English scene, see Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, pp. 143–44.

[28] For a positive treatment of St Martha by the thirteenth-century Franciscan Nicholas Bozon, with stress on the empowering potential of the household tasks, see Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture*, pp. 142–45. Wogan-Browne, p. 146, suggests the connection between Bozon's description of Martha's foundation in Provence and the beguinage communities in the Low Countries and France.

Following discussion of the detailed cleaning of the household, attention is paid to furnishing and decorating the house for the welcoming of the guest. A bed, a stool, a dining table, and a candlestick serve to represent specific moral values. The bed becomes peace and repose for the consciousness, which leads the author to address the maternal sensitivity of the female reader of the treatise by offering the following: 'And þerfor, Sister, whan þat euer þou puttest þin hert in rest þou puttest Our Lord Ihesu Crist in His bedde' (*The Doctrine*, 10).[29] The dining table, called 'mete table', corresponds to true penitence, the stool corresponds to self-enquiry, and the candlestick with the candle is indicative of self-knowledge, 'knewleche of þiself'.[30]

The systematic analogy on the household, and its preparation for the welcoming of the honourable host, is followed by an investigation of the figurative possibilities of the activities carried on within the space of the kitchen. As counterpoint to the Eucharistic meal, the female reader must prepare herself to be consumed by Christ, who expects to be offered well-prepared Christian hearts.[31] This sophisticated discourse on exchange of spiritual nourishments sometimes omits the distinction between spiritual and material foods, so the metaphorical meaning is not immediately obvious. It is difficult not to visualize in concrete ways a meal made up of 'an vndefouled lambe þat most be eten and receyued with soure letuse of contricion' (*The Doctrine*, 30). The minute details suggest the preparation process of meat in the medieval period: one is witness first to the skinning of the body and the heart, with a commentary on the special difficulty of skinning the head, which is the seat of the five senses. This activity is discussed further in a digression that leads the author to reconstruct the monastic environment. The eel, which represents the cloistered nuns who resist submitting to divine authority and who live in complete contradiction with the goals of monastic life, is described as a fish particularly difficult to skin.[32]

The choice of the kitchen as a favourite domain for metaphorical utterances is a telling example of the importance feminine notions of privacy, enclosure, consumption, ingestion, digestion, and permeability have in this treatise.[33] The cloister becomes God's kitchen in which the sister enters in order to be roasted in the fire of tribulation. The oven of the cloister has to be kept warm through work, represented by the institutions and statutes of the order. The author goes on to talk about inserting fat into slits in the heart to make its consumption by Christ possible. The coating of fatter animals is possible with the use of thinner hens. The reference here is to a female community and to the ways in which its spiritual health can be maintained by a good mixture of individual members with different levels of experience in charity.[34] The passage combines abstract theological points with culinary vocabulary, thus forcing interpretation of its textual layers, and therefore personal investment, by the female reader:

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[29] On beds as luxury items, see Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman*, p. 23.

[30] Also, a consciousness open to demonic influences becomes a market place, 'a commune market place' on which the price paid by Jesus to buy us back loses completely its market value (*The Doctrine*, p. 28).

[31] On the obvious symbolic importance of eating with regard to the consumption of the Eucharist, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 14–35.

[32] If the eel is no longer a favourite dish, it used to be part of the medieval diet; see Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman*, pp. 64 and 84. For consumption of eels in nunneries, see Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 89. On the significant dietary differences between nunneries, see Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, pp. 145–48. One should note, however, that even small nunneries followed diets similar to the better-off peasantry, which included, among other things, fish, beef, and bacon (Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, p. 145).

> Riȝt so alle suche in religion þat wanten þe fatnes of deuocion & charite þe whiche is þe fatnes of þe hert schuld be lardid with [prepared with insertions of] þe charitable ensample of oþer and so for to be made myȝthy in pacience for to suffre þe duresse [rigor] of religion lest þat by vnpaciens and defaute of charite raþer þei bren [burn] and neuer able to be receyued of God þan rost kyndely [roast naturally]. Therfor, Sistir, suffre þe fatnes þe whiche is þe charite of þi sistren to drepe into þin hert consideryng þe gret deuocion, þe mekenes, þe pacience, and þe obedience of hem, how mekely, and how gladly þei obey. (*The Doctrine*, 37)

Each activity of course has its special meaning, which the author does not fail to repeat on several occasions. Skinning represents detachment in relation to temporal goods and personal desire. Roasting stands for suffering in tribulation and adversity in the religious life, and the coating with fat means unction of charity. The importance paid to the metaphorical meaning of specific cooking practices suggests an authorial belief in the use of such a system for the construction of a moral self:

> Thre tokenes þer ben þat a coke knowith whan flesch is rostid ynow [sufficently]. One is þat ȝif þe flesch be so tendir þat by tastyng [touching] of þe cokis fingir it folowith þe naile. Anoþer is ȝif þe blode be ful dried up. And þe thrid is ȝif þe flesch liȝtly loseth fro þe bones. Gode Sister, vndristonde wele þes thre þinges & kepe hem wele in þin hert. (*The Doctrine*, 39)

The first roasting technique has to be understood as the trial against reproaches, the second as the detachment in relation to carnal affections, and the last as the desire to leave this world and to find God. Although experience of, or at least familiarity with, those culinary practices may have a slight bearing on how effective the system will be for the reader attempting discovery of her own self, it is nevertheless not a sine qua non requirement.

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[33] Medieval medicine lends its support to this feminization of interior spaces with its articulation of the body's interior as being 'contained, domestic and feminine'. See Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 139.

[34] One should note the tendency among wealthier nunneries to give up the dormitory for individual, private spaces, as well as the desire to divide the community into smaller households, or *familiae*. See Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, pp. 123–27; see also her *Contemplation and Action*, p. 139. Gilchrist's contribution offers a wealth of evidence for the religious mode of life in nunneries bearing resemblance to secular models.

The architectural space of the household, then, is invested with detailed descriptions of its attendant chores, which require the visualization of strenuous physical activities. The internal memorization of the teaching provided by the author thus depends upon the recalling of a bodily memory which would be able to identify with the physical efforts those tasks require. The static architectural space of the household is not sufficient as the key element of this identity formation process. It serves rather as a stage where performance of daily domestic tasks, with a strong emphasis on their physicality, becomes prominent.[35] Consciousness of the self is therefore marked by a recurring recall to images making references to bodiliness. Memory plays a crucial role as part of the didactic effort to transfer and transform some of those chores into spiritual exercises which need to be played out within the figurative heart, seat of human consciousness.[36] Such specific focus attests to the author's desire to build a target domain from which metaphorical references can develop their full semantic potential. Clear differentiation between the defining field, that is, consciousness, and the reference field of daily activity, from which most images have their source, is a warrant of the linguistic transfer operated by the author. The numerous allusions to household chores are offered as part of a well-designed system.

Household architectural space provides a discourse which would enable investigation of the notion of interiority and consciousness of the self by a much larger community — the discourse shaped by the erotic vocabulary of the Song of Songs was in the main reserved for the attention of monks or nuns having reached a certain degree of spiritual sophistication. While Passion narratives use the first person singular in relation to the painful but salvific events of the life of Christ, *The Doctrine of the Hert* offers a discursive paradigm which requires the reader of the treatise to use domestic life and lived experience as triggers for the construction of her own self.[37]

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[35] A complete survey of household and domestic images is beyond the scope of this piece, which puts most of its attention on the first chapter of the treatise. One should note, however, that images making reference to the preparation and consumption of sauces, gardening, washing up, dressing up, and going to the barber, as well as keeping watch over castle doors are as semantically loaded as those discussed here.

[36] Although the heart as physical organ is not the central concern of the author, his knowledge of anatomy and medical practice is attested by his reference to phlebotomy, a medical activity practised on a routine basis in medieval monasteries. The author therefore talks of delaying confession with the following image: 'By this thou mayst concidere that the soule is as moche ygreued & more for to be delayed fro confession whan it hath need as the body to be delayed fro blode lete or mynucion whan it is replete with corrupcion' (*The Doctrine*, p. 8).

[37] For examples of first-person accounts dealing with attempts at imitation with the Passion of Christ, see for example the thirteenth-century Wooing Group, *þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*,

The transposition of those images for the definition of the seat of consciousness, designated as the heart, stands as an important witness to the making of new forms of late medieval piety. Less ambitious than the mystical commentaries of the Song that describe the journey leading the soul to union with God, to the 'face to face', this discourse provides a language of interiority shaped by new trends in late religious medieval culture (such as the mixed life, or other religious modes of life, such as those practised by beguines on the continent or anchoresses in England and elsewhere). However, the reshaping of earlier textual practices to accommodate new religious sensibilities problematizes further attempts at describing the readership for the Middle English version, as I shall demonstrate.

The Audience

It is worthwhile offering here a few suggestions about the conditions for the composition of the Latin *De doctrina cordis* before addressing the issue of audience for the Middle English version. Hugh of St Cher's significant involvement in supporting the feast of Corpus Christi in the diocese of Liège may indicate that the treatise was written to trigger, or to satisfy, new devotional needs related to the Eucharist and its celebration as a new liturgical feast in the Liège diocese in the early thirteenth century.[38] Hugh of St Cher in *De doctrina cordis* uses a discourse deploying a series of models built upon the notions of entrance, ingestion, and consumption in order to prepare the reader for spiritual consumption.[39] The involvement of beguines and sisters in the development and institutionalization of the new feast makes them the most likely audience for the composition of *De doctrina cordis* by Hugh of St

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ed. W. Meredith Thompson, EETS, OS, 241 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958). For a translation of those pieces, see *Anchoritic Spirituality*, trans. by Savage and Watson, pp. 245–57, 322–30. For a study of the Wooing Group, see my 'Enclosed Desires: A Study of the Wooing Group', in *Mysticism and Spirituality*, ed. by William F. Pollard and Robert Boenig (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 39–62. For a more general study on the imitation of Christ, see Giles Constable, 'The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ', in his *Three Studies*, pp. 145–248.

[38] On the birth of the movement which saw the making of this new liturgical feast, with reference to Hugh of St Cher's involvement in its promotion, see McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, pp. 299–319; for a brief, slightly problematic, mention of Hugh of St Cher's veneration of the author of the feast, Juliana of Cornillon, see McDonnell's p. 334. On Corpus Christi and Liège, see also Marianne Trooskens, 'Les béguines à l'époque moderne et contemporaine', in *Béguines et Béguinages*, Archives générales du Royaume et archives de l'état dans les provinces, Service éducatif, dossiers première série, 12 (Bruxelles: Archives générales du Royaume, 1994), pp. 27–109 (pp. 89–90).

[39] On Hugh of St Cher's use of eating metaphors and reading, see Gellrich, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages*, p. 22.

Cher.[40] This could be one of the reasons why *The Doctrine of the Hert* constructs so consistently a model of female sanctity which develops out of the interiorization of the role played by the active Martha, for the creation of a contemplative Mary.[41] Although, in its combination of both the active and contemplative modes, the model points to the self-sufficient, mercantile, and urban mode of life of the beguines, its broad circulation throughout the continent excludes too narrow an assignation. Even if the hypothesis of the Liège beguines as the original recipients of *De doctrina cordis* is a plausible option, the model which the text constructs works beyond religious, social, and gender distinctions.[42]

The Middle English version is a good case in point as it addresses a community of cloistered sisters in the passage on ghostly matrimony below:

> Ther ben thre maner of gostly matrimonyes like as þer ben thre bodily matrimonyes. One is matrimony þat is begonne, a noþer is matrimony þat is confermed, and þe thrid is matrimony þat is parfite [perfect]. Gostly matrimony is begonne betwen Crist and þi soule whan þou art comen to religion for to be proued [to be tested] as a nouyce. Gostly matrimony is confermed whan þou art professid and hast receyued þe ryng. Gostly matrimony is also made parfite whan þi soule is knyt and couplid by parseuerance abidyng [remaining] in þe obseruance of þe cloistre in maner of tastyng vnseparatly to [in the form of an uninterrupted tasting of] þi spouse, Ihesu, in endles ioy. (*The Doctrine*, 49)

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[40] On the general importance of the Dominicans for the erection of beguinages in the Low Countries, see Walter Simons, 'Les béguines au Moyen-Âge', in *Béguines et Béguinages*, pp. 7–25 (pp. 13–15). See also his *Cities of Ladies*, pp. 113–14.

[41] *De doctrina cordis* in a sense anticipates the sixteenth-century kitchen-scene paintings with Mary and Martha in the background. I am thinking especially of Pieter Aertsen's still-life which has a large piece of meat in the foreground. See Constable, 'The Interpretation of Mary and Martha', p. 135.

[42] One should also note (see *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. I) that, in the beguine communities, 'les soeurs supérieures étaient appelées *magistrae* ou *Marthae*'. There were twenty-four beguinages in Liège by the end of the thirteenth century, and forty-seven in the diocese. Fifteen hundred beguines lived in the beguinage of St Christophe alone. If the Liège area is the area of production or original circulation for the text, then the beguine communities, whose devotion to the Eucharist is well recorded, make a plausible audience. Although gendered differences with regard to devotional sensibilities were on the whole minute, exclusion of women from the priesthood made desire and devotion to the Eucharist more pressing. *De doctrina cordis* offers in part a way of bypassing male ecclesiastical control of this sacrament by providing a text allowing for the visual and internal reconstruction of this meal, as well as providing advice in order to be able to partake of it. See also *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: The Holy Women of Liège and their Impact*, ed. by Juliette Dor, Lesley Johnson, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). On the engagement of both female communities and laywomen for the making of women's literary culture, see Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture*, pp. 1–18.

The author/translator of the Middle English version addresses, then, the sister with reference to the possibilities of her belonging to one of the three defined categories. The author/translator speaks in an affectionate tone about the spiritual life of the novice (*The Doctrine*, 50–53); then he mentions the life of the one professed (*The Doctrine*, 53–54), followed by a description of the perfect spiritual marriage (*The Doctrine*, 54–56); he also insists on the notion of desert which he defines as surrender.[43]

Documents making reference to cloistered establishments during the late medieval period attest to the need for a discourse to help the spiritually less experienced become more aware of their own selves. The heart as symbol of that consciousness allows for the deployment of an affectively powerful metaphorical discourse. Although it is tempting to assign the architectural space of the beguinage as the model for the representation of the household in *De doctrina cordis*, its representation remains too general for close identification. The Middle English rendering, although addressed to cloistered sisters, proposes a model household for the use of a larger readership, religious and lay, male and female.

The interface between female devotional practice and the production and circulation of vernacular theologies needs closer scrutiny. Although female devotional and mystical practices played an important part in the production of new vernacular theologies, those practices and those new models were also appropriated by male devotional readers.[44] Indeed, one witnesses a demasculinization of late medieval devotional practice marked by the profusion of texts circulating female models used by the Christian community.[45]

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[43] Ultimately, the desert makes reference to the desert fathers. For a development of this imagery, with reference to the Carthusian desert, see *The Desert of Religion*, BL, Additional MS 37049, Stowe MS 39, and Cotton MSS, Faustina B VI, pars ii. For a study of this text, see A. McGovern-Mouron, 'The *Desert of Religion* in British Library Cotton Faustina B VI, pars II', in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, vol. IX, ed. by James Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana, 130 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, University of Salzburg, 1996), pp. 149–62.

[44] While there is no internal evidence to determine the gender of the Middle English translator, the narrative voice towards the end of chapter 1 steps down from an authorial position to include itself together with the female reader as 'we þat dwelle in religion' when discussing the sixth (perspicacity) and seventh (charity) piece of clothing offered by Christ; see *The Doctrine*, pp. 66–69. Inclusiveness is not gender based here, but rather dependent upon belonging to the religious life or not, with no reference to a specific order. One needs also to be aware of the sheer diversity of female monasticism. See Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, pp. 148–51.

[45] The groundbreaking work of Wogan-Browne on Anglo-Norman religious texts, addressed to female religious, provides historical evidence for the role played by the representation of female roles in religious culture. See Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture*. On the question of a regendering of late medieval religious symbolic culture, see Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995). See also *Gender and Text in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Jane Chance (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996).

Hence, the construction of the household and the address in the Middle English text to a community of sisters who can be regarded as models smoothes the progress of the treatise onto the map of late medieval English religious practice.[46] A large number of late original Middle English religious pieces attend to the needs of a primary female readership. Within that broad category of female readers, (idealized) anchoritic readers loom large. The anchoress — epitomized as a female solitary living a life of seclusion walled in a cell next to a parish church — becomes the model reader of high-powered Middle English texts. One need mention only in passing the thirteenth-century *Ancrene Wisse* and its associated works such as *Sawles Warde*, *Hali Meiðhad*, *Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, and female saints' lives. In the fourteenth century, Richard Rolle writes *The Form of Living* for a recluse, while offering *Ego dormio* to a nun about to engage in the solitary life. Walter Hilton himself offers the *Scale of Perfection*, Book One, to an anchoress.[47] Julian of Norwich's *A Revelation of Love*, written after Julian entered an anchorhold, is also marked in places by the power of anchoritic culture. The strong emphasis on the Passion events, for instance, seem to rely on anchoritic meditative practices with which Julian must have been familiar even before entering her anchorhold.[48] Also, the purpose of Margery Kempe's visit to Julian in her anchorhold in Norwich is to receive approval for her peculiar form of religious life from a recognized and respected anchoress.[49] This engagement with anchoritic culture might have been complex in many ways, and might have been triggered by an awareness of the social, economic, cultural, and spiritual empowering potential of the anchoritic mode of life.[50]

Yet, whatever the strong impact anchoritic culture had in the production of a late medieval female spirituality pointing to the anchoress as model recipient reader, it should not blind us to the several other windows which give light to the ways in which devotional texts were produced for the intention of a female readership. *Book to a Mother*, as well as *The Book of Margery Kempe*, attest to the possibility of other forms of female spirituality developing beyond the constraints of the anchoritic enclosure.[51] Also, one should not omit to mention the literature specifically addressed to a public of cloistered nuns.[52] For example, the foundation, near London, of the Abbey of the Order of the Saint-Saviour of Bridget of Sweden, by Henry V in 1415, prompted translations of texts addressed to this primary audience, such as the *Myroure of Our Ladye* and the *Orcherd of Syon*, both produced at Syon.[53] Out of the eleven Latin *De doctrina cordis* manuscripts listed by Sharpe in his *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, three of them can be traced back to Syon library.[54] In view of the number of Latin manuscripts in the possession of Syon Abbey, one could speculate on Syon as being the target monastery for a Middle English translation of *De doctrina cordis* produced by the English Carthusian community, or even the Middle English version's place of origin, from where the two Franciscan owned manuscripts could have been prepared.[55]

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[46] The text in fact invites consideration of a model female reader, as it shifts from one kind of reader to another. There is at least one instance where the addressee, usually referred generally as 'sister', is specified as a sister having to assume necessary active labour and business for the management of her sisters ('for þe blisse of Heuen in mynystracion of þin sistres') and could therefore be an abbess or prioress; see *The Doctrine*, p. 70. Elsewhere, however, the narrator assumes the reader could be either a novice, a professed, or a confirmed sister in the religious life; see *The Doctrine*, pp. 49–56.

[47] See Richard Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, ed. by S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, EETS, OS, 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection,* ed. by John P. H. Clark and Rosemary Dorward, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1991).

[48] See Julian of Norwich, *A Revelation of Love*, ed. by M. Glasscoe (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993).

[49] For an account of this episode, see *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by B. Windeatt (London: Longman, 2000), pp. 119–23.

[50] For an account of anchoritic culture, see Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

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[51] See *Book to a Mother: An Edition with Commentary*, ed. by Adrian James McCarthy, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 92, ed. by James Hogg (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1981).

[52] On this topic, see Bell, *What Nuns Read*, pp. 99–217.

[53] The *Myroure of Our Ladye* is a Middle English version of the Bridgittine office to the Virgin, accompanied by a commentary; as to the *Orcherd of Syon*, it is a translation of the Latin version of Raymond of Capua of the *Dialogue* of Catherine of Siena. For information on the textual reception of those writings at Syon, see Catherine Annette Grisé, '"*In the Blessid Vyneȝerd of Oure Holy Saueour*": Female Religious Readers and Textual Reception in the *Myroure of Oure Ladye* and the *Orcherd of Syon*', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition: England, Ireland and Wales,* ed. by Marion Glasscoe, Exeter Symposium, 6 (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), pp. 193–211. For more information on the content of the library of Syon Abbey, see in the same volume, Vincent Gillespie, 'Dial M for Mystic: Mystical Texts in the Library of Syon Abbey and the Spirituality of the Syon Brethren', pp. 241–68.

[54] See Richard Sharpe, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues: List of Identifications*, 3rd edn (London: British Library Catalogues Committee, 1999). Electronic publication: http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/staff/sharpe/index.htm. I am most grateful to Vincent Gillespie for having pointed out this information to me.

[55] The final prayer of *The Doctrine of the Hert*, rarely found in other manuscripts, is the same as that which concludes the Middle English versions of the *Mirouer des simples âmes* of Marguerite Porete, which are all of Carthusian origin; see *The Doctrine*, p. 208. Also, the reference to the spouse married to a lord living in a distant country (*The Doctrine*, pp. 54–55) puzzlingly echoes the *exemplum* of the prologue of the *Mirouer des simples âmes*, as it appears in Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS F XIV. Although those two pieces address different levels of the spiritual life and have different audiences in mind, repetition of the term 'symple soule' in *The Doctrine of the Hert* could indicate additional influence of the *Mirouer* on *The Doctrine of the Hert*. A Carthusian origin for the Middle English version of *De doctrina cordis,* with the Syon nuns as the primary audience, is a possibility that needs to be explored

Conclusion

Private forms of religious practice, within or without the cloister, reached an extraordinary level of popularity in the fifteenth century. The visionary literature and the literature of guidance provided for solitaries fixed normative models to be imitated by the most ambitious religious practitioners. At the same time, with the growing sophistication of the laity and other religious practitioners, a more didactic form of literature was also necessary to act as conduit for those who were still striving to lead a disciplined life in their chosen religious path. The censorship effect of Arundel's Constitutions, which aimed principally at resolving the Oxford translation debate on the Bible, had a negative impact on the production of vernacular theologies in England, putting it to an almost complete halt. However, translation of the tried handbooks of the Latin devotional tradition was not affected by the legislation; indeed, the invocation of the early legislation of Pecham's Syllabus of 1281, which invited a more pragmatic approach to the religious life, may have worked as an incentive to return to those thirteenth-century and earlier devotional texts, to which *De doctrina cordis* belonged. One also needs, though, to take into account that the innovative fourteenth-century vernacular theologies triggered conversions to the spiritual life among a reading public variously equipped for that new form of life, and for whom pragmatic and systematic works of spiritual guidance and comfort had to be provided to satisfy basic as well as more elevated spiritual needs.[56] However impressive the works of the likes of Hilton, Rolle, or Julian, they would not have fulfilled the basic needs of a new and ever growing reading public. The fact that, in addition to our Middle English text, versions of *De doctrina cordis* are found in Dutch, French, German, Italian, and Spanish points to a European devotional need for a literature making recourse to homely and domestic images, which spread far beyond the geographical confines where Arundel's Constitutions had an impact. One can only praise the anonymous author/translator for providing and transforming a text which offers a matrix for the building of an interior architectural space and its activities, thereby facilitating the construction of the medieval subject's identity.

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further. On the Carthusian role in the transmission of *De doctrina cordis* in England, see Hendrix, *Hugo de Sancto Caro's Traktaat De Doctrina Cordis*, I, 132–33.

[56] For a discussion of the effects of Arundel's Constitutions on the composition of spiritual literature in England, see Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822–64. For a discussion of a thirteenth-century Latin text translated into Middle English, similar in its prescriptive nature to *Ancrene Wisse*, see Anne McGovern-Mouron, '"Listen to me, daughter, listen to a faithful counsel": The *Liber de modo bene vivendi ad sorore*', in *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead (Cardiff: University of Wales Press; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 81–106.

Historians and archaeologists have led the way in focusing interest on the medieval household, with a wealth of new information allowing better reading of the ways the medieval subject organized, and entered into dialogue with, space.[57] Although that information is essential to our investigation of the use of household architecture and daily chores in the field of devotional literature, one needs to be aware of the literary, theological, and rhetorical traditions which all leave their mark in the configuring of the devotional household. One cannot but recognize that several ideologies of the household run in parallel and leave their equally charged imprint as part of the process of its textual construction. The *De doctrina cordis*, a devotional best-seller with more than two hundred extant manuscripts, owes its success both to the assimilation of those traditions and to its subtle modelling of a household and a female reader fulfilling the devotional needs of a multi-faceted readership living in the cloister, the anchorhold, the beguinage or, more simply, living in the world in religious or secular garbs.[58]

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[57] See, for example, P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Household and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Towns: Some English Evidence', in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities: Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, ed. by Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens, Studies in Urban Social, Economic and Political History of the Medieval and Early Modern Low Countries, 12, ed. by M. Boone (Leuven: Garant, 2001), pp. 59–70. For a study of the medieval castle and the meaning of gender segregation within that particular milieu, see Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, pp. 109–45 (pp. 123–43 on the female household).

[58] On fifteenth-century East Anglian female religious groups resembling the beguinages of northern continental Europe, see Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, pp. 148–51. On the different spaces in which female religious performed their religious lives, see Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, pp. 170–87.

Gendered Household Spaces in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*

KAREN L. FRESCO

In her conduct book for women, written in 1405 and dedicated to Marguerite de Nevers, Christine de Pizan shows women of all social classes moving within the spaces of their respective dwellings in order to assure the orderly administration of their households. Nonetheless, she returns again and again to women's private spaces, where they are challenged to exercise control over their bodies. These she sees as places where women are prey to particular temptations different from, and in a real sense more dangerous than, those presented by men and gossips in the residence's public spaces. These temptations threaten to compromise the woman as a force guaranteeing the order of the household. Christine thus suggests a clear link between a woman's control of her own body and her governance of the household.[1]

In *La Production de l'espace*, Henri Lefebvre argues that space is not a neutral milieu in which lives unfold but a human construction shaped by culture — class, gender, historical circumstances — as well as conscious intention. People create space, which in turn influences the behaviour of those who inhabit it.[2] In her investigation of women's spaces in high-status English castles of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, Roberta Gilchrist shows that architectural space actively shaped the relationships of the people who lived within these structures. Her approach is informed by poststructuralists like Bourdieu, who reject essentialist interpretations in favour of examining the constitution of the subject in a particular historical context.[3] One aspect of castle architecture that draws Gilchrist's attention is the physical enclosure of women to ensure female chastity and thus family honour. Women were housed in the innermost areas of the castle, often in a self-contained female preserve although, Gilchrist qualifies, their apartments would sometimes have been open to guests.[4] The lord's staff of servants — those who kept the accounts, waited on the lord personally, took care of his wardrobe or the kitchen, for example — constituted a solidly male community. Segregation of women within this male household could be a mark of status as well as a form of social control. Housing persons of importance in the remotest part of the castle or manor was a way to filter the access of people to them, as much to respect their rank as to assure their protection.[5]

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[1] I would like to acknowledge the stimulating resource that the following collection of essays was for me as I worked on this topic, leading me, for example, to the work of Henri Lefebvre: *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kolbiaka, Medieval Cultures, 23 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

[2] Henri Lefebvre, *La Production de l'espace* (Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1974).

However, although dominant social groups try to use space as a means to assert their control, this goal is ultimately elusive, as Lefebvre explains:

> [. . .] space thus produced also serves as the instrument of thought and action, being at once a means of production, a means of control and thus of domination and power — but it partially eludes, as such, those who seek to make use of it. The social forces [. . .] that engender space try to master it yet cannot do so. (translation mine)[6]

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[3] Roberta Gilchrist, 'Medieval Bodies in the Material World: Gender, Stigma and the Body', in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. by Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 43–61 (p. 46).

[4] Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 125. She briefly mentions the *Livre des trois vertus*, pp. 120 and 125–26, to note that Christine describes separate female households and discuss women's connection to gardens.

[5] The male/female personnel of the noble household is treated by Janet M. Cowen and Jennifer C. Ward, '"Al myn array is bliew, what nedeth more?": Gender and the Household in *The Assembly of Ladies*', in this volume. In *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 122, Gilchrist notes a study that explains a 'hierarchy of households [. . .] articulated through regulation of public access [. . .]'. The most remote space would be reserved for the highest-ranking person lodging in the castle'. The article to which she refers is by Patrick A. Faulkner, 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century', *Archaeological Journal*, 120 (1967), 215–35. Kim M. Phillips contests the view that women lived solely in strictly segregated areas, finding evidence in accounts by fifteenth-century travellers (in England) that men and women intermingled at least on certain occasions. She suggests that women internalized a code of conduct, 'the harem within', which governed their behaviour wherever they were. Her idea has considerable resonance with the ideas that Christine develops in the *Livre des trois vertus*. See Phillips's essay, 'Bodily Walls, Windows, and Doors: The Politics of Gesture in Late Fifteenth-Century English Books for Women', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain; Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 186–98.

[6] 'D'autant que l'espace ainsi produit sert aussi d'instrument à la pensée comme à l'action, qu'il est, en même temps qu'un moyen de production, un moyen de contrôle, donc de domination et de puissance — mais qu'il échappe partiellement, en tant que tel, à ceux qui s'en servent. Les forces sociales [. . .] qui l'engendrent tentent de le maîtriser et n'y parviennent

The impact of space slips out of the control of the people who have arranged space in order to manage others and thus protect and promote their own interests. Christine's representation of the paradox posed by women's spaces clearly illustrates Lefebvre's idea. Women are secluded in order to protect their virtue and the honour of their families; yet this very seclusion provides women with the opportunity to engage in behaviour that compromises their virtue and honour. This paradox has been noted by other scholars. For example, Gilchrist observes, 'Like the female body, the garden was evidently regarded ambivalently. It was a female preserve, a metaphor for purity and the soul, which segregated the sexes.'[7] Writing about late medieval England, Lochrie notes, 'The increasing privatization of domestic space in more affluent medieval households spatialized the already current medieval gender ideology that associated women with the secret and private, and men with secrecy and privacy. The potential for subverting this system was very real, and it resided in the nature of secrecy and privacy themselves. Both invite violation.'[8] In the *Livre des trois vertus*, Christine argues that it is up to the individual woman to deflect these temptations, asserting her own control of her body in these private spaces and thus assuming responsibility for her own virtue.

It is striking to a reader going through the *Livre des trois vertus* with an eye out for references to spaces and places that the women addressed are identified by their respective habitats. Book II opens thus: 'Our lesson [. . .] is addressed to ladies, demoiselles, and other women, those who live at the court of a princess [. . .] and likewise those who live on their own lands and in their own castles or manor houses, or in enclosed or open cities.'[9] The problems and obligations of each class of women are closely tied to the places in which they live. The second fact that impresses one is that women in each social class move about everywhere within their homes. The princess, for example, does not live a secluded life at all. She meets with counsellors

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pas': *La Production de l'espace*, p. 35. Lefebvre posited a triad of processes that interact, sometimes in conflict, to produce social space: the 'perceived', spatial practices of everyday life; the 'conceived', discursively constructed space produced by planners and architects, for example, who codify space; and the 'lived', spaces of representation embodying symbols and images which the imagination continually appropriates. The princess's lazing in bed, Book I, Chapter 3, is an illustration of 'perceived' space and the bourgeoise's *gésine*, Book III, Chapter 3, an example of 'lived' space. These will be discussed further below.

[7] Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 142.

[8] Karma Lochrie, *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 164.

[9] Christine de Pizan, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor; The Treasury of the City of Ladies*, trans. by Charity Cannon Willard, ed. by Madeleine Pelner Cosman (Tenafly: Bard Hall Press; New York: Persea Books, 1989), p. 149. Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. by Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks, Bibliothèque du XV^{e} Siècle, 50 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1989), p. 121. Henceforth I shall refer to *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor* as 'Willard' and the edition of the Middle French text of Christine's manual as 'Hicks-Willard'.

and advisors, holds court for lords, knights, and squires, visits her children in their rooms, keeps track of her husband's servants to make sure that they are doing their jobs properly, and sits in on the consultations of her husband's doctors. She is even accessible to petitioners in places of meditation or repose — as she comes out of her chapel after morning prayers and as she sits in her garden at the end of her day. She is advised to go out among the poor to give alms, visiting them in their homes herself rather than entrusting her charity to others to distribute. Thus one has the clear sense of the broad, demanding range of her presence within and beyond the walls of the royal court.

The lady in her country manor must be, not just among her women gardening, carding wool, or making cloth, but also in the accounts room, in the fields and vineyards, even at the window or on the roof in order to see for herself that the servants are doing their work to proper standards. Women who live in the city are managers who directly supervise all the servants, thereby assuring the smooth functioning of the household and thus its profitability. They give the servants their orders for the day, oversee the accounts, spin flax with their women, and receive their husbands and their friends. If they are warned against going too often to places outside their homes — pilgrimage shrines, public baths, different churches about the city — this is not just because of the temptations seen as inherent in such gallivanting, but also because their households demand their constant presence and all their attention and energy.

This, then, is one pole of Christine's horizon in her book: women's duty to be a ubiquitous, vigilant presence in her household. The other pole of her text is the concern with women's private spaces, those places to which women withdraw from the rigours of their daily activities. Although these retreats are of special concern in the first section of the book devoted to the princess, Christine considers that these chapters will be relevant to readers belonging to other social groups as well: 'As we have repeatedly stated, whatever we have said regarding virtues and the proper manner of life can pertain to any woman, whatever her estate' (Willard, p. 185).

Phrases that recur frequently in the Middle French text are 'a privé' and 'a part'. Duby sets out the meanings of 'private' in the Middle Ages — though he speaks of the feudal age rather than the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries — by contrasting notions of public and private in Classical and Medieval Latin, then in vernacular texts. In Roman law, the *res privata* was not exempt from governance but rather was subject to the control of the paterfamilias, exercised within the walls of the home. The identification of that which was private with that which fell under the authority of the head of the family carried over into the French Middle Ages:

> *Privé*, *privance*, and *priveté* refer, in courtly French, to the people and things included within the family circle [. . .], to the domestic, to that over which the master of the house exercised his power. [. . .] We also find a shift in meaning toward the intimate and secret [. . .]. The meaning of the word [private/*privé*] changed from affectionate intimacy to clandestine, hence suspect, activities — suspect, that is, in the eyes of oppressive outside authorities. [. . .] Thus the relation between public and private came

> to be one of conflict, and the private was seen as contained within an enclosure, a protected zone, much like a fortress under siege.[10]

We are struck in Duby's essay by the identity between the private domain and the spatial boundaries of the house, which delineate the realm of the master's power. In Christine's book, this architectural space, and particularly the private space reserved for women, is presented as a site in which women exercise power by first disciplining themselves. These private women's spaces fall into two broad groups: the woman alone by herself and a group of women by themselves. I will examine two scenes, the princess in bed and the merchant's wife's lying-in party, to illustrate Christine's argument that seclusion of women cannot assure their virtue.[11] These are admonitory examples that teach that honourable conduct depends on personal virtue.

Whatever the pressures of the necessity to be with people constantly and manage them, the scene of the princess's awakening makes clear the even greater dangers of solitude. The importance of the scene of the princess awakening is underscored by the fact that it echoes the liminal scene in which Christine describes herself as tempted to fall asleep after the labour of composing the *Livre de la cité des dames*, when she is summoned by the virtues to write the *Livre des trois vertus*. Some manuscript illuminations show Christine the author being physically pulled from her bed by the three virtues.[12] In the scene described in the text, the princess's rich bed is canopied so that the curtains, drawn, separate the princess from the women servants moving about in the room. She is shut off from this female company. Alone, she yields to the sensuous softness of the sheets and indulges in arrogant thoughts about her right to privilege. Temptation whispers to her, 'Is there any greater lady than you in this world, any more worthy?' (Willard, p. 72; Hicks-Willard, p. 12). Secluded in her bed, she is tempted to consider herself the centre of the universe and to muse about how she will squelch any challenges to her pre-eminent status. Her separation from the others in the room is a figure for the way in which her egotism separates her from others. The princess's arrogance is made clear in the direct contrast provided by a similar scene later in the book that presents an ideal: the model princess, who begins her day in solitude also, quietly lights her own candle so as not to wake her serving women (Willard, p. 94; Hicks-Willard, p. 47). This thoughtful gesture expresses her respect for the community of women servants who surround her.

The second warning example that I would like to examine is also a scene set in a bedroom with a canopied bed. This is a party staged by a certain merchant's wife. Here the *gésine* or lying-in is an occasion at which a woman celebrates the birth of a child by inviting female relatives and friends to call.[13] It is particularly significant that these rooms are used by the merchant's wife to lay claim to a social status beyond the one that is properly hers, threatening to destabilize social order and thus compromise the position of other women in the social hierarchy. The description in the text gives great attention to architectural space because it is precisely in her use, or misuse, of this space that the woman has overstepped the boundaries of her social class. We are led through a series of three rooms, each opening into the next, each room more richly decorated than the previous:

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[10] Georges Duby, 'Private Power, Public Power', in *A History of Private Life*, gen. eds. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, vol. II, *Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. by Georges Duby, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 3–31 (p. 6).

[11] Respectively, Book I, Chapter 3, and Book III, Chapter 3.

[12] For example, Boston Public Library, MS 1528, reproduced in Willard, p. 52.

> Before entering her room, one passed through two other very fine chambers; in each one was a large ornamental bed, richly curtained; in the second was a large dresser decorated like an altar, all covered with silver vessels. Only then did one enter the woman's own bedchamber. Large and handsome, it was hung all round with tapestries marked with her coat-of-arms richly worked in fine gold thread from Cyprus. The bed, large and beautifully curtained with a single hanging, and the rug surrounding the bed, on which one could walk, were likewise embroidered with gold. The great, wide display sheets beneath the coverlet were of such fine toile from Rheims that they were valued at three hundred francs. Over the coverlet, woven in thread of gold, was yet another great coverlet of linen fine as silk, all in one piece without seams — something newly invented and very expensive — which one might estimate to be worth two hundred francs or more. Besides, it was so long and so wide that it covered the large bed completely, hanging over the border of the other coverlet, touching the floor on all sides.
>
> In that room was a great sideboard displaying a panoply of gilded vessels. Sitting in the bed was the woman herself, dressed in crimson silk, propped up against large

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[13] The lying-in or *gésine* can encompass the period of confinement from the end of a pregnancy through to recovery after the birth. During this time the mother was attended by other women — relatives, friends, and a midwife. Christine uses the term *gésine* in a more restricted sense to indicate the festivities held to celebrate a birth, an occasion distinct from and a prelude to the ceremony of churching/*relevailles*. However, the exclusively female attendance pertains in the scene that she describes here. For a detailed treatment of the practices surrounding childbirth in the medieval period, see Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990), esp. ch. 2. Aliénor de Poitiers, a lady at the Burgundian court, has left a description of *gésines* written between 1484 and 1491, specifically those held by Isabelle de Bourbon after the birth of her daughter, Marie de Bourgogne, in 1456. She also lays out, in a separate section, the etiquette that ladies of a certain station should follow in their *gésines*. We find here the same meticulous detail as in Christine's text, especially on the subject of fabrics (types, colours), but also beds, rugs, chairs, and dressers displaying vessels of gold and silver. Like Christine's, her treatment is entirely focused on decor. The prescriptive tone also dominates as in Christine's text. See 'Les Honneurs de la cour', in *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, ed. by LaCurne de Sainte-Palaye, with an introduction and historical notes by M. Ch. Nodier, vol. II (Paris: Girard, 1826), esp. pp. 172–80 (the *gésines* held by Isabelle de Bourbon) and 191–96 ('Comme les comtesses et autres grandes Dames doivent gésir'). (Willard lists this work in the notes to her translation of the *Livre des trois vertus* but cites the 1759 edition.)

> pillows covered in the same silk and decorated with pearl buttons, wearing the head-dress of a lady. (Willard, pp. 194–95; Hicks-Willard, p. 185)

The bed in the last room epitomizes the excessive decoration with its layers of sheets and coverlets made in cloth of gold and finely woven linen. In the bed sits the woman herself, at once the stage manager of this display and the star of the spectacle.[14] The elaborate description, the longest in the *Livre des trois vertus*, clearly mirrors the wife's careful preparation of this space in order to impress her guests. Her self-aggrandizement is all the more striking because this scene is preceded by chapters that show other bourgeoises selflessly fostering their husbands' households. The wife's display, offensive in its presumptuousness, is reported to the queen's chamber. There is thus a direct connection between these two female spaces. The bourgeois social climber challenges the authority of women higher up in the social hierarchy.

A word must be said about beds. This is an important piece of furniture in the *Livre des trois vertus*. In late medieval France, the canopied bed had become 'associated with prestige, honour, power, wealth and privilege' in part because it provided a structure that made it possible effectively to display textiles and furs of certain qualities that signalled status.[15] The bed of a royal woman was not just used for confinement and childbirth but was a place of political authority; it was from her canopied bed, hung about with fabrics displaying her family's heraldic colours and motifs, that the queen or princess would hear petitions.[16] Given the highly charged significance of this sort of bed, what is its resonance in Christine's book? In the case of the lazy princess, there is a contrast between her slothfulness and self-absorption and the bed as a symbol of the responsibilities of status and power. In the case of the merchant's wife, the bed makes clear the *political* challenge to royal authority, and specifically to that of the queen, in the wife's appropriation of the bed and its trappings.[17]

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[14] Strangely and ironically, the description transforms the merchant's wife into an element of the decor. She is covered in the same silk as the pillows against which she rests. Roberta Krueger makes the same observation: 'Christine presents the *gisant* as an extension of her chambers, in which she appears like another decoration.' See her essay, '"Nouvelles choses": Social Instability and the Problem of Fashion in the *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, the *Ménagier de Paris*, and Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*', in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, Medieval Cultures, 29 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. 49–85 (p. 77).

[15] See Penelope Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (London: The Furniture History Society, 1977), pp. 73–107 (p. 86).

[16] In their essay in this volume, '"Al myn array is bliew"', Cowen and Ward discuss female heads of households receiving petitions and refer to this section of Christine's text.

[17] W. M. Ormrod draws a similar conclusion in an analysis of the attack made in 1381 by rebels on the Princess of Wales in her canopied bed: it signified a 'distinct political challenge'

The example of the merchant's wife, though a negative one, suggests that women can control space, and Christine urges that they make use of this power to assure the virtue of the women who are in their charge. The *Livre des trois vertus* is filled with evocations of imbricated spaces of female retreat, one enclosure contained within another, each constituting this special reserve and responsibility — the canopied bed within the bedroom, the chapel within the princess's apartments, the walled garden within the palace grounds. The princess's court itself is twice compared to a surprising model, a well-run abbey. The princess should strictly control access by any men who might seek 'to excite [her ladies'] interest' (Willard, p. 112, Hicks-Willard, p. 72). Lodged within the royal court, this is a special secluded area designed to shield the ladies of the court from corrupting influences. The young princess's governess will closely watch over this space and determine which courtiers have access to her charge and to the princess's attendants. Thus it is women who are responsible for controlling the access to these protected areas.

The ultimate instance of female space imbedded in the closed world of the court is the woman herself. Medieval texts often make a connection between architectural spaces and the female body. Religious texts compare the Virgin to a fortress or the soul to a woman in a tower.[18] Medical treatises explain the physiology of the female body through architectural imagery (for example, the seven-chambered uterus

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to royal power in the chronicles of Froissart and Walsingham. 'In Bed with Joan of Kent: The King's Mother and the Peasants' Revolt', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Wogan-Browne and others, pp. 277–92 (p. 281).

Roberta Krueger notes that the description of the bourgeoise's bedroom resembles the queen's apartment as depicted in the presentation miniature in BL, Harley MS 4431 ('"Nouvelles choses"', p. 77). Sandra Hindman has suggested that this miniature presents Queen Isabeau's *chambre de gésine* in the royal residence, basing her hypothesis on the close resemblance between elements of the miniature and items described in the royal account books. See her essay, 'The Iconography of Queen Isabeau de Bavière (1410–1415): An Essay in Method', *Gazette des beaux arts*, 102 (1983), 102–10. There remain questions as to whether the miniature depicts the queen's room since miniatures reproducing this setting but clothed in different heraldic colours and motifs and peopled with different personages exist in other manuscripts of the period. The Harley miniature would thus reproduce a model, fitted out with details and touches that lend an 'effet de réel'. My thanks to Anne D. Hedeman for this insight.

[18] For example, *Le Chateau d'amours*, an allegorical poem by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, written *c*. 1230, relates Christ's descent to earth in the Virgin's body, which is presented as a castle. *Le Chateau d'amour*, edited by J. Murray (Paris: Champion, 1918). In the same vein, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2879, one of the fifteenth-century manuscript miscellanies containing Christine's *Enseignemens moraulx*, the conduct manual that she addressed to her son, begins with a commentary on the Song of Songs, in which the Beloved says, 'Ert par dehor noir l'abitacle du corps ou je vifs et demeure' (fol. 3^v) ('Black is the body's chamber in which I live').

described in the Salernitan anatomies).[19] In the *Roman de la rose*, the beloved is viewed as a fortress to be besieged and invaded.[20] Many texts evoke the female body as a metaphor for the interior spaces of a home, castle, or keep, spaces whose boundaries are vulnerable and must be protected.[21] In late medieval France wealthy households incorporated more private space than in earlier periods, some devoted to the lady's apartments, which located her and her women in the upper ends of halls or the upper reaches of the castle or manor house.[22] As Gilchrist observes, 'Honor and patriarchy of lordship rested on the impermeability of both the castle and the female body'.[23] This broad current frames Christine's concern with women's private spaces and, specifically, the link that she establishes between woman's control of her personal conduct — her own body — and her governance of the household.

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[19] See, for example, *Women's Secrets: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's De secretis mulierum with Commentaries*, trans. by Helen Rodnite Lemay (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).

[20] *The Romance of the Rose* is filled with this metaphor. The most graphic instances include the scene in which Venus shoots her arrow at Jealousy's castle, where the lady is imprisoned, letting her arrow fly at a slit between two pillars atop which stands an image. Another memorable example of the metaphor of woman's body as architectural construct, again from Jean de Meun's part of the romance, is the rape of the rose, presented as the penetration of the shrine by the Lover-as-pilgrim, bearing a staff and scrip. See *The Romance of the Rose by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun*, trans. by Charles Dahlberg, 3rd edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 340 and 351–52, respectively. For manuscript illuminations of the *Rose* that pick up on these images, see the plates in John V. Fleming, *The 'Roman de la Rose': A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), particularly Plate 41, 'Venus fires at the *image* [. . .]', Valencia, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 387, fol. 144^{r}, and Plate 43, 'Factum', Valencia, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 387, fol. 146^{r}.

[21] For a discussion of other texts that connect architectural space and the female body, see Denis Renevey, 'Household Chores in *the Doctrine of the Hert*: Affective Spirituality and Subjectivity', in this volume. This association is not limited to the medieval period. Sue Best notes that an 'extraordinary array' of texts, from Plato onwards, imagines space as a woman, particularly in the case of the 'bounded' spaces of human habitations — the nation, regions, cities, the home. She also observes the attendant anxiety that suffuses this image: 'feminizing space seems to suggest, on the one hand, the production of a safe, familiar, clearly defined entity, which, because it is female, should be appropriately docile or able to be dominated. But, on the other hand, this very same production also underscores an anxiety about this "entity" and the precariousness of its boundedness' ('Sexualizing Space', in *Sexy Bodies: The Strange Carnalities of Feminism*, ed. by Elizabeth Grosz and Elspeth Probyn (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 181–94 (p. 183)).

[22] See Philippe Contamine, 'Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace', in *Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Duby, trans. Goldhammer, pp. 425–505 (particularly pp. 462–70 and 499–502). Roberta Gilchrist discusses both French and English castle layouts in her *Gender and Archaeology*, esp. pp. 124–25. Simone Roux includes descriptions of houses in Paris in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in *La Maison dans l'histoire* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1976), pp. 147–64.

[23] Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 139.

In the context of discussing the duties of the governess, Christine compares a young girl to a house that the wise housewife must each day search through, from top to bottom — 'especially in the evening' — to make sure that no candle or other fire hazard has been left lying about by someone careless (Willard, p. 126, Hicks-Willard, p. 92). We note here the themes of women's duty to be present everywhere in the house, the worry about women's private space, and the assertion that women should police these places.

Christine describes turning these secluded areas into pedagogical sites where women can be taught right thinking and conduct. This project is presented in the chapters about the governess (Book I, Chapters 24–27). It is when she is alone with the young princess in her chambers that the governess wins her affection by playing games with her or telling stories that both delight and teach (Willard, p. 127, Hicks-Willard, p. 93). When the prince is absent, at bedtime (again the bed as a place of moral vulnerability) the governess will talk to her about him in order to make him present in memory, drawing the girl's attention to her husband's best qualities. If she suspects that the young princess is being tempted into an affair, she will gradually isolate her. Her strategy is to clear the space around her charge from unwise influences and then to inject her own presence and advice. First she warns off the would-be lover, then makes sure that none of the servants who could be acting as go-betweens are able to speak privately to the princess. Finally, waiting until she is alone with the princess, she remonstrates with her. The governess's letter, an emblem of Christine's own book, is perhaps most effective because it can reach the wayward princess when she is alone, not distracted by others. Solitude is dangerous, but it provides an opportunity that can be appropriated for a positive end.

Indeed, if these women's spaces can be dangerous — the princess's curtained bed, the *gésine* — they also have a potential for good. For example, women's quarters at court are a haven of tranquillity and fellowship, an alternative to tensions and disputes at the king's court (Willard, pp. 96–97; Hicks-Willard, pp. 50–51). Women should avoid tainting this space by not bringing dissension into it (Willard, p. 167, Hicks-Willard, p. 147). In another example, the widow, secluded during the period of mourning, is encouraged to cultivate women by receiving, in the privacy of her residence, calls from ladies, young women from the country, city women, and lowly women of the village (Willard, p. 123, Hicks-Willard, pp. 87–88). Their gossip will spread abroad their esteem and friendship for her. These spaces are thus worth protecting by assuring that they are used appropriately.

I turn now to the last important image of women's space in Christine's book, the ideal of the prostitute's 'little room' (Book III, Chapter 10). Space and location are important throughout this chapter. Essential to the program of reform proposed to the prostitute is that she change her haunts, seeking out convents and churches to frequent.[24] Doing this will put her in the way of people who, seeing her efforts to lead an honest life, may offer her a position in a great house ('grans hostelz', Hicks-Willard, p. 214). She could spin or care for women lying in. She would thus be integrated into a household and obtain work, income, and refuge. (We note echoes that link this chapter with earlier ones: the references to the great house, to women spinning, and to women lying in, the last two elements suggesting communities of women and female spaces.) 'She would live', Christine writes, 'in a little room on a respectable street among good people' (Willard, p. 217; 'demoureroit en une petite chambre en bonne rue et entre bonnes gens', Hicks-Willard, p. 214). Access to this small room of her own crowns the prostitute's conversion to a worthy life. With income from honourable work she can afford this room, a modest form of independence and yet an index of her capacity to govern herself. In the context of this book's discussion of the danger and potential of women's private spaces, this is a powerful image indeed in spite of, or rather precisely because of, its modesty. If the least of women is capable of this achievement, what woman cannot do the same? The private room can be read as a metaphor for the prostitute's control over her own body, which she has made into a private space that she can refuse to men. (The next chapter, on chastity, evokes the body as a 'clean and pleasing habitation for God' (Willard, p. 218; 'un tres net et plaisant habitacle a Dieu', Hicks-Willard, p. 216).) The reader is surely intended to measure the ideal of this 'little room' against the admonitory opening scene in Book I, where the idle princess lies in her canopied bed: the ex-prostitute has a virtuous heart, which means that she can safely negotiate the challenges of private space. Christine's message is about virtue and is thus relevant to all women, regardless of their status.

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[24] In developing the theme of the converted prostitute, Christine is participating in a long-standing, widespread social concern. As early as the thirteenth century, papal letters and sermons by churchmen urged the repentance of 'public women'. In Germany and Italy as well as in France, communities for repentant prostitutes were established and supported, well into the sixteenth century, as 'retirement center[s] or halfway house[s] for reintegrating former prostitutes into society'. See Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), esp. ch. 4 (p. 75), and her essay, 'Prostitution and Repentance in Late Medieval Perpignan', in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, ed. by Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), pp. 137–60.

Governing Bodies:
Law Courts, Male Householders,
and Single Women in Late Medieval England[*]

CORDELIA BEATTIE

Introduction

Civic governments in the late medieval period increasingly devolved certain responsibilities to households.[1] The urban household thus can be understood as both a residential group and a unit of government. Not all co-resident groups were granted this status, though. The civic ideal of a responsible household in which a male householder would police his charges envisaged a master craftsman or merchant who had resident apprentices and servants as well as a wife and children. This ideal applied only to about a third of households in late medieval England.[2] It is therefore necessary to think about what was being implicitly left out of this exemplary model and why. This essay will discuss a couple of texts ostensibly concerned with prostitution as, it will be argued, these allow us both to think about those who stood outside this ideal household structure and how they were dealt with, and to consider where power lay in a household and how this might be abused.

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[*] Much of the research for this essay was undertaken for my doctoral thesis, and so benefited from British Academy funding and discussion with Felicity Riddy and Jeremy Goldberg. However, I would also like to thank Sarah Rees Jones, without whose encouragement this particular piece would not have been written, and Anna Maslakovic for her thoughtful editorial advice.

[1] Rees Jones discusses the evolution of such devolved control: Sarah Rees Jones, 'The Household and English Urban Government in the Later Middle Ages', in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities: Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, ed. by Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens (Leuven: Garant, 2001), pp. 71–87, esp. p. 83. For a similar argument concerning sixteenth-century Germany see Merry E. Wiesner, 'Paternalism in Practice: The Control of Servants and Prostitutes in Early Modern German Cities', in her *Gender, Church and State in Early Modern Germany* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 94–113, esp. pp. 101, 112. This devolved control has been discussed with particular reference to the monitoring of sexual relationships between servants and apprentices: see P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Masters and Men in Later Medieval England', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by D. M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 56–70, esp. pp. 58–61, 63–4; Shannon McSheffrey, 'Men and Masculinity in Late Medieval London Civic Culture: Governance, Patriarchy, and Reputation', in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. by Jacqueline Murray (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 243–78, esp. pp. 243–51, 266–67). McSheffrey also links it with an increased concern with sexual misbehaviour in late-fifteenth-century England: pp. 265–66.

The first related set of examples are two entries, dated 1538, from the records of the London Court of Aldermen which discuss prostitutes, referred from one of the city's ward courts. Although relatively late in date, they provide both useful context and a counterpoint to my second and main text. This is a fifteenth-century customary for the Bishop of Winchester's leet court which includes the ordinances relating to the legal brothels in Southwark (a suburb of London), known as the 'Stews'.[3] The brothel regulations can be situated within a similar cultural milieu as the ward court matter. The bishop governed his manor in Southwark more as a lord than as an ecclesiastic.[4]

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[2] For the argument that 'not all co-resident groups were accorded the dignity and status of a "household" within civic administration', see Rees Jones, 'Household and English Urban Government', p. 74. For the numbers, see Goldberg, 'Masters and Men', p. 56 (where he argues that the rest of urban households were made up of piece-rate workers, labourers, and journeymen), and his *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300–1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 161–62.

[3] 'Stew' or 'steue' could literally mean a fishpond or bathhouse, but legal documents from at least the mid-fourteenth century refer to an area in Southwark, in the Bankside district, as the Stews. A petition of 1390 reveals that the Southwark Stews were already a prescribed place for prostitution, although the earliest ordinance to this effect dates from 1393. See *MED*, 'steu(e', n. (1) and n. (2); for a detailed etymology, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, 'Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd in the Stews of Southwark', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 342–88 (pp. 351–54). For the area, see *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III*, 14 vols (London: HMSO, 1896–1913), VII, 551 (1345); *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III*, 16 vols (London: HMSO, 1891–1916), VIII, 463 (1350), IX, 184 (1351), XII, 24 (1361). For the petition, see *Rotuli Parliamentorum: ut et petitiones et placita in parliamento*, ed. by J. Strachey, 6 vols (London: [n.pub.], 1767–77), III, 282; for the ordinance, see *Memorials of London and London Life*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley (London: Longmans, 1868), pp. 534–35 and *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved Among the Archives of the City of London at the Guildhall*, ed. by Reginald R. Sharpe, 11 vols (London: Corporation of the City of London, 1899–1912), H, p. 402. For the argument that the area's association with prostitution goes further back, see Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), p. 211; Ruth Mazo Karras, 'The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England', in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Judith M. Bennett and others (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 100–34 (p. 111, n. 46).

[4] See Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 112. On Southwark as a group of autonomous manors, see Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, esp. pp. xix, 21. For the bishop's twelfth-century

His leet system differed to that which operated in London's sub-districts but is still comparable.[5]

The first section, then, uses the London court entries to illustrate the civic model of the household and to point to some of those outside it, namely prostitutes (referred to in one entry as 'singlewomen'). I focus on these specific entries because part of my argument is that analysis of value-laden language is revealing of ideals and their inherent contradictions. Similar language can be found employed in the brothel regulations which the following section discusses. I shall argue that the brothel keeper is constructed in the regulations as a model householder and the ideal prostitute as a 'single woman'. The ideal set up in the regulations differs from the civic ideal in that it is not about trying to present a best-case scenario, but rather about trying to reconfigure an awkward situation in more desirable terms.

So, the 'bodies' under discussion in this essay are both the units of government in the towns of late medieval England (specifically London and its independently governed suburb, Southwark) and the corporeal bodies of prostitutes. The units of government include law courts and male-headed households. The 'single women' of my title could be replaced by 'prostitutes' but my use of the former category is deliberate. The term is used in the texts to be discussed to denote prostitutes. While the connotations of the two categories are evidently different, I shall argue that the application of the term 'single woman' in the texts themselves is not merely euphemistic but is revealing of ideological concerns.[6]

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acquisition of a manor in Southwark, see her pp. 32–33. Although privately owned and operated, the brothels were in the bishop's liberty and so he could regulate them: J. B. Post, 'A Fifteenth-Century Customary of the Southwark Stews', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5 (1977), 418–28 (p. 419); Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, pp. 50, 213. For the Church's ambivalent position regarding prostitution — tolerated but only as a necessary evil — see James A. Brundage, 'Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law', in *Sisters and Workers*, ed. by Bennett and others, pp. 79–99, esp. 84, 98–99; Kelly, 'Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd', pp. 342–49.

[5] Leet courts are those responsible for basic policing and enforcement of local by-laws: Rees Jones, 'Household and English Urban Government', p. 74. Not enough has been done to compare different courts, but see F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction in England*, Southampton Record Society, 5 (Southampton, 1908); on London's wardmotes, see esp. pp. 7, 32, 62–64, and on Southwark's leet courts, p. 306. I am grateful to Sarah Rees Jones for discussion on this point.

[6] Karras has argued that by the sixteenth century 'singlewoman' could be used as a euphemism or semantic equivalent for 'prostitute': Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 52; Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Sex and the Singlewoman', in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800*, ed. by Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 127–45 (p. 131). However, as the connotations are different, I would not call it a 'semantic equivalent'. 'Euphemism' is not always applicable either as it implies that the word has been substituted for one considered offensive. The texts to be discussed also use more explicit terms (as we shall see), like 'common woman', 'woman that lives by her body',

It is not my specific intention to enter into the debate about the nature of prostitution in medieval England. However, it should be noted that the existence of publicly regulated brothels in England seems rare.[7] This is not problematic for my argument, though, as while neither 'ideal' applied to the majority of the population, my contention is that such untypical and unorthodox situations are illuminating of how two different power structures dealt with those who lived outside such exemplary models, and particularly of the contrast between rhetoric and practice.

London's Courts and the Household

The entries to be discussed in this section both refer to a complaint, received at a ward court inquest, about prostitutes from the Stews wandering around London in showy clothes. Before I cite these entries, it is necessary to consider briefly the city's court structure. In London the ward courts were among the city's most ancient of governing institutions, well established by the close of the thirteenth century.[8] London, like other large boroughs including Norwich, York, Canterbury, and

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'common whore', and 'harlot', which do not suggest a desire for euphemism. The shifting semantic range of the term 'single woman' is discussed in Cordelia Beattie, 'Meanings of Singleness: The Single Woman in Late Medieval England' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York, 2001).

[7] Karras, *Common Women*, pp. 35–43, which also discusses Sandwich and Southampton; P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Pigs and Prostitutes: Streetwalking in Comparative Perspective', in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. by Katherine J. Lewis, Noel James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 172–93 (esp. pp. 180, 183–85). Cf. with the southern European evidence: Leah L. Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Richard C. Trexler, 'Florentine Prostitution in the Fifteenth Century: Patrons and Clients', in his *Dependence in Context in Renaissance Florence* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1994), pp. 373–414. For a brief European overview, see David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City 1300–1500* (London: Longman, 1997), pp. 274–77.

[8] Ward courts have been usefully examined by two recent articles: one by Sarah Rees Jones on the ward or 'leet' courts of English towns, arguing that they are 'a relatively neglected aspect of urban government'; the other more specifically on London wards by Caroline Barron. Sarah Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by James Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg, and W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 133–53 (p. 134). Caroline M. Barron, 'Lay Solidarities: The Wards of Medieval London', in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. by Pauline Stafford, Janet L. Nelson, and Jane Martindale (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 218–33. On London's ward courts, see also Gwyn A. Williams, *Medieval London: From Commune to Capital* (London: Athlone Press, 1963), p. 80.

Winchester, was divided into several wards, which were sometimes also subdivided. The main function of the wards was to keep the king's peace so jurors and constables would present offences such as trespass and theft and nuisances like prostitution. The wards also chose their representatives for the Court of Aldermen and the Court of Common Council which together held the main burden for administering the city.[9] (The connections between the three are also evident in the entries.)

In terms of the household's connection to these courts, changes in the official treatment of craft associations meant that by the fifteenth century the ward courts were predominantly dealing only with pleas of nuisance, often against those outside the guild system. According to Sarah Rees Jones, while the household 'was not accepted as an *official* unit of governance', there is some evidence that other offences were now being dealt with either within the fraternities or within households.[10] She therefore concludes that 'more emphasis was placed on the patriarchal nature of the household [. . .]. As certain heads of household acquire more public judicial [. . .] status through the enhanced civic status and function of their guild, so inevitably the position of male heads of households was officially enhanced'.[11] So, there was increasing acceptance not only that householders should govern their own dependants, but also that householders had a role beyond their own households, dealing with those outside such structures, through civic participation.[12] This can be demonstrated with reference to the two entries.

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[9] For a summary of how the wardmote, the Court of Aldermen, and the Court of the Common Council relate, see Caroline Barron, 'The Later Middle Ages: 1270–1520', in *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to* c. *1520*, ed. by Mary D. Lobel, British Atlas of Historic Towns, 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 42–56 (p. 44). For a more detailed discussion, see Barron, 'Lay Solidarities', pp. 224–25, 229–32.

[10] Rees Jones, 'Household, Work', p. 150 (her italics). She uses the fragmentary ward court records that survive for England to suggest that the tithing system, the legal view that all males over the age of twelve and resident in the city should be held individually accountable before the law, was clearly in conflict with the 'popular view that householders should take responsibility for their resident sons and servants privately', evident by the end of the thirteenth century: ibid., p. 145. She also uses the London customary, *Liber Albus*, compiled in 1419, to demonstrate that householders were seen 'as the privileged residents of the ward': p. 135

[11] Ibid., p. 151.

[12] On householders as jurors, see Rees Jones, 'Household and English Urban Government', p. 78; Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'Finding Language for Misconduct: Jurors in Fifteenth-Century Local Courts', in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. by Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 87–122 (p. 88); Shannon McSheffrey, 'Jurors, Respectable Masculinity, and Christian Morality: A Comment on Marjorie McIntosh's *Controlling Misbehavior*', *Journal of British Studies*, 37 (1998), 269–78. For an example of twelve men meeting as a wardmote inquest, see Shannon McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage in Late Medieval London*, TEAMS (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), pp. 84–85.

Both entries are in one of London's Repertory Books which contains the records of the Court of Aldermen for the period 1537–43.[13] The first entry, dated 20 January 1538 with the marginal notation 'harlottes', records that a petition about the effects of the lavish dress of prostitutes should be dealt with by the Common Council:

> Item a byll put unto the wardemote enquest for the hawntyng of comen hoores from the stewes of the other places yn excessyve and gorgious apparaill to the great evyll example of menys wyffes maydens chyldren and agreed that remedy shalbe provyded by comen consayll.[14]

The second, dated 28 March 1538 with the marginal notation 'Synglewomen', states that agreement on the matter had been reached:

> Item the suplicacoun of the wardmote enquest concernynge the evyll example for the gorgyous apparell of the common women of the Stewes to the great temptacioun of yonge maydens wyffes and apprentices and agreed that a booke shalbe drawen by the cownsayll of thys cytie.[15]

As a whole, the entries suggest both that the household was seen as a locus and instrument for social control and that prostitutes needed to be regulated by civic authorities because they posed a threat to good households. The remedy for the situation is only vaguely stated: 'a book shall be drawn by the council of this city'.[16] The details of the regulation are not important, though; what is significant here is that it was the *prostitutes* who were to be regulated.

While the brothels are located in the Bishop of Winchester's liberty, the women who operated within them were clearly wandering outside this area; the January entry refers to their 'haunting [. . .] of the other places'. According to this extract, a petition had been sent complaining about their 'evil example'. The matter thus concerns those outside guild and household structures — the prostitutes — drawn to the ward court's attention by male householders in their capacity as jurors.[17] The January entry itself makes an explicit connection with the male householder in that the complaint was not just about the showy clothes which the prostitutes were wearing, but about the effect that this might have on '*men's* wives, maidens, children' (my italics).[18]

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[13] Corporation of London Records Office (hereafter CLRO), Repertory Book 10; on these records, see Philip E. Jones and Raymond Smith, *A Guide to the Records in the Corporation of London Records Office and the Guildhall Library Muniment Room* (London: English Universities Press, 1951), p. 30.

[14] Repertory Book 10, fol. 13^{v} (this quotation will be paraphrased in modern English when referred to again in the text). The marginal entry is written as 'harlott' but it is expanded here as a plural, in line with the fair copy: CLRO, Letter Book P, fol. 138^{r}. (On the Letter Books as fair copies, see *Calendar of Letter-Books*, A, p. i.)

[15] Repertory Book 10, fol. 27^{r} (again this quotation will be subsequently paraphrased in modern English). A fair copy of the entry, with the marginal notation 'singlewomen', can be found in CLRO, Letter Book P, fol. 140. I am grateful to Ruth Karras for her generosity in supplying me with these references. The entry is incorrectly referenced in Karras, *Common Women*, p. 161, n. 19, and Karras, 'Sex and the Singlewoman', p. 142, n. 16, as Repertory Book 12.

[16] The 'book' was perhaps to contain a list of prostitutes who offended by wearing inappropriate clothing and the penalties imposed. I am grateful to Sarah Rees Jones for the suggestion that the reference to 'the council of this city' might be rhetorical and that the course of action was probably decided by the aldermen, rather than the Common Council referred to in the earlier entry.

This leads to my next point: the extracts also signal that the householders were acting out of the responsibility that they felt for their 'wives, maidens, children' (alternatively expressed as 'young maidens, wives, and apprentices'). These three groups are represented as the male householder's dependants and suggest the model household structure. The 'wyffes' in both entries should be understood as married women; while 'wyf' can refer to any woman, the 'men's wives' of the January entry clearly refers to the married. The term 'maidens' could signify unmarried women, usually young as the later entry specifies, or, more specifically, female servants, who were typically young and unmarried.[19] Here, it could denote either daughters still residing at home or young women in service, or both.[20] The third term, 'children', could refer to young children, a youth in service, or an apprentice.[21] The latter reading is suggested by the March entry which refers specifically to 'apprentices'. This group, then, are most probably male as the evidence for female apprenticeship is patchy and male apprentices are often discussed in relation to prostitution.[22] The terms of an apprentice's service gave his master authority over him in a range of matters, including the moral.[23] Indeed, apprenticeship contracts sometimes contain a clause forbidding resort to brothels.[24] All three groups would have resided with the male household heads and would have been the latter's dependants, and, therefore, their behaviour would have been the householders' concern.

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[17] On the procedure, see Barron, 'Lay Solidarities', pp. 223–24.

[18] For attempts to regulate prostitutes' dress, see, for example, the ordinances of 1281 (*Memorials*, ed. by Riley, p. 20; noted in *Calendar of Letter-Books*, A, p. 220), of 1351 (*Memorials*, ed. by Riley, p. 267; noted in *Calendar of Letter-Books*, F, p. 241), of 1382 (*Memorials*, ed. by Riley, pp. 458–59; noted in *Calendar of Letter-Books*, H, p. 176), and the entry in *Liber Albus* (*Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols, Rolls Series, 12 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859–62), I, 283, trans. in III, 102).

[19] *MED*, 'maiden' (n.) 1 (a) An unmarried woman, usually young, 2. (a) A virgin, 3. A maidservant. For detailed discussions of the nature of service in late medieval England, see Goldberg, *Women, Work, and the Life Cycle*, ch. 4; Lawrence R. Poos, *A Rural Society After the Black Death: Essex 1350–1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ch. 9.

[20] Karras associated this group with daughters: *Common Women*, p. 22.

[21] *MED*, 'child' (n.) 1 (a) A young child; 3a (a) A boy or girl (usually to the age of puberty); 4 (a) A child regarded as innocent or immature; 5 (a) A young man; youth, lad; 5 (b) A youth in service; apprentice.

[22] On female apprentices, see Caroline M. Barron, 'The Education and Training of Girls in Fifteenth-Century London', in *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Diana E. S. Dunn (Stroud: Sutton, 1996), pp. 139–53 (pp. 144–47). I have found other evidence for female apprentices in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Chancery petitions: Beattie, 'Meanings of Singleness', p. 185. On male apprentices, see Barbara A. Hanawalt, '"The Childe of Bristowe" and the Making of Middle-Class Adolescence', in

The moral and the economic concerns, though, cannot be easily separated. Part of the professed worry about apprentices visiting brothels was that they wasted their masters' goods there, not just on women but also on drink and gambling.[25] One of the concerns in the March entry is that the 'gorgeous apparel' will be 'to the great temptation of [. . .] apprentices'. Ruth Karras comments that the blame for young men's behaviour is usually laid upon the prostitutes as 'temptresses'.[26] Thus, if apprentices are tempted by the prostitutes' lavish dress to visit brothels, it is the masters' money that will be squandered. A similar concern can be related to the maidens and wives. The temptation for these groups was presumably primarily a desire for the same 'gorgeous apparel', the cost of which would come out of the household economy in the case of wives and daughters. Another worry might also have been that the women would be tempted into a dissolute life by the prospect of such material gains.[27] Concerns that the 'reputable' would be 'corrupted' are expressed in earlier London records. For example, an ordinance from 1417 banning 'stews' in the city states that 'the wives, sons, daughters, apprentices, and servants, of the reputable men of the City, are oftentimes [. . .] for a little money, drawn and enticed thereto; and there they [. . .] are permitted to do and carry on the illicit works of their lewd flesh'.[28]

Bodies and Disciplines, ed. by Hanawalt and Wallace, pp. 155–78 (esp. pp. 157–60, 163, 166–70); Goldberg, 'Masters and Men'. I shall briefly discuss the connection between male apprentices and prostitution below.

[23] See also Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989), pp. 17, 164, 169.

[24] For example, *York Memorandum Book*, ed. by Maud Sellers and Joyce W. Percy, 3 vols, Surtees Society, 120, 125 (Durham: Andrew & Co., 1912 and 1915), and 186 (Gateshead: Northumberland Press, 1973), I, 54–55, III, 4–5. Karras notes that not all indentures include this provision: *Common Women*, p. 166, n. 41.

[25] Karras, *Common Women*, pp. 76–47; Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 169.

[26] Karras, *Common Women*, p. 76.

[27] This was a fear in some European towns; for example, see Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, p. 8. Cf. Karras, *Common Women*, p. 22: 'the concern here was [. . .] to prevent prostitutes from dressing so well that [. . .] wives and daughters would want to imitate them. Family men probably feared not so much the temptation for the women to become prostitutes as the temptation for them to demand such elaborate clothing from their husbands and fathers.'

[28] *Memorials*, ed. by Riley, pp. 647–48 (p. 647); noted in *Calendar of Letter-Books*, I, p. 178. See also another ordinance of 1417 about landlords harbouring tenants of evil life: *Memorials*, ed. by Riley, pp. 649–50. A proclamation of *c.* 1483 against prostitutes wandering in the city warns that they are guilty of 'provokyng many oþere persones unto the said Synne

The moral concerns are also highlighted by the opposition set up in these entries between the prostitutes and the men's dependants, particularly the 'maidens'.[29] The term 'maiden' has connotations of sexual purity, virtue, and innocence.[30] As we have seen in the March entry, the 'common women', are referred to as 'singlewomen' in the marginal notation. This is not merely euphemistic — the January entry does not balk to use the terms 'whores' and 'harlots' — but can be viewed as revealing of ideological concerns. Unmarried women are divided up here: those who are classed as dependants, under the governance of a male household head, are referred to as 'maidens', signalling their moral probity; the singlewomen, or common women, are conceptualized as outside such control and thus become the responsibility of the civic authorities.[31]

While the marginal entries of 'singlewomen' and 'harlots' signal the ostensible subject matter of the ordinances, it is perhaps not going too far to suggest that they are represented in these entries as on the margins, of peripheral concern. The entries begin with the prostitutes, but they are more concerned with the effect that their actions had on the other groups, the householders' dependants, than with the prostitutes themselves. It could be argued that the household here is partially defined by those

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of lechery. Whereby moche people aswell men as women being of theym self weldisposed daily fall to the said myschevous and horrible Synne': *Calendar of Letter-Books*, L, p. 206. The sin is of lechery generally rather than prostitution in particular.

[29] Cf. with a late-fifteenth-century Chancery petition in which the petitioner, Margaret widow of Leonell Baker, argues that she has been falsely indicted before the ward court of Farringdon Without 'for a commyn woman' by a juror who had lost rental property to her former husband, when 'she hath ben servaunt mayden and wyfe in the seid parich xiiij yere and never taken nor reputed othirwyse then a good woman'. Not only are personal motives assigned to her accuser, but the accusation of being a 'common woman' is countered with reference to more respectable subject positions such as servant, maiden, wife, and good woman: PRO, C 1/61/189 (1481–83).

[30] For a discussion of what it meant to be 'maidenly', see Kim M. Phillips, 'Maidenhood as the Perfect Age of Woman's Life', in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. by Lewis, Menuge, and Phillips, pp. 1–24.

[31] For the conceptual linking of single women and prostitutes, see Karras, 'Sex and the Singlewoman'; Amy M. Froide, 'Marital Status as a Category of Difference: Singlewomen and Widows in Early Modern England', in *Singlewomen in the European Past*, ed. by Bennett and Froide, pp. 236–69 (pp. 240, 263, n. 22); Michael Roberts, 'Women and Work in Sixteenth-Century Towns', in *Work in Towns, 850–1850*, ed. by Penelope J. Corfield and Derek J. Keene (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), pp. 86–102 (p. 93). Most of the literature on anxieties about 'ungoverned' women who lived outside ideal household structures is early modern in focus, although the concern is often projected back to the late fifteenth century. For example, Christine Peters, 'Single Women in Early Modern England: Attitudes and Expectations', *Continuity and Change*, 12 (1997), 325–45 (p. 329); Froide, 'Marital Status', pp. 239–41. The phrase 'ungoverned woman' was originally Barbara Todd's: Barbara J. Todd, 'The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered', in *Women in English Society 1500–1800*, ed. by Mary Prior (London: Routledge, 1985), pp. 54–92 (p. 55).

outside it, particularly those that seem to threaten it. Prostitutes needed to be regulated by civic authorities as they not only stood outside such household structures but also posed a moral and practical threat to those households

The language used in these extracts reveals structures — and fault-lines — of social governance. The purpose behind beginning with these two later extracts was to set up a normative context — albeit an idealized one — against which the picture presented by the Southwark regulations could be compared. The Repertory Book entries construct the household as consisting of a male head, his wife, children, apprentices, and servants. Those presented in opposition to this model structure are the ungoverned, the prostitutes. Both the household head and the civic government see this latter group as a problem to be regulated and a threat to the good household. The regulations, however, give us a different perspective on these same issues by allowing us to focus in on the prostitutes and on what could be called a prototypical disorderly household, as will be seen in the next section.

Southwark's Leet Court and the Brothel

My second and main text is the fifteenth-century customary for the Bishop of Winchester's leet court.[32] Southwark's leet court exercised a comparable kind of jurisdiction to London's wardmotes. As the Stews were within the bishop's liberty, their personnel — the brothel keepers and the prostitutes — were primarily subject to his court. The section of the customary relating to Southwark is a compilation of customs and leet articles.[33] It retains two distinct, undated sequences of articles (clearly conceived of independently as there are definite overlaps), and dated emendations from *c.* 1445–59.[34] J. B. Post, who edited this material, labelled the sequences as 'A' and 'B', the emendations as 'C' to 'H', and numbered each paragraph within these sections sequentially.[35] While it is valid to treat the text as a whole — it was presumably used in this way in the fifteenth-century leet court — I shall retain the divisions (with recourse to Post's referencing system) because there are differences between the sequences, particularly as regards terminology. A detailed analysis of this section of the customary offers a more nuanced approach to the arguments that the household was an agent of government and that those outside it — particularly prostitutes or 'single women' — were seen as ungoverned. The regulations can be understood as both pragmatic and ideologically conditioned.[36] They were designed to prevent or regulate practices that were of concern, but in doing so they reveal ideals: the exemplary brothel keeper as a 'great householder', which I shall consider first, and the ideal prostitute as a 'single woman'.

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[32] This has been edited and published in Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 422–28.

[33] For the other contents of the manuscript, see Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 419–20.

[34] Post argues that the composition of the 'B' series probably predated the 'A' series: 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 420. This does not matter for the argument here as both versions were written in their current form in the fifteenth century. On the dating of the emendations, see his pp. 427–28, nn. 83, 88.

[35] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 422–28. Karras has published a modernized version — which I shall use in the footnotes — but she leaves out some of the emendations (C.1–6, D.1, G.2–3, H.2) and adds in two articles from a seventeenth-century transcript, BL, Harley MS 1877: 'Regulation of Brothels', pp. 128–34 (esp. p. 128, n. 104); on Harley MS 1877, see Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 420–22.

The Brothel Keeper as Male Householder

The use of the term 'great householder' to describe the brothel keeper is the first indication that the regulations are perhaps using contemporary ideas about household governance in their attempts to regulate the brothels. The brothel keeper is referred to as the 'gret housholder' in the 'A' series and as the 'goodman' in the 'B' series.[37] 'Goodman' is a term of respect; according to the *Middle English Dictionary*, it was used to denote a worthy or righteous man, or, more specifically, a male household head or master, or, further, a citizen or burgess.[38] Indeed, it is used in the late-fourteenth-century Jubilee Book account of how London's wardmote was to be conducted; officials such as the beadle, the constables, and the scavengers were to be chosen by the 'goode men of the warde', as was the alderman.[39] 'Gret' could mean important or high-ranking, as well as just large, and it could be that in the regulations it has similar associations of moral probity as 'goodman'.[40] Such terms suggest that the brothel keeper is being conceptualized as a model household head.

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[36] For a discussion of ideology as both constituting an illusion and alluding to a reality, see Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)', in his *Essays on Ideology* (London: Verso, 1984), pp. 1–60, esp. pp. 36, 38–39.

[37] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 423–24 (A.2–3, A.5–6 (A.5 also refers to 'every gret house'), B.6 *x* 2).

[38] *MED*, 'god man', 1 (a), 2 (a) and (b). See also Felicity Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 66–86 (p. 68).

[39] Barron, 'Lay Solidarities', pp. 223, 230, citing Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 11. 3 fols 143, 144v–146v. On such officials, see Barron's pp. 225–29.

[40] *MED*, 'gret' (adj. & adv. & n.): 3 (a) of high rank; noble or royal when applied to households. Compare with 8 (a) important or high-ranking people. For it meaning 'large', see 1a. Chaucer's Franklin is described in the 'General Prologue' to *The Canterbury Tales* as 'An housholdere, and that a greet, was he'. The *MED* has this as the first recorded occurrence of 'householder' so it must also be the earliest recorded occurrence of the collocation of 'housholder' and 'gret': *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 29, line 339; *MED*, 'hous-holder(e' (n.), (a). I am grateful to Felicity Riddy for drawing this to my attention.

Although these terms are not used throughout the regulations, the brothel keeper is consistently gendered male (with the complementary exceptions of the ordinance, and its corresponding question, prohibiting single women from keeping stews, which I shall discuss later). There are also passing references to 'his wif'.[41] The 'B' series begins with the requirement that 'noo steweholder that holdeth and kepeth any stewehouse have nor kepe any woman dwellyng with hym buth his wife, and a wassher, and a man to his ostiler, an noo womman for hostiler' (B.1).[42] His household was thus to consist of himself, his wife, and only a few dependants: a laundress, a male 'hosteler', and a male servant for the latter.[43] The brothel keeper as male and married, then, bears some comparison with the household heads worried about prostitutes in the Repertory Book entries. Similarly, the brothel keeper was presumably responsible for his dependants' behaviour, as the household heads were for their maids and apprentices. Yet where do the prostitutes fit into this picture of the idealized brothel?

A number of regulations make it clear that the prostitutes were not allowed to board in the brothel. Whereas B.1 excludes prostitutes by default, B.10 states explicitly that 'no stueholder holde any woman that lyveth by hir body to borde, but that thei go to borde ellis where theym list', and A.2 does similarly.[44] While another ordinance sets out that each woman should pay fourteen pence a week 'for hir chambre', it makes it clear that she must be free to come and go 'withoute any interupcion of the steweholders' and that the payment is 'hir duete as olde custume is' (B.2).[45] Other regulations concern the exact times that prostitutes must be absent from the bishop's liberty completely, such as on holy days between six and eleven in the morning and between one and five in the afternoon (B.11), or between sunset and sunrise during the sitting of Parliament 'or counseill' (B.16).[46] That the women were often expected to spend the night in the brothel is also indicated by the ordinance which states, 'if any woman take any monee to lye with any man, but she ly stille with hym til it be the morwe tyme and thanna arise, she shal make a fyn of vj.*s.* viij.*d.*' (B.20).[47] The point, then, must be that the regulations did not want the women to be permanent members of the brothel keeper's household.

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[41] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 423 (A.1, A.4–5), p. 424 (B.1, B.6, B.8).

[42] Ibid., p. 424; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 129: 'no stewholder that holds or keeps any stewhouse have nor keep any woman dwelling with him but his wife and a laundress and a man for his ostler, and no woman for ostler'.

[43] Although the Middle English is 'wasscher', the Latin 'lotrix' in the rubric to the ordinance is clearly feminine: Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 424.

[44] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 423–24; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 130: 'no stewholder hold any woman that lives by her body to board, but that they go to board elsewhere they wish'. While the intention of B.1 might have been to prevent brothel keepers using servants as prostitutes, it also reinforces the ordinances which state that prostitutes could not board (cf. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 214, n. 26). Carlin's analysis of the 1381 poll tax return for Southwark suggests that, a century earlier, not only did the brothel keepers (generally married men) keep more servants, but many of the female ones were also prostitutes: p. 212.

[45] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 424; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 129.

[46] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 424–25; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', pp. 130–31. Brothel keepers were also told to keep their doors closed on holy days from matins

There is evidence both to suggest that some prostitutes did live elsewhere and that some lived in the brothels. For example, Karras has found cases in London's ecclesiastical courts which refer to people harbouring women from the Southwark stews, as well as examples in the Winchester court rolls of brothel keepers being repeatedly fined for having women to board.[48] The important point here, though, is that the regulations set out an ideal of the brothel with no prostitutes in permanent residence. In this particular context the relevant authorities did not want the unmarried women, the prostitutes, to be under the complete governance of the male household head, the brothel keeper. Part of the reason for this is undoubtedly the concern that such women should be free to leave this sinful life.[49] For example, one regulation states

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until noon and from two until five or six in the afternoon: Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 425 (B.15). A.3 just says they should not open on holy days: p. 423.

[47] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 425; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 132: 'if any woman takes any money to lie with any man, unless she lies still with him until it be the morning and then arise, she shall make a fine of six shillings eightpence'. The purpose of this ordinance is made clear by the corresponding question, 'Taketh she any monee to lye with men and performeth hit not?': Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 426 (B.54).

[48] Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 117, n. 69; Karras, *Common Women*, p. 38. The fines for 1505–06 are summarized in Kelly, 'Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd', p. 386. There is a late-fifteenth-century chancery petition in which a woman alleges that Thomas Bowde, an inn holder at the Stews side, took her to his house 'and there wold have compelled her to do suche service as other his servauntes done there which to do your seid Oratrice utterly denyed and yet doith and had lener dye then to be of that disposicion'. The implication is that Bowde was a brothel keeper and his servants prostitutes: PRO, C 1/48/191 (1473–75). Similarly, the *Gret Chronicle of London* records that in 1496 Thomas Togood, 'a Bawd of the Stewys' was found guilty 'that he entysid ij women dwellyng at the Quene hythe to becum his servauntys and to have been comon wythyn his howse': *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. by A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London, [n.pub.], 1938), p. 258. The keeper of 'Le Hertshorn' in 1505 was Margaret Togoode, perhaps his wife: Kelly, 'Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd', p. 387.

[49] The preamble to the 'A' series says that previous breaking of customs, such as allowing the women free movement, led to 'the gret displesure of God and [. . .] to the gret multiplicacion of orrible synne upon the syngle women': Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 423. The idea of the repentant prostitute was frequently used by the Church as the sinner par excellence who could still be forgiven if she repented. For example, see *Early English Versions of the 'Gesta Romanorum'*, ed. by Sidney J. H. Herrtage (London: N. Trübner, 1879), pp. 391–92; *Jacob's Well: An English Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience, Part 1*, ed. by Arthur Brandeis, EETS, OS, 115 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1900), pp. 172–73. See also G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

that the bishop's bailiffs and constable should search the brothels four times a year for 'any single woman [. . .] kepte there ayenst her wille that wolde voide and leve her synne' (A.5).[50] The following ordinance, that forbids the brothel keeper from lending the women more than six shillings and eight pence (A.6), presumably arises from a concern that such men do not bind the women to them by debt and so prevent them from leaving.[51] However, the intention can also be understood as recognition of the power that householders could have over the other inhabitants of their household.

Whereas the implicit assumption in the Repertory Book entries was that the householder's economic and moral control was a good thing for the maids, wives, and apprentices, this does not necessarily translate to the brothel keepers and prostitutes. Not only were the women to reside elsewhere but they could 'have mete and drink where them luste' (G.1).[52] They should also not spin or card with the brothel keeper (B.13).[53] The latter ordinance might be about not mingling honest with dishonest occupations (B.2 states that 'the women that ben at common bordell be seyn every day what they be'), but it perhaps also tries to separate out the women's work from that of the householder.[54] The women were not to be part of the brothel keeper's household economy. Again, as with the ward court entries, I do not think that economic concerns can be easily separated from moral ones. While the regulations present the brothel keeper in linguistic terms as a 'goodman', they also hint at the darker side of brothel life.[55] There are, for example, regulations referring to

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1933), p. 155; R. M. Karras, 'Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 1 (1990), 3–32. Christine de Pizan also advised prostitutes to repent, as discussed by Karen Fresco, 'Gendered Household Spaces in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*', in this volume.

[50] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 423; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 129: 'any single woman [. . .] kept there against her will that would depart and leave her sin'.

[51] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 423. In the Chancery petition cited in note 48 above, the woman claims that Bowde alleged she owed him a large sum of money so that she would be forced to work for him.

[52] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 428; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 134: 'have meat and drink where they wish'. Brothel keepers are also told that they cannot sell meat, ale, etc. (B.29), although Karras interprets this as being for the protection of the customer: Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 426; Karras, *Common Women*, p. 40.

[53] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 425.

[54] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 424; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 129: 'the women that are at common brothel be seen every day what they are'. Karras takes this argument further and says that the intent was to limit the brothel keeper's ability to force the prostitutes to work for his profit: *Common Women*, p. 39.

[55] McIntosh has commented on how jurors used the language of hospitality in accusations of keeping a brothel, or taking in people of bad governance, but 'the indignation that permeates this language suggests that such misdeeds not only represented a breakdown in governance but also made a mockery of behaviors intended to be socially nurturing': McIntosh,

imprisonment of both men and women (A.5, B.3, B.35), threatening behaviour by the prostitutes and against them (B.13, B.14, B.40, B.52, B.65), sickness (B.25, B.45), and counterfeiting (B.63).[56] Indeed, the only regulation that seems to make the brothel keeper responsible for the prostitute's actions is one concerning the retention of a customer's belongings. Ordinance B.6 states that if a man leaves 'any herneys' with the keeper's wife, hosteler, 'or any other womman therin', he should be able to get it back when leaving. If not, the 'goodman' must bring the person holding it to the bishop's prison to settle the matter or, if they flee first, he should be held responsible.[57]

The attempt to keep the prostitutes generally separate surely stems from recognition that while the regulations could seek to model the brothel as a well-ordered household, this was an ideal rather than a reality. Thus, the powers of control devolved to male household heads in the ward court system should not be wholly extended to the brothel keeper. While the 'great householder' could govern his wife and servants, any such control over the prostitutes was to be restricted. This suggests that civic ideas concerning household governance were devised with a particular sector of urban society in mind (the top third), and that there was recognition that there should be limitations on its applicability to others.

It is now necessary to consider the prostitutes, those who were seen as a threat to good households — not only those run by jurors, but also those run by model brothel keepers. It is my contention that an exploration of why the ideal prostitute is represented as a 'single woman' will help reveal how the regulations envisage their place vis-à-vis such structures as households and courts.

The Prostitute as Single Woman

Just as terminology was the first clue to the positive representation of brothel keepers as householders, the use of the term 'single woman' in the regulations is also indicative of the model prostitute. Other scholars have noticed the use of the latter term. For example, both Karras and P. J. P. Goldberg have used it to support their very different views on the intentions of the regulations, which also fit into a wider argument about the nature of prostitution in medieval England.[58] Karras views the regulations

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'Finding Language', p. 99. However, there is no sense in the Southwark regulations that a deliberate disjunction is being set up.

[56] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 423–27.

[57] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 424; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 130. 'Hernys' could be interpreted as relating to weaponry or a horse or, more widely, as clothing: *MED*, 'harneis' (n. sg. & pl.) 1–3.

[58] Goldberg argues with what he sees as Karras's over-representation of English prostitution as institutionalized. Karras, however, has recently suggested that Goldberg's treatment of prostitution as 'work' and identification of women repeatedly accused of immorality as

as trying to keep the sexual behaviour of the prostitutes under the 'tight control' of the authorities. She interprets the term 'single women' as signalling that the women did not have husbands and, as such, their sexual behaviour was of wider concern.[59] Goldberg takes a different approach and reads the regulations as less about the authorities governing the prostitutes, and more about ensuring the brothel keepers did not control the prostitutes. He therefore reads the term 'singlewoman' in the light of the legal theory of *femme sole*, concerning women who were liable for their own actions.[60] While I agree with certain elements of both arguments, my concern here is with how the regulations conceptualize the ideal prostitute. I shall therefore offer a reading that seeks to understand uses of the term in their precise contexts, and in relation to other terms used. I shall argue that 'single woman', as used in the ordinances, generally denotes a prostitute but also indicates a concern about the marital status of women involved in prostitution. The model prostitute was an unmarried woman. Once this has been demonstrated, I shall return to the argument about what these regulations reveal about the household as an agent of government.

There are some telling differences between the sequences. The term 'single woman' is used six times in the ordinances as a whole but five occur in the 'A' sequence.[61] The sixth usage of 'single woman' is in the 'B' sequence, where it can be argued that it has a different meaning.[62] The overlaps between the two sequences are

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'prostitutes' have a similar effect. See, most recently, Goldberg, 'Pigs and Prostitutes'; Karras, 'Sex and the Singlewoman', esp. pp. 138–39.

[59] Karras, *Common Women*, p. 41. While 'single woman' emphasizes a woman's unmarried status, the term 'common woman' — available to all, will refuse none — would perhaps better serve Karras's argument that the women could not choose their own lovers. The latter is a term that is occasionally used in the ordinances, as is 'woman that lives by her body'.

[60] Goldberg, 'Pigs and Prostitutes', p. 185. The use of other terms (see the previous note) render problematic Goldberg's assertion that 'the Southwark ordinances were concerned to prevent such an identity [that of the professional prostitute] being imposed on the prostitutes', as does the assertion 'that the wommen that ben at common bordel be seyn every day what they be' (Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 424 (B.2)). On the legal position of unmarried women, *femmes soles*, see the brief summary in Sir Fredrick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), I, 482–85. More work needs to be done on the legal rights and responsibilities of the unmarried woman which are both assumed and neglected as a subject for discussion.

[61] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 423 (preamble, A.1, A.4–5, A.6). Karras and Goldberg's arguments about the use of the term 'single woman' in the regulations clearly relate to the shorter 'A' series. In this I concur with Karras in thinking that, in all five cases, it clearly refers to prostitutes.

[62] It is the 'B' sequence that uses the formulation 'woman that lives by her body', and, on one occasion, 'common woman' (as do the emendations 'F', 'G', and 'H'). For 'woman that lives by her body': Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 424–26 (B.10, B.12–14, B.23). For 'common woman': pp. 426, 428 (B.28, F.1, G.1, H.1). The 'B' series often just uses the

useful here. One of the ‘A’ ordinances that uses the term ‘single woman’ has an equivalent in the ‘B’ series and so can be compared:

> [A.1] First, therfore, we ordeyne and make accordyng to the seid olde custume conteyned in the custumery, that ther be no stewe holder nor his wife let not no single woman to go and come atte alle tymes whan thei list.[63]
>
> [B.2] [. . .] Item, that [. . .] a womman that liveth by hir body to comme and to go [. . .] at alle tymes shal have fre licence and liberte, without any interupcion of the steweholders.[64]

The two regulations essentially make the same point: brothel keepers do not have the authority to curtail the prostitutes’ freedom of movement.[65] The ‘single woman’ of A.1, however, is referred to — less euphemistically — as ‘a woman that lives by her body’ in B.2.[66] The ‘A’ series does not use that formulation or the term ‘common woman’ anywhere. It is thus possible that the term ‘single woman’ is a euphemism for ‘prostitute’ in the ‘A’ series. The connotations of the two terms are clearly different, though. A consideration of the ‘B’ series, which is both fuller and more explicit, enables discussion of how prostitutes were conceptualized and why this might have led to ‘single woman’ being an apposite term in the ‘A’ series.

First, the differing use of the term ‘single woman’ in the ‘B’ series must be considered. Its use here seems to denote an unmarried woman:

> [B.22] *Quod mulieribus custodientibus stufas et non habentibus viros*. Item, if any sengle woman holde or kepe any stuehous withynne the lordship agayns the custume of the manoir, she shal at evri cort make a fyn of xx.*s*. unto the tyme that it be reformed.[67]

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term ‘woman’: pp. 424–26 (B.1–2, B.5–7, B.11, B.16, B.19, B.24, B.30, B.32–33, B.37, B.40–41, B.44–45).

[63] Post, ‘Fifteenth-Century Customary’, p. 423; Karras, ‘Regulation of Brothels’, p. 128: ‘First, therefore, we ordain and make, according to the said old customs contained in the customary, that no stewholder nor his wife hinder any single woman to go and come at all times when they wish.’

[64] Post, ‘Fifteenth-Century Customary’, p. 424 (this quotation will be paraphrased in modern English when referred to again in the text).

[65] This point is crucial to Goldberg’s argument: ‘Pigs and Prostitutes’, p. 185.

[66] One of the emendations makes the same point fundamentally and refers to ‘the commune wommen’: Post, ‘Fifteenth-Century Customary’, p. 428 (G.1).

[67] Post, ‘Fifteenth-Century Customary’, p. 425; Karras, ‘Regulation of Brothels’, p. 132: ‘*Women who keep stewhouses and do not have husbands*. Item, if any single woman holds or keeps any stewhouse within the lordship against the custom of the manor, she shall at every court make a fine of twenty shillings until the time that it is reformed.’

While one of the questions to be asked 'of the common women' suggests that single, female brothel keepers were presumed to be prostitutes ((B.55) 'Is she sengle and kepeth any stuehouse?'), the use of 'sengle woman' in this ordinance is probably not meant to signify 'prostitute'.[68] The Latin rubric refers to 'mulieribus [. . .] non habentibus viros'. The ordinance is possibly a translation of an earlier Latin one about 'women without husbands' keeping stews. Post argues that the use of *quod* rather than *de* in the rubrics to the 'B' series suggests that they were incipits to Latin originals, rather than chapter headings.[69] In Middle English 'woman without a husband' becomes 'sengle woman'. Karras argues that in this ordinance '"single" clearly just means "unmarried"'.[70] It does not *just* mean unmarried, though. Its use here — and in the 'A' series — can also be understood as ideological.

In the 'B' series it is made explicit that, ideally, prostitutes should be single, whereas brothel keepers should be married (as we have seen). The latter were not to receive 'any womman of religious, nor any mannes wif'; that is, all prostitutes were to be unmarried lay women.[71] The inclusion of an ordinance stating that brothel keepers would be fined for knowingly receiving women of religion and wives (B.4), and of a related question that the bishop's manorial officers were to ask brothel keepers (B.36), perhaps indicates that the 'ideal' was not reality.[72] It might be, however, that such statements serve to reinforce the ideological position that prostitutes should be unmarried women. In this series we see the use of a single/married binary. The brothel keeper's wife could be involved in the running of the business, although only in association with her husband, but any other man's wife could not enter.[73] The unmarried woman could be a prostitute, but was to be deterred from running her own brothel. Thus the married are the keepers, the unmarried the prostitutes.

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[68] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 426; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 133: 'Is she single and keeps a stewhouse?'

[69] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 420 (although he also notes that in some cases 'a redactor's misreading of *de* as *quod* could be postulated').

[70] Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 126, n. 101.

[71] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 424 (B.4). Religious manuals of instruction also express concern that 'common women' might be married or women of religion. For example, see *Jacob's Well*, ed. by Brandeis, p. 160, lines 13–15; *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman: A Late Middle English Adaptation of Peraldus's 'Summa de vitiis et virtutibus' and Friar Laurent's 'Somme le Roi'*, ed. by F. N. M. Diekstra (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1998), p. 400, citing *Somme le Roi*, fols 29^{v}–30^{r}.

[72] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', pp. 424, 426. Similarly, single female stewholders were to be fined 'xx.*s*. unto the tyme that it be reformed': p. 425 (B.22). Karras believes that legal records suggest that women did 'keep brothels' in significant numbers and Carlin interprets some early-sixteenth-century fines for living without a husband, recorded in the bishopric of Winchester pipe roll, as relating to this ordinance: Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', pp. 113–15; Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, pp. 217–18; also see Kelly, 'Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd', p. 385.

[73] For example, Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 424: 'if any man comme [. . .] to any stuehouse, and leve any herneys with the wif [. . .]' (B.6); 'if ther be any stueholders wif

In terms of thinking about what this reveals about the prostitute's position in relation to households and courts, a later emendation is useful. Just as the 'B' series tries to distinguish prostitutes from wives, an emendation dated 1457 seeks to distinguish wives from prostitutes:

> [H.1] Also, that no mannes wif dwelling within the said lordship be brought in to prisoun for scoolding like as commun wommen ben, but that the conestables yerely at the letes shal make there presentementes of theym.[74]

Presumably this is the ordinance that Martha Carlin has in mind when she says 'other women of the manor were not to be imprisoned for scolding "like as commun wommen ben"'.[75] For the purposes of my argument, though, it is important to note that it only refers to married women. As I argued with the Repertory Book entry, while 'wif' can have a wider meaning, a 'mannes wif' is clearly a married woman. The emendation states that such women who scold are not to be treated in the same way as prostitutes. This is presumably a reference to an ordinance in the 'B' series that 'if ani womman that liveth by hir bodi chide with any man or make a fray, she shal be in prison iij dayes and iij nightes, and make a fyne of vj.*s*. viij.*d*.'.[76]

Given that the treatment of unmarried women who are *not* common women is omitted, the woman's married status is surely relevant. One reading could be that, following the conceptualization of the prostitute as a single woman in the regulations, all unmarried women are seen as prostitutes. Another, though, is that there was perhaps no need to make such a distinction. Single women in the ordinances are regulated because they do not have husbands. The 'sengle woman' of B.22, who runs a brothel, has to deal directly with the court, not because she is a prostitute, but because she does not have a husband. In contrast, male brothel keepers are generally held to be responsible for their wives' actions.[77] Similarly, in H.1 the married

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that draweth any man in to hir hous without his wil, hir husbond and she schul ben amercyed to the lord' (B.8); see Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 130.

[74] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 428; Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 134: 'Also, that no man's wife dwelling within the said lordship be brought into prison for scolding as the common women are, but that the constables yearly at the leets shall make their presentments of them.'

[75] Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 216.

[76] Post, 'Fifteenth-Century Customary', p. 425 (B.14); Karras, 'Regulation of Brothels', p. 131: 'if any woman that lives by her body chides any man or makes a fray, she shall be in prison three days and three nights and make a fine of six shillings eightpence.' Karras comments on the 'combination or juxtaposition' of accusations of scolding and prostitution in court records: p. 124, n. 95.

[77] For example, see ordinance B.8 in note 73 above. An exception is A.4 which states that if either the stewholder or his wife prevent the bishop's officials searching their house

woman (‘mannes wif’) has a husband who is affected by her behaviour and also could be an intermediary custodian. There is a sense in the emendation that the married woman is a more respectable, less transient figure than the common woman; one who is already under governance. Rather than receiving summary justice, the married woman was to be presented at a later date and, thus, there was a chance that she might be found not guilty. It is also expected that she would still be around for such a hearing, whereas a common woman might have moved on: the ordinances, as we have seen, make it clear that prostitutes were to be allowed their freedom of movement and must not lodge in the brothel; the married woman resided with her husband and, therefore, in the meantime he could be her overseer. While the unmarried woman who is not a common woman is elided, she clearly bears relation to the model prostitute of the regulations, not in sexual behaviour but in the absence of a husband to answer for her and fix her place in society and in a household.

To summarize, then, it is not that the single woman is conceptualized as a prostitute, but that the prostitute is conceptualized as a single woman. This is made explicit in the ‘A’ series by the use of the term ‘single woman’. The ‘B’ series and the emendations, however, with their preference for terms like ‘common woman’ and ‘woman that lives by her body’, associate the unmarried lay woman with the prostitute by separating out married women and women of religion. The two groups, unmarried women and prostitutes, are not linked out of a concern for unmarried women’s sexual behaviour, but as a result of wider ideas of control and governance. The regulations map out a system where everyone is answerable to someone: the Bishop of Winchester’s officials to the leet court; the brothel keeper (the ‘great householder’), first to the Bishop of Winchester’s officials, then to the court; and the prostitute (the ‘single woman’) to officials and the court.[78] The married woman’s place in this structure is generally mediated by her husband, a household head. It is the unmarried woman’s singleness, and thus her position outside a normative household structure, that results in direct control by the local authorities.[79] As in the

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quarterly and removing any woman held there against her will, ‘thei *and either of them* to be brought in to the prison’: Post, ‘Fifteenth-Century Customary’, p. 423 (my italics). For translations see Karras, ‘Regulation of Brothels’, pp. 130, 129. The complexities of the legal position of married women, with particular reference to the customs of London, are usefully summarized in Caroline M. Barron, ‘The “Golden Age” of Women in Medieval London’, *Reading Medieval Studies*, 15 (1989), 35–58 (pp. 35–38).

[78] On the officials: Post, ‘Fifteenth-Century Customary’, pp. 419, 423–28 (A.1, A.4–5, B.4–5, B.9, B.17, B.19, B.24, B.26, B.29, B.58–60, C.1–5, D.1, F.1, G.3).

[79] My argument thus differs from those of both Karras and Goldberg. Like Karras, I believe that the authorities wanted to regulate the unmarried woman’s behaviour because she was ‘not the property of [. . .] a husband’, but I also contend that the concern was not just with sexual behaviour, but behaviour in a wider sense, as evidenced by the restriction on keeping a brothel and the ordinance about scolding. (This is closer to the position in Ruth Mazo Karras, ‘Prostitution and the Question of Sexual Identity in Medieval Europe’, *Journal of Women’s*

Repertory Book entries, the single woman is constructed as operating outside the dynamics of household governance.

Conclusion

The regulations share a number of similarities with the Repertory Book entries. Both envisage similarly sized households where the married male head is responsible for his dependants, family, and resident employees. His limited form of governance involves their moral and economic actions. While it might seem ironic to talk about a brothel keeper as a moral guardian, the regulations do gloss him as a 'goodman' and he was expected to control the behaviour of his dependants. In both, though, the prostitutes stand outside this household structure. In the Repertory Book entries we see that the male householders had complained to the ward courts about such women wandering into their locale, and the courts intended to react (albeit in a limited fashion as the brothels were not in their area of jurisdiction). One would expect the main regulation of the women to be set out in the customary for the Bishop of Winchester's court, as the brothels were in his liberty. The solution contained therein is not dissimilar to the situation that we glimpse in the Repertory Book entries, though; the women are not generally to be the male householders' concern but are to be dealt with by the court. Indeed, the regulations — by not allowing the women to board in the brothels or even to remain in the area for much of holy days — create the situation of prostitutes wandering outside the bishop's liberty into another body's area of jurisdiction.

This all suggests that while it was seen as desirable for local authorities in late medieval England to allow certain householders responsibility for governing their dependants, it was also recognized that some groups would fall outside the civic ideal of the good household. The texts that I have examined were chiefly concerned with unmarried prostitutes. However, the construction in the Southwark customary of the model brothel keeper as a householder who could not have prostitutes as part of his household also suggests recognition that a householder's powers could be abused. The ordinances set out to prevent or regulate practices that were of concern. It can be argued that many of these — for example, provision of food and drink, shared occupational activities, loans of money — relate to the brothel keeper's powerful position as a householder. While the ordinances are undoubtedly exceptional in a number of ways, they do allow us to step outside the civic ideal of the good household, which dominates so many of our sources. The use of the term 'single women' to describe prostitutes suggests not that all unmarried women were seen as

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History, 11 (1999), 159–77 (p. 167).) Also, while I agree with Goldberg that the term 'single woman' emphasizes 'the independent status of the women who worked in the stews' ('Pigs and Prostitutes', p. 185), it is not just a positive assertion of their independence from the brothel keepers but it is also a statement of their direct answerability to the courts.

whores, but that prostitutes were part of a wider group of people who were not part of this apparently normative household structure.[80] It is important that we think about this wider group too and not only because they might shed light on the exemplary model of the household.

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[80] For a brief discussion of the other two-thirds, see P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Household and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Towns: Some English Evidence', in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities*, ed. by Carlier and Soens, pp. 59–70, esp. pp. 59–60. For an earlier case-study approach, see Cordelia Beattie, 'A Room of One's Own? The Legal Evidence for the Residential Arrangements of Women Without Husbands in Late Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century York', in *Medieval Women and the Law*, ed. by Noël James Menuge (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 41–56.

Household Economics: Money, Work, and Property

Preface

P. J. P. GOLDBERG

The question of how medieval households and the people who live and work within them make their livelihood and survive the vicissitudes of uncertain economies offers no easy answers. All too often work activities are invisible, or at least but fleetingly and occasionally observed in the documentary record. This is especially true of unwaged work such as might be undertaken by 'dependent' members of the household, whether working the family holding, tending livestock, selling produce or the products of the workshop, caring for children, cooking, cleaning, mending clothes, or a myriad of other activities essential to the survival of the household as a social unit. Work activities that are readily documented may not be as representative or typical of the range of tasks household members individually and collectively actually engaged in. Thus, waged work is generally well documented either in the form of (primarily institutional) accounts, labour legislation and the litigation that follows, or private litigation resulting from labour contracts that have gone wrong. Similarly civic ordinances and like regulation focused on particular work activities and again generated litigation against those in breach of these regulations. Urban authorities in particular seem frequently to have legislated in relation to the retailing of goods, especially foodstuffs, and we once again notice those in breach of such ordinances in ways that lead us, perhaps erroneously, to suppose that such activity was the norm rather than the exception.

No less problematic is the degree to which the documentary evidence leaves invisible or occluded the actual membership of the household as an economic unit. All too often legal and fiscal sources record adult male 'heads', be they tenants, taxpayers, plaintiffs, defendants, etc., but ignore other members of the household who are constructed as dependants.[1] Married women and the young tend to be particularly invisible. As a consequence it becomes even more difficult to explore the degree to which, and the diverse ways in which, different members of the household contributed individually or collaboratively to the household economy. What is apparent, however, is that there was no one model. The composition of household groups varied between different regions of Europe, between different status groups, between different local economies, and over time. Even individual households can be observed to have changed over time, a process that has been dubbed the 'development cycle'.[2] Similarly we should expect at least as great variation in the ways that households made their livelihoods, as is reflected in the four studies that follow. These range back in time variously from the households of a fifteenth-century Portuguese fishing village, through modest English peasant agriculturalist households on the eve of the Black Death, to the mid-thirteenth-century household of the dowager Countess of Lincoln.

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[1] Cf. Cordelia Beattie's discussion of poll tax evidence in 'The Problem of Women's Work Identities in Post Black Death England', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by James Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg, and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 1–19, esp. pp. 4–10.

The four papers between them thus cover a span of some two and a half centuries. They represent two very different regions of Europe: Isabel Franco and Arnaldo Melo focus on Portuguese sources, whilst Chris Briggs and Louise Wilkinson use English material. Painting with a broad brush, several scholars of late years have suggested that these might be representative of two contrasting cultural regions identified as 'north-western Europe' and 'southern' or 'Mediterranean Europe' and characterized by very different householding and labour systems.[3] The papers also reflect social diversity. Melo focuses on the evidence for urban workers, including craftsmen and merchants; Briggs is concerned solely with peasants, and middling and poorer peasants in particular; Franco is likewise concerned with peasant society, but fishing families rather than agriculturalists; Wilkinson on the other hand scales the topmost heights of the English aristocracy. To a greater or lesser degree all raise or address issues relating to the broader problematic of how households supported themselves. Briggs is also concerned with the degree to which households depended on one another, further challenging the view that the peasant household was essentially introverted and self-sufficient. Another issue that is raised is the sexual division of labour. Melo in particular is concerned to explore the degree to which particular tasks were constructed as men's or women's work in late-fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century documents from the northern Portuguese port city of Porto (Oporto). Wilkinson, on the other hand, problematizes the role of an aristocratic widow as the head of a household — in the sense of a community of knights, ladies, and other servants — and the owner of extensive estates located in several parts of the British Isles.

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[2] Lutz K. Berkner, 'The Use and Misuse of Census Data for the Historical Analysis of Family Structure', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 5 (1975), 721–38.

[3] John Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective', in *Population in History*, ed. by V. D. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), pp. 101–43; Peter Laslett, 'Characteristics of the Western Family Considered over Time', in his *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 12–49; R. M. Smith, 'Geographic Diversity in the Resort to Marriage in Late Medieval Europe: Work, Reputation, and Unmarried Females in the Household Formation Systems of Northern and Southern Europe', in *Woman Is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c. 1200–1500*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), pp. 16–59.

Wilkinson treats a very distinctive kind of household economy. Margaret, widow first of John de Lacy, through whom she acquired her title of Countess of Lincoln, and second of Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, controlled dower lands that made her one of the most substantial, wealthiest, and well connected magnates of the reign of Henry III. It was for her, in order to help her run her large household and extensive and scattered estates, that Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235–53), wrote his *Rules*, which Wilkinson is able to redate to the period 1245x53. Clearly the creation of such an elaborate text begs questions of patronage: did the Countess commission the text or did the Bishop see advantage in attempting to win her patronage? The latter must be a strong possibility since the Countess Margaret enjoyed the friendship of Henry's queen, Eleanor of Provence. Indeed, we may propose that Margaret de Lacy was seen as an appropriate recipient of the text because she could be imagined to need the bishop's aid in a way that other (male) magnates did not. In fact it was Grosseteste that wanted her patronage and by writing the *Rules* for so important a lady he was able to enhance the authority and perhaps even the circulation of the text. The text thus reflects neither Margaret de Lacy's incapacity nor, despite the attempts to 'personalize' the work, the specific circumstances of her household and estate. Indeed, as Wilkinson points out, there is plenty of evidence for aristocratic widows — or even wives in the husbands' absences — running great households and managing large estates. We need not suppose that this was any the less true of the dowager Countess of Lincoln.

This last seems to be reflected in a conscious policy of land management which, as Wilkinson shows, saw the acquisition and consolidation of lands around inherited demesne properties, and especially property inherited from her mother, as opposed to dower properties: only five of a total of forty-five extant deeds relate to dower as opposed to inherited property.

There are also hints that Margaret de Lacy took a personal interest in the lives of her household employees which might follow from her involvement in the day-to-day administration of both household and estates. In particular Wilkinson cites two charters granting small parcels of land and property to her carter and her baker at Bolingbroke, a property she had inherited from her mother. The witnesses to these transactions included her falconer and her warrener. One is reminded here of the world, albeit a century later, of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell who remembered various of his household servants in his will and memorialized many more in his famous *Psalter*.[4] Her personal oversight of her English landed interests and indeed her estate employees would, moreover, have been facilitated by the peripatetic nature of her household. Her extensive Irish lands on the other hand were administered by agents in her employ, a pattern that was both quite common and owes little to gender.

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[4] Richard K. Emmerson and P. J. P. Goldberg, '"The Lord Geoffrey had me made": Lordship and Labour in the Luttrell Psalter', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Bothwell, Goldberg, and Ormrod, pp. 43–63.

The composition of Margaret de Lacy's household seems to reflect a greater aristocratic model in so far as a significant part of the membership was male. Here Wilkinson observes some correlation between the prescriptive norms of the *Rules* and practice so far as the extant evidence allows. As a great lady, however, Margaret had numbers of female companions, some of whom Wilkinson observes were wives or daughters of her seigniorial council. The implication is that members of the household might use their connection to find positions for close kin.[5] It also follows that the household would have been made up of large numbers of persons of different social status, some of whom constituted family units within the broader household structure, some of whom would move as the larger household moved, others of whom might more obviously be tied to particular properties. In the broader economic context, such large and complex aristocratic households were, of course, supported by the surpluses extracted from the kinds of peasant population described by Briggs.

Briggs draws upon records of peasant debt litigation contained in the extensive series of manor court rolls from the Cambridgeshire manor of Oakington, part of the estate of the ancient Benedictine abbey of Croyland or Crowland. Clearly these bald and often uninformative entries represent but a small part of a once much fuller picture of more or less informal loans and reciprocal credit arrangements whereby peasant households attempted to balance income and expenditure over the course of any given year and from year to year. Many such arrangements, we may surmise, were informal and would in any case have been honoured without resort to litigation. The instances that did result in litigation are, however, still informative since they demonstrate a willingness on the part of others to lend to comparatively poor peasant agriculturalists even at a time of comparative hardship. Briggs's concern here is twofold. First, he purposes to challenge the view that — following Kitsikopoulos's recent model — peasant households holding less than eighteen acres of arable land were scarcely viable. Second, he sets out to demonstrate that mechanisms of mutual support through lending or even borrowing from 'specialist' lenders allowed poorer landholders still to stay afloat. He argues that this was itself facilitated by the ready mechanisms allowed by the customary (manorial) court for debt litigation and the enforcement of debts.

Although Briggs's analysis is a valuable corrective to the view that peasant households were essentially self-sufficient, his source does not allow him to look within the household. We do not know who comprised the group of household members invariably represented in the court rolls by an adult male villein tenant, nor do we know whose activities prompted the debt for which the tenant was legally answerable. It would, moreover, be interesting to know if households were more likely to borrow at some stages in their development cycle — for example when the household comprised a couple with a number of young children — than at others. The maintenance contract, whereby elderly tenants surrendered land in return for regular material support, which was so much a feature of English peasant society before the plague and is also observed by Franco and Melo for later medieval Portugal, can indeed be seen as a particular form of reciprocal contract appropriate to a much later stage in the development cycle. Briggs himself suggests that periods of high taxation may underlie upward movements in the numbers of debt cases recorded. Inevitably some households would have been larger, and have had more mouths to feed, than others. Equally some households would have supported a wider range of economic activities, whether spinning, weaving, dairying, petty retailing, labouring, etc., than others. Broader patterns are, therefore, no more than suggestive. Ideally we need to know more about the specific circumstances of individual peasant households. We should, moreover, be still more wary of the value of categorizing peasants, like cereal packets, as 'small', 'middling', and 'large'.

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[5] Such a pattern is also apparent in households of lesser rank; cf. P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300–1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 179.

Melo's analysis of the evidence of occupational names in later medieval Porto is an attempt to look within the household and to better understand the household economy. Melo, like Wilkinson, is concerned with the problematical relationship between theory, here represented not by one specific prescriptive text, but by numerous documentary records of the gendered vocabulary of different work activities and actual practice in terms of who did what jobs. Just as Middle English contains numbers of occupational terms with the feminine suffix '-ster', as in brewster, webster, spinster, huckster, it does not follow that these jobs were exclusively women's work, although historically they may have been and spinning seems to have remained so through the Middle Ages and beyond. (The same is not true of brewing or weaving.) Thus Melo finds numbers of occupations recorded in feminine forms, but cannot always show whether women contemporary to the record specifically or exclusively performed these activities. Some of the patterns suggested by Melo are unsurprising because familiar from other cultural contexts. Thus women were conspicuous as *regateiras* or petty retailers, the Portuguese term being essentially the same as the Middle English regrater, someone who sells goods, particularly foodstuffs, in small, non-standard quantities. Women are also found as *pescadeiras* or fishwives, that is, women who prepared and marketed fish that their husbands had caught.

The association of women with the production and retail of food as an extension of their role within the domestic sphere is further noticed in respect of the baking of bread. Here Melo observes a pattern that differs somewhat from contemporary English evidence in that making and baking bread for the market seems to have been almost exclusively women's work.[6] The work of the women bakers (*padeiras*) was, moreover, supervised by women officials in the form of the *medideiras do pão* or bread measurers, whose function was to ensure the grain content of the bread. As was more generally true of medieval culture, such civic office holding on the part of women was very much a pragmatic exception. Interestingly, numbers of Porto's *padeiras* were married women whose husbands appear to have followed quite different occupations. What is much harder to tell is if they baked alongside assisting their husbands — something that is rarely visible in the records — or whether they pursued essentially different economic activities. Melo notes one instance of a *medideira* who was also a seamstress, which might suggest the latter possibility.

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[6] Cf. Helena Graham, '"A woman's work . . .": Labour and Gender in the Late Medieval Countryside', in *Woman Is a Worthy Wight*, ed. by Goldberg, pp. 126–48.

Franco's study of property holding in the fishing village of S. João da Foz, itself only a few miles from the city of Porto, follows on effectively from Melo's. She uses records of leases between the village's monastic landlord and village tenants for the second half of the fifteenth century. Here the standard lease was for three lives. The parties involved in the lease are carefully noted, and Franco pays particular attention to the ways in which names are recorded and the information that can be derived from these. In particular she observes how women are identified in relation first to their fathers and, upon marriage, to both father, as the groom's father-in-law, and husband. There is thus a sense in which women even after marriage remain associated with their natal family, but a more general sense, stressed by Franco, that women are always constructed as dependent on and subordinate to men. In terms reminiscent of Barbara Hanawalt's complementary spheres, she presents husbands as the main breadwinners and wives as helpmeets, ever ready 'à satisfaire toutes les nécessités du mari'.[7] It may be, however, that the legal conventions reflected in the documentary sources disguise a slightly more egalitarian relationship in practice. As Franco herself observes, the family enterprise was based on the partnership of husbands as fishermen and wives as *pescadeiras*. As such, it might be unhelpful to construct the wife, whose activities actually resulted in the realization of an income, as purely ancillary or subordinate.

Although Franco stresses the importance of the simple conjugal unit as central to the custom of tenancies for three lives — normally husband, widow, child — she also observes that the contracts themselves throw light on the existence of three-generation households containing on occasion two conjugal units. She further acknowledges the possible presence of unmarried siblings. Such arrangements Franco suggests were comparatively short-lived. Seen in the context of the concept of the development cycle, however, this is precisely what we would expect within a stem-family system that places so much emphasis on the transmission of family land and property through the male line intact from one generation to the next. Such a householding system is perhaps best known through the work of David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, but whereas widow remarriage in the society of early-fifteenth-century Florence seems very much to have been frowned upon, in the rather different society of Portuguese fishing villages, where the sea regularly cut short the lives of the menfolk, the remarriage of widows seems to have been rather more common.[8] This last is also a reflection of the lack of alternative forms of livelihood available to women in an economy where fishing was the main source of employment and where wives (and no doubt daughters) prepared and sold fish caught by husbands or fathers.

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[7] Hanawalt uses the evidence of coroners' rolls to suggest that men tended to work outdoors and women indoors: Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). For a critique of this analysis, see P. J. P. Goldberg, 'The Public and the Private: Women in the Pre-Plague Economy', in *Thirteenth Century England*, vol. III, ed. by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 75–89.

The four papers, despite their diversity, do reinforce certain common themes. First, there is always a problematic relationship between texts and social practice. Bishop Grosseteste's *Rules* may appear to give an insight into the functioning of a great aristocratic household and its associated estates, but it no more follows that this is how Margaret de Lacy ran her household than that, as a woman, she was otherwise incapable of such stewardship. Likewise, legal records, whether court records, civic memoranda, or leases, reflect particular legal conventions, but although such conventions are part of the social fabric and mental horizon of medieval contemporaries they again misrepresent social practice. Second, the evidence for actual social practice is often elusive. Cultures that identify males by occupation, but women by husbands and fathers necessarily provide many clues as to men's work, but far fewer to women's.[9] It follows that our own concern to probe within the household and observe its internal economic dynamics are liable to be frustrated. Third, it is a mistake to focus solely on the 'head' of household or even on the conjugal unit in order to pursue the question, 'how did families get by?' Both Briggs and Franco demonstrate that individuals had regularly to look beyond this unit for assistance, whether to other households or to the previous or next generation. It follows that any focus on the household is at risk of overlooking the very real, but not always very obvious ways in which households interacted and depended on one another. Finally, the papers alert us to the variety of households across time and space. Although as medievalists our instinct may be to identify a distinctive medieval household type associated with an equally distinctive medieval ideology, it may in practice be more helpful to assume difference and diversity and only then search for common patterns: the dowager Countess of Lincoln is hardly likely to have a shared sense of sisterhood or resentment of patriarchal oppression with her widowed tenants any more than the wives of Porto's merchants shared the poverty and unremitting toil of the fishwives whose merchandise they regularly consumed on days of fast.

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[8] D. Herlihy and C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

[9] Compare with Beattie, 'Problem of Women's Work Identities'.

Credit and the Peasant Household Economy in England Before the Black Death: Evidence from a Cambridgeshire Manor*

CHRIS BRIGGS

Introduction

Among historians of the agrarian economy of medieval England there is a long tradition of modelling the peasant household budget. Budget modelling involves building up an abstract picture of a household's income and expenditure using pieces of indirect information and informed guesswork. This tradition stretches back at least as far as Thorold Rogers in the nineteenth century. The latest example of the genre appeared in 2000.[1] Most of the models constructed in recent decades concern the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and all point to pessimistic conclusions. In spite of disagreements about the wider explanations for the condition of the pre-plague peasantry, most historians agree on the models' message: for a large proportion of rural households the task of meeting subsistence needs must

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* I wish to thank Cordelia Beattie, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, and Richard Smith for comments on earlier versions of this essay. Any errors are my own.

[1] James E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259–1793*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1866–1902), I (1866), 682–80; E. A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. by R. H. Hilton, trans. by Ruth Kisch (Oxford: Blackwell, 1956), pp. 230–42; R. H. Hilton, *A Medieval Society: The West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966; reissued 1983), pp. 121–23; J. Z. Titow, *English Rural Society 1200–1350* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969), pp. 78–93; Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England, c. 1200–1520*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 111–40; Harry Kitsikopoulos, 'Standards of Living and Capital Formation in Pre-Plague England: A Peasant Budget Model', *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000), 237–61.

have been generally difficult and in the worst years impossible. The most recent and most gloomy exercise in budget modelling suggests that a household required at least eighteen acres of arable land in order to ensure subsistence and adequate investment in the holding. The implication of this model is that approximately half the English peasantry faced at best the inability to afford basic capital goods, and at worst the prospect of starvation.[2]

Those who resort to household budget modelling do so through necessity because there is virtually no direct evidence about the peasant economy. The modellers are candid about the shortcomings of their approach, and have also done much to improve its usefulness by refining their techniques and incorporating more sophisticated assumptions. The models are a valuable tool and continue to form the basis of generalizations about rural livelihoods in the period. However, the focus here is on certain potentially important issues that are inadequately considered in the budget models as they are constructed at present.

Where, for all its merits, budget modelling fails is in regarding the household as a largely autarkic unit that does not engage in inter-temporal exchanges.[3] By this it is meant that the models assume that the household made its payments wholly from its own income generated in a single agricultural year, and that it made them all in full and without delay. It does not take account of the fact that the household being modelled is only one of many households all holding slightly differing endowments at particular points in time. These differences in endowments arose partly as a result of contrasting circumstances across the agricultural year and partly as a result of different households being at varying stages in their individual 'life cycles'. This situation makes it possible, in theory at least, that some households had a surplus when others had a shortfall in resources, allowing needs to be met by borrowing. Simply put, the household budget models ignore credit.

The potential importance of credit to the pre-plague peasantry has not been completely ignored by historians. However, the few brief considerations of the issue that do exist imply that credit made little difference to the plight of most rural households. The credit system of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is thought insufficiently developed to serve properly the needs of borrowers because it suffered from a lack of organization, a shortage of specialist lenders willing to risk their surplus cash, and a tendency for loans to be withdrawn at crisis periods when they were most needed.[4] Yet although these observations are in principle compelling, they cannot all be accepted with confidence because they are based on only a handful of detailed empirical studies.[5]

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[2] Kitsikopoulos, 'Standards of Living and Capital Formation', pp. 248–54.

[3] T. Besley, 'Savings, Credit and Insurance', in *Handbook of Development Economics Volume 3A*, ed. by Jere R. Behrman and T. N. Srinivasan (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 1995), pp. 2123–39.

[4] Mark Bailey, 'Peasant Welfare in England, 1290–1348', *Economic History Review*, 51 (1998), 223–51 (pp. 243–44). Dyer accepts that the budget models' tendency to treat the pre-plague household as an island may give a misleading impression of living standards, but concludes that credit ties and other networks offered little more than a 'palliative': *Standards of Living*, pp. 185–87.

This essay asks whether a fuller consideration of credit requires a revision of the picture provided by the budget models. It proceeds by evaluating evidence contained in local manorial records concerning the credit transactions of particular peasant households. The term household is understood here to mean a co-resident group, often including non-kin such as servants, whose members shared a collective economic life based, in the case of most households discussed here, on the agricultural holding. The best-documented member of the medieval English rural household was its head. As the head assumed responsibility in the manor court for the household's property, and for many of the actions of the other household members, he or she appears in the court rolls more frequently than subordinate household members.[6] Hence, although the debt plaints, and the court rolls in general, invariably record matters in terms of individuals, it is not necessarily a misnomer to speak of 'household credit'. In most cases, the named debtors were simply the household heads responsible for obligations that might in theory have been contracted by other members of the household.

Taking its lead from the eighteen-acre estimate of the minimum holding needed to ensure subsistence plus adequate investment, the primary aim of this essay is to investigate households that held some land — at least ten acres — but fell within the vulnerable group according to Kitsikopoulos's model. A small group of such households is identified. For convenience, these households with at least ten but less than eighteen acres are referred to below as 'middle peasants'.[7] No attempt is made to assess the size of particular households in terms of the number of members. The households will be considered as debtors or users of credit, but many of them also acted as creditors. After a discussion of the sources and methodology employed, an attempt is made to determine the proportion of known middle peasant households that received credit. Secondly, attention is focused on what and how much the middle peasants borrowed. Thirdly, a brief look at the creditors of the middle peasants is offered. Existing research has given inadequate consideration to the character of peasant credit. Although the place of borrowing in the peasant household economy cannot easily be quantified, the evidence gathered here indicates that its importance for the consumption and production strategies of households, in some localities at least, has been underestimated.

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[5] Clark's oft-cited study of Writtle (Essex) concerns the period 1382–1490, while her unpublished research on Norfolk debt litigation in the period 1270–1409 is focused primarily on debts contracted by traders across a relatively wide region: Elaine Clark, 'Debt Litigation in a Late Medieval English Vill', in *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, ed. by J. A. Raftis (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 247–79; Elaine Gravelle Clark, 'Medieval Debt Litigation: Essex and Norfolk, 1270–1490' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977), pp. 193–277. More recently, the work of Phillipp Schofield has resulted in increased attention to peasant credit: Phillipp R. Schofield, 'L'endettement et le crédit dans la campagne anglaise au moyen âge', in *Endettement paysan et crédit rural dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne: Actes des XVII^es^ journées internationales d'histoire de l'abbaye de Flaran, Septembre 1995*, ed. by M. Berthe (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1998), pp. 69–97; *Credit and Debt in Medieval England c.1180–c.1350*, ed. by P. R. Schofield and N. J. Mayhew (Oxford: Oxbow, 2002).

[6] For these features of the pre-plague rural household, see Judith M. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock Before the Plague* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 48–64. Other sources, such as poll tax returns, also emphasize the household head at the expense of other members: R. H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 27.

[7] The term 'middle peasant' is used here to refer specifically to households at Oakington (the case-study village) holding land in this size bracket. Of course, analyses of the English

Sources and Methodology

Before the era of plentiful probate records, the best source of information on rural credit consists of the plaints of debt that were just one of the many kinds of business transacted in manor courts.[8] (The terms plaint, case, and action are used interchangeably here to mean 'civil lawsuit'.) This essay is based on the court rolls of Oakington (Cambridgeshire). The lord of Oakington manor was Crowland Abbey, and its court was attended not just by Oakington residents but also by the tenants of the abbey's nearby manors of Cottenham and Dry Drayton. The recorded credit transactions of Oakington residents are more plentiful overall than those of Drayton or Cottenham residents. It is probable also that the Oakington credit market is more faithfully reflected in the court rolls than those of the other two places. This is based on the assumption that the extra distance residents of Cottenham and Drayton had to travel to the Oakington court resulted in a greater propensity for them to eschew use of that court and to use other local courts for their debt litigation. Attention will therefore be focused on plaints involving Oakington debtors only.[9] Oakington lies four miles northwest of Cambridge and is located in the upland part of the county, some distance from the southernmost extent of the medieval fenland. It was a parish of divided lordship

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peasantry have traditionally adopted a tripartite approach, in which the 'middle peasants' are usually considered to have held around fifteen acres: M. M. Postan, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: England', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. I, *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*, ed. by M. M. Postan, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 617–32; Zvi Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270–1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 74–93.

[8] On court rolls generally, see *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, ed. by Zvi Razi and Richard Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[9] An individual's place of residence (i.e. Oakington, Cottenham, or Dry Drayton) has been established on a case-by-case basis using a range of court roll evidence.

in which the land not belonging to Crowland manor formed a complex arrangement of smaller estates.[10] The court rolls form an almost unbroken series for the early fourteenth century, and can be supplemented by a rental of 1344, which groups tenants according to their holdings.[11] Oakington was an open-field community dominated by arable farming. From the rental, plus the diverse entries in the court rolls, it is possible to gather information about those households revealed by the debt plaints to have acted as creditors and debtors, such as their landholdings and other circumstances.

At this point it is worth providing an indication of the main difficulties involved in using records of debt litigation to study credit. Crucially, it is for the most part possible to consider defaulted loans only (that is, debts), rather than all credit transactions ever initiated. The central problem is thus that of deciding what the surviving debt plaints tell us about the number and character of the unknown totality of credit ties. Also relevant are doubts about whether the defaulted transactions that resulted in lawsuits are representative of all loans contracted within the jurisdiction of a particular manor court. These doubts about typicality relate both to the size and subject matter of the debts and to the individuals involved in them.

As this implies, the court roll does not provide a neutral 'window' onto the rural credit market. Local legal institutions, as well as capital availability, were an important influence on the level and character of lenders' activity. A court could itself either stimulate or discourage the formation of contracts within local society in accordance with contemporary estimates of its ability to provide rapid and convenient civil justice and efficient enforcement and recording of its decisions. In these respects each manor court was a unique institution liable to different rates of internal procedural change over time, with consequent effects on surrounding credit networks. There is evidence to show that in some places there was pressure 'from below' to improve the efficiency of the manor court as a debt recovery body. One such place was Oakington, where beneficial changes of this kind can be traced from the 1330s.[12] The effects of these institutional changes on the behaviour of creditors and debtors will briefly be returned to below.

The other main difficulties facing an investigation of credit using private lawsuits concern a basic lack of information in several important areas. For example, very few plaints provide detail about where, when, and on what terms credit was extended. Crucially, there is little or no information on the charging of interest. Also, although we are sometimes told what was lent, we are hardly ever told what it was used for. Some of these limitations will be apparent in what follows.

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[10] *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, ed. by L. F. Salzman and others, 10 vols (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1938–2002), IX (1989), 195–99.

[11] Cambridge University Library, Queens' College, Boxes 3 and 4 (Oakington court rolls, numbers 1–5 and 12), and Box 8 (rental). Hereafter all court roll references are given by number of court roll and membrane and date of court session, e.g. 1/m.1 (12 March 1291). An edition of the rolls relating to twenty-three of the 274 court sessions of the period 1291–1350 for which records survive was published in Frances M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey: A Study in Manorial Organisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), pp. 333–91.

[12] Christopher Briggs, 'Rural Credit, Debt Litigation and Manor Courts in England, *c.*1290–*c.*1380' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2002), pp. 16–132.

Some debt actions and the parties involved in them were excluded from consideration because it seemed likely that the plaint arose from a malicious or mistaken claim rather than a genuine debt situation. Cases that resulted in outcomes of 'false plaint' or the exoneration of the defendant in respect of the whole of the alleged debt have therefore been discounted. Where post-mortem debt plaints brought against the estate of a deceased person were concerned, the decedent rather than the litigant who represented him or her in court (usually an executor) was counted as the 'real' debtor. In some credit transactions a third party or parties stood surety for the debtor concerning his obligations, and were thus liable themselves to be sued for the debt if default occurred, which sometimes happened. Care has therefore been taken to ensure the principal debtor is counted as the 'real' debtor, rather than his or her sureties. Also, debt plaints in which wages in arrears or payments owed for services performed (such as ploughing) were claimed have been excluded from the following analysis. This is because the relationship between creditor and debtor in these cases, which usually involved a servant claiming wages from an employer, cannot be treated in the same way as the relationship between creditor and debtor arising from, say, a loan.[13] Such debt plaints do not appear to have been numerous. Of 250 plaints from the period 1291–1349 that provide some indication, however slight, of the nature and content of the disputed debt, only eight were in this category. (These figures include all plaints, not just those involving Oakington debtors.)

What Proportion of Middle Peasant Households Borrowed?

The aim of this section is to assess whether, and to what extent, peasant households in Oakington that held at least ten acres but less than eighteen acres were engaged in the credit market. In order to do this it is necessary, first, to be able to identify households known to have occupied landholdings of this size, and, second, to be confident that any defaulted credit transactions of such households are likely to appear as litigation in the court rolls studied. In effect, this restricts the discussion to persons who were also villein (that is, servile) tenants of Crowland Abbey's manor in Oakington. For these peasants, information on landholding is available in the court rolls and the rental. Also, it can be assumed that, if they were sued for debt, this usually, if not invariably, took place in the court of their 'home manor'. In Oakington, a multi-manor parish, peasant households that were not tenants of Crowland Abbey undoubtedly existed, but their involvement in the local credit market cannot easily be studied.

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[13] Phillipp R. Schofield, 'Introduction', in *Credit and Debt*, ed. by Schofield and Mayhew, pp. 1–18.

This is because adequate documentation on their landholdings is unavailable, and the occasions on which they were sued for debt are much less likely to be faithfully represented in the Crowland court rolls. It should not be assumed from this necessary focus on manorial tenants, however, that local credit networks were confined by the boundaries of manor or even parish.

The Crowland manorial tenants that are the focus of this study were a fairly homogeneous group. They appear on the rental of 1344 as twenty-six different villein tenants, all described as ‘full-landed men’. The area of the standard full land occupied by each tenant is not specified on the rental. Frances Page’s investigation of the Oakington material led her to conclude each of these holdings was fifteen acres, but the evidence would appear in fact to suggest that their area was normally ten acres. Court roll entries, involving individuals known from the rental as full land tenants and recording the transfer of land, almost always give the acreage as ten acres. Sixteen such ten-acre holdings became vacant in 1349 as a result of tenant deaths, each of which undoubtedly represented a full land.[14] Unfortunately, a given contemporary acreage is only an approximate guide to the area in modern terms actually covered by a manorial holding.[15]

As well as the full lands, the manor contained seven customary holdings of five acres each, and six crofts and cottages.[16] There were no villein holdings larger than a full land. The rental shows only one individual to have occupied another holding on the Crowland manor in addition to a full land. This was John Lomb, who also held one five-acre holding, making around fifteen acres in total. Some of the holders of full lands in 1344 may also have held free or villein land from other lords. This was certainly possible in this parish of divided lordship. For one other Oakington estate, the 'Picot fee', contemporary details are available concerning tenants and their holdings, but none of the names of forty-three tenants of the 'Picot fee' in 1346–47 can be linked to those of the twenty-six holders of Crowland full lands.[17] The available evidence suggests, then, that the majority of the twenty-six holders of Oakington full lands (referred to hereafter as middle peasant households) had access to broadly similar amounts of land, and that few of them had holdings additional to their full lands.

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[14] Vacancies: 4/m.17 (25 July 1349); 5/m.1 (20 November 1349). The full lands corresponded to the twenty-six half-virgates listed in the Hundred Rolls of 1278–79: *Rotuli Hundredorum Temp. Hen. III et Edw. I*, ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley, 2 vols (London: Record Commission, 1812–18), II, 448. Page argued that the virgate in Cambridgeshire was twenty acres in area before 1336 and thirty thereafter. In support of this she cited two Oakington court roll entries, which she dated 1336, each of which records the transfer of ‘a messuage and fifteen acres, which make a half-virgate’. (The correct date of the court session Page cites is 28 October 1335 (3/m.21).) She concluded that all full lands of 1344 were half-virgates of fifteen acres. The holdings in the entries cited by Page are quite probably two of the full lands listed on the rental. However, the figure of ten acres for a full land is preferred here because the majority of entries describing the area of a holding known to be in this category — i.e. all those apart from the two cited by Page — say ten acres. There was perhaps something exceptional about the 1335 transfers. At any rate, the discrepancy shows the looseness with which land measurements were used. See Page, *Estates*, pp. 79–89. Even if the area on the ground covered by the full lands was actually nearer fifteen acres than ten acres, all the households on the rental except one (that of John Lomb) would still be below the eighteen-acre threshold.

[15] P. D. A. Harvey, ‘Introduction’, in *The Peasant Land Market in Medieval England*, ed. by P. D. A. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 7–18.

[16] There were also twelve free tenements of various sizes which are ignored for the purposes of this investigation since none of the holders of these tenements is recorded in the court rolls as a debtor in the period studied. This is unsurprising, as members of this group of free tenants are especially likely to have been sued in non-manorial jurisdictions for any debts they may have owed.

TABLE 1. LANDHOLDING CHARACTERISTICS OF OAKINGTON DEBTORS, 1339–49

Property held	**No. tenants on 1344 rental**	**No. debtors**	**No. debt plaints as debtor**
Full land (middle peasants)	26	12	65
Five-acre holding	6	2	9
Croft/cottage	6	2	2
Not on rental	–	16	23
Total	38	32	99

Sources: see note 11 above

In order to determine the extent of the Oakington middle peasants' involvement in credit arrangements, the list of twenty-six names was compared with the list of thirty-two individual Oakington debtors who appeared in ninety-seven debt plaints during a period extending five years before and after the date of the rental (1339–49).[18] As Table 1 shows, twelve of the twenty-six middle peasants (46.2%) can be identified on the list of debtors in this period.[19] A few middle peasants were involved in relatively large numbers of plaints. Geoffrey King and Andrew Noteman, for example, appeared as debtors in eighteen and twelve plaints respectively. The median number of debt plaints featuring a middle peasant debtor was 3.0. A further three middle peasants were sued for debt outside this time period: Walter Harger in 1324 and 1328; William son of Roger in 1334; and John Lomb in 1334, 1337, and 1351.

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[17] 'Picot fee': BL, Additional MS 5845, fols 63–66 (William Cole's copy of the Crowland Leiger; see G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London: Longmans Green, 1958), p. 35).

[18] In Table 1 a total of ninety-nine plaints appears because two plaints featured joint debtors from different tenant groups (e.g. one middle peasant and one five-acre tenant), causing those plaints to appear twice in the Table.

[19] If cases terminating in 'false plaint' or the exoneration of the defendant are included, the figure is seventeen persons (65.4%).

The number of middle peasants sued for debt in the period 1339–49 represents the minimum figure for the proportion of households within the group actually engaged in borrowing. It is likely that other middle peasant households that secured credit did not appear in litigation because they successfully paid off all debts, or, perhaps less probable, were sued in a different court when they did default. Unless we accept the unlikely proposition that every individual who contracted even a single debt also defaulted and appeared in court — which would probably be to underestimate fourteenth-century rural lenders' judgement and knowledge of their clients — it can be concluded that the actual proportion of middle peasant households acting as debtor was certainly higher than the 46.2% suggested in Table 1. It should be noted, however, that there is a danger of exaggerating the degree to which the total of extant credit relationships exceeded the number of surviving debt plaints of the years 1339–49. It is probable that both defaults by debtors and attempts by creditors to sue to recover outstanding debts were relatively more numerous in the early part of the period 1339–49 than at other times in pre-plague Oakington, as a consequence of heavy taxation in 1337–41.[20]

The available evidence suggests that the other Oakington households revealed as borrowers by debt plaints begun in this period were 'small peasants', that is, they occupied arable holdings under ten acres. Some of them appear on the rental of 1344 as tenants of the smaller Crowland manorial holdings (Table 1). Four of the households listed on the rental either as tenants of five-acre holdings or of crofts or cottages with plots of up to five acres of arable land attached appeared in the court as debtors in this period, out of a total of twelve at risk to appear. (There were actually a total of seven five-acre holdings on the rental, but one of them is excluded from Table 1 because its tenant was John Lomb, who also held a full land.) This demonstrates that at least one third of a group of households known to have occupied less than ten acres was able successfully to seek credit.

The landholding status of the sixteen borrower households who do not appear on the rental is rather miscellaneous, but few of them appear substantial landholders. No record of landholding of any sort can be traced in the court rolls for eight of the sixteen. Little is known about these persons, and some of them were perhaps genuinely landless and consequently quite poor. Thomas Palgrave, for example, appears in the court rolls only in connection with debt litigation, and a plaint of 1339 against him was dropped because Thomas failed to turn up and could not be compelled to appear because he had nothing by which he could be attached.[21] In some instances, of course, the absence of information may arise from the fact that the individuals concerned were tenants of other lords. Although little is known about them from the rental or court rolls, it is probable that a few such persons held land about which we have no information. Evidence of land held by the remaining eight debtors can be found in the court rolls. One of these, William Kitson, provides another example of a middle peasant borrower. He was recorded in July 1349 as the deceased tenant of a messuage and ten acres (that is, a full land), yet although he probably occupied that holding in 1344 when the rental was made, no one of that name appears on the document.[22] The recorded landholdings of the remaining borrowers were all smaller than William's, suggesting that no one in this group had access to as much land as a middle peasant, although it is hard to build up a complete picture for each debtor.

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[20] On taxation, see W. M. Ormrod, 'The Crown and the English Economy, 1290–1348', in *Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Bruce M. S. Campbell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 149–83.

[21] 3/m.32 (19 October 1339).

Thus, although an indication is available of the extent of borrowing among the twenty-six middle peasants, it is difficult using the Oakington evidence to determine whether such households engaged in more or less credit transactions than large or small peasants. One would, of course, expect a household's creditworthiness to have been linked to the size of its landed holdings. There were no large peasants holding in excess of Kitsikopoulos's eighteen-acre threshold among the Crowland villeins, so the borrowing of this group cannot be studied here. Small peasants with less than ten acres certainly borrowed, although the limited evidence presented here concerning debt appearances among the group of twelve small peasant households suggests that the proportion of such households engaging in credit transactions was smaller than in the case of the middle peasants. The information concerning the debtors not listed on the rental is less illuminating because it is not known how representative they were of the wider borrower population. A further difficulty is that the likelihood of being sued for debt in the manor court was different for each category of peasant household. Large peasants, for example, may appear only rarely as debtors because they paid off their debts more easily, while it may not have been worthwhile suing small or landless peasants because they had insufficient property.[23]

Finally, it should be observed that only two females appeared among the debtors in this period. This is probably because the number of landed female-headed households in the locality was relatively low. Only one of the fifty individual tenants on the rental — Cecilia King, holder of a full land — was female. There were three instances of husbands and wives appearing together in court as debtors, but those couples were counted as belonging to a single household.

What Was Borrowed?

This section considers what and how much middle peasants borrowed. It also attempts to compare middle peasants with other debtor households in this respect. The amount of data available is restricted because the nature of the debt is not recorded for all plaints. However, some creditors made several claims, usually a combination of debts in cash and kind, within a single plaint. Where this occurs, each item is counted as a separate debt.

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[22] 4/m.17 (25 July 1349). Kitson's debts are excluded from Table 2, since, unlike the other debtors who do not feature on the rental, he was evidently not a 'small peasant'.

[23] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 186.

Of 125 debts owed by Oakington residents in the period 1291–1349, seventy-seven are expressed as a sum of money, thirty-seven as a volume of grain, and eleven concern livestock or other goods.[24] The first debts investigated are those expressed in money. Three of these debts represented rent arrears of an unspecified property. It is probable that all seventy-four remaining money debts arose from one or other of the two main categories of credit transaction identified by existing studies — credit sales and loans — but it is often difficult to tell which.[25] It is explicitly stated that fourteen debts arose from credit sales. These were deferred payments in which debtors owed money for commodities they had received at an earlier date, primarily grain. Six of the money debts were definitely loans, since the relevant court roll entry included the terms *mutuum* or *prestitum*. However, the remaining fifty-four money debts (70.1% of the total) simply mention the sum owed, and there is nothing to indicate whether the origin of the debt lay in a loan or a sale. It must be assumed that this group of obligations contained a mixture of debts from sales and debts from loans, perhaps at a ratio of just over two to one, like that of known sales to known loans. This evidence is too ambiguous either to support or refute the prevailing view, mentioned in my introduction, of a pre-plague credit market largely confined to sales credit. Yet what evidence there is does suggest that the role of cash loans was not necessarily marginal, as they may be estimated at around one third of all money debts.

TABLE 2. SIZE OF MONEY DEBTS OF OAKINGTON DEBTORS (PENCE)

	No. debts	**Median**	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**	**Coefficient of variation**
Middle peasants 1339–49[a]	27	48.0	55.2	43.2	78.3
Small peasants 1339–49[b]	11	12.0	31.2	54.9	176.0
All debts 1339–49	39	38.0	47.3	47.1	99.6
All debts 1291–1338	38	28.0	92.3	164.7	178.4

Sources: see note 11 above

Notes: *a* holders of full lands of ten acres on 1344 rental

b holders of five acre holdings, crofts, and cottages on 1344 rental plus debtors not on rental (excluding William Kitson who owed one debt of 14*d*.)

Table 2 provides information on the average monetary value of debts owed by borrowers. The distributions around the mean are generally large. There was a wide range of debt size in the period 1291–1349, with sums from 1¾*d*. up to 52*s*., though in the period 1339–49 the largest was 16*s*. 2*d*.[26] The wide range probably reflects the varied purposes for which people borrowed, with smaller consumption credit coexisting alongside larger cash sums sought for production or investment. Given the presence of a few extreme values, the median figure is the most reliable. Table 2 allows the money debts of the middle peasants to be compared with those of small peasants (that is, households recorded on the 1344 rental as occupants of smaller holdings, plus those not appearing on the rental, most if not all of which, as noted, held less land than the middle peasants). Figures for the earlier period 1291–1338 are also given for comparison.

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[24] ‘Grain’ includes peas and beans (legumes).

[25] Forms of credit are usefully summarized in Schofield, ‘L’endettement’, pp. 76–84.

Table 2 indicates that the Oakington middle peasants borrowed more on average than the small peasants. This suggests that the more land a household held, the more it was able to borrow. The middle peasant's median money debt of 4*s*. may not appear especially large, but it is possible that households would have been able to contract several debts of this size simultaneously.[27] Two loans of this size, for example, would have more than covered the annual cash rent of a full land holding, a maximum of 6*s*. 3½*d*. Five such loans would have facilitated the purchase of all the items on the model household's annual investment bill, as estimated by Kitsikopoulos.[28]

TABLE 3. SIZE OF GRAIN DEBTS OF OAKINGTON DEBTORS (BUSHELS)

	No. debts	**Median**	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**	**Coefficient of variation**
Middle peasants 1339–49[a]	12	9.0	11.5	9.8	85.2
All debts 1339–49	16	6.0	10.2	9.1	89.2
All debts 1291–1338	[b]20	8.0	9.8	7.9	80.6

Sources: see note 11

Note: *a* holders of full lands of ten acres on 1344 rental

b one debt excluded because not recorded in quantifiable manner

What was the situation for debts in grain? The number of grain debts available for study is unfortunately rather small. It is assumed that most of the grain debts were loans, although only one such debt makes this explicit.[29] There is no evidence of the purchase price advance — like the deferred payment, a form of sales credit — in which the creditor paid in advance for goods to be delivered later. Table 3 shows the average volume of grain owed by Oakington middle peasants in 1339–49, and by all Oakington debtors in this period and the earlier one (1291–1338). The median volume owed by Oakington middle peasants was nine bushels, or just over one quarter of grain. Unfortunately, only four debts are recorded for the small peasants in the period 1339–49, preventing a proper comparison with the middle peasants. Significantly, though, three of those debts, one at two bushels and two at four bushels, were smaller than the middle peasant median, though a fourth — two quarters of malt owed by William Pappe in 1342 — was larger.[30]

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[26] In theory, debts of 40*s*. and over ought to have been sued with a writ in the royal courts: John S. Beckerman, 'The Forty-Shilling Jurisdictional Limit in Medieval English Personal Actions', in *Legal History Studies 1972*, ed. by Dafydd Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), pp. 110–17.

[27] On this point, see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp. 170–80.

[28] 17*s*. 7¼*d*.: Kitsikopoulos, 'Standards of Living and Capital Formation', p. 249.

[29] 4/m.15 (5 December 1347).

The figure of just over one quarter of grain for the average middle peasant debt does not mean much on its own, but it appears a fairly substantial amount, representing around two-thirds of the grain component of one adult's annual diet depending on the type of grain involved.[31] Some, at least, of the Oakington middle peasants used the grain they borrowed for brewing, possibly on a commercial scale. Over half their grain debts involved barley or drage (a mixture of oats and barley), which in malted form were used in brewing. The debt cases provide possible hints that the specialized production and sale of malt took place at Oakington, and that credit mechanisms played a role in this. Nine of the thirty-seven Oakington grain debts of the period 1291–1349 concerned malt, and six of the fourteen deferred payments were owed for malt purchases.[32] Not all loans to middle peasants were intended to provide the raw materials for malt production or brewing, but some undoubtedly were.

Lenders

Thirteen of the twenty-six Oakington middle peasant households recorded on the 1344 rental acted at times as creditors, including seven of the twelve households recorded as debtors between 1339 and 1349. This supports the idea that while in some years a household might have a budget deficit, in others it could have a surplus available for lending. Investigation of prominent creditors and debtors reveals that a substantial proportion of credit ties involving middle peasants linked them with other households, of roughly equal economic status, resident in their own villages.[33]

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[30] 3/m.49 (17 October 1342).

[31] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp. 152–53.

[32] On the later importance of Oakington as a source of malt supplies for Cambridge colleges, see John Lee, 'The Trade of Fifteenth-Century Cambridge and its Region', in *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), pp. 131–35.

[33] Chris Briggs, 'Creditors and Debtors and their Relationships at Oakington, Cottenham and Dry Drayton (Cambridgeshire), 1291–1350', in *Credit and Debt*, ed. by Schofield and Mayhew, pp. 127–48.

However, given the probability that the loanable surpluses of individual middle peasant households were never large, and in difficult periods generally non-existent, many borrowers in this category must frequently have looked beyond their peers to creditors who were not subject to the same constraints. As noted in my introduction, one objection to the idea that credit was widely used by medieval rural households is that such substantial, more specialized lenders were largely absent, with the result that the supply of loans was insufficiently large. Did the borrowers discussed really lack access to such lenders?

Attention is focused firstly on lenders resident outside the borrower's village. Schofield has investigated borrowing beyond the manor and identified a tendency for richer peasants to use extrinsic credit to supply needs that could not be met by capital resources within the home village.[34] Obviously, not all outsiders were specialist providers of larger loans, but they might include likely candidates for that role, such as merchants from nearby towns. In the Oakington rolls, five debt plaints in the period 1338–49 featured creditors whose specified places of residence lay elsewhere. These creditors were John le Clerk of Over, William Waryn of Graveley, Richard Kent of Histon, and Thomas Wych of Cambridge, a creditor in two plaints. All places concerned lay within a ten-mile radius of Oakington. In all five instances, the borrower was a middle peasant rather than a small peasant. The debts to outsiders were varied in size, comprising 11*d*. owed to Clerk, 4*s*. to Waryn and a total of forty-five bushels of grain in two debts owed to Wych.[35] Although the small total of cases suggests external lenders were not significant, it is possible that relying on specification of a place of residence in the court roll underestimates the presence of outsiders. Scribes did not invariably note that an individual was an outsider.[36] For instance, three references to the second debt plaint brought by Thomas Wych were made in the Oakington rolls for court sessions of October 1346, November 1346, and February 1347, but it was only in the third reference to the plaint that Wych's place of residence was noted. Had the plaint concluded after a single appearance, his status as an outsider would have been hidden.[37] There were other lenders who appeared in the court only in connection with debt litigation, and it is plausible that at least some of those were outsiders whose place of residence was for some reason omitted from the record. At any rate, even if attention is restricted to persons whose place of origin is given, it is clear that at Oakington middle peasants were the primary clients of outsiders.

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[34] Phillipp R. Schofield, 'Access to Credit in the Early Fourteenth-Century English Countryside', in *Credit and Debt*, ed. by Schofield and Mayhew, pp. 106–26.

[35] Clerk: 3/m.30 (2 November 1338); Waryn: 3/m.44 (8 December 1341); Wych: 3/m.28 (16 March 1338) and 4/m.9 (11 October 1346). Details on the debt owed to Kent are not available.

[36] J. A. Raftis, *Warboys: Two Hundred Years in the Life of an English Mediaeval Village* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), pp. 133–42, also concludes that non-residents were not always expressly identified as such in court rolls.

[37] 4/m.9 (11 October 1346); 4/m.10 (22 November 1346 and 17 February 1347).

There were also specialized creditors, resident within the borrowers' own villages, who lent more routinely and frequently than the average middle peasant household, even if the individual loans they made were not especially large. Such persons are described here as specialists because they were involved in debt plaints that were numerous enough and featured enough different debtors to show that a substantial group of clients was being served. Thus rich members of the peasant elite who were often heavily involved in lending may be placed in this category. However, the credit activities of such specialist lenders (including elite peasants), especially those active in East Anglian communities, have tended to be seen not as a means of meeting the liquidity needs of peasants with middle holdings, but as part of a process of economic polarization within the village.[38]

The most obvious example of a specialist lender at Oakington was John Rous, the holder of a substantial freehold estate of at least fifty-eight acres.[39] His usual representative in debt litigation was Geoffrey, *serviens* of John Rous (or Geoffrey atte Rous), who is named as plaintiff in six cases between 1330 and 1349. *Serviens* in this context probably meant bailiff or estate manager. John acted as plaintiff himself in three further debt plaints in these years. Nine defaulted contracts therefore reveal John as ultimate creditor, a relatively high number for any single individual, and his total lending activity may have been on quite a considerable scale as he is likely to have made further loans that do not appear in the records. In six of the nine plaints the borrower was a middle peasant. The four recorded debts owed to John as ultimate creditor were not large, comprising sums of 13*d*. and 20*d*., two bushels of peas, and two quarters of malt.[40] His importance as a lender probably lay rather in the number of different loans he could make and the conditions in which he was capable of making them.

Other lenders enjoying resources greater than the rank and file of Oakington middle peasants and active in deploying those resources in lending included William Kateline, a free tenant of the abbot in Oakington with at least twenty-five acres.[41] William appeared as creditor in four plaints between 1341 and 1348, three of which involved a middle peasant as debtor. The recorded debts owed to him were again unremarkable in size, being a sum of 3*s*. 10*d*., and 11*s*. for grain purchased.[42] The presence of even a few creditors like John Rous and William Kateline may have made a dramatic difference to the ability of middle peasant households to obtain credit.

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[38] Phillipp R. Schofield, 'Dearth, Debt and the Local Land Market in a Late Thirteenth-Century Village Community', *Agricultural History Review*, 45 (1997), 1–17; Schofield, 'Access to Credit', pp. 116–21.

[39] Rous held fifty-eight acres three rods of the Picot fee: BL, Add. MS 5845, fol. 64; cf. *Victoria History of Cambridgeshire*, IX, 197–99. He is also almost certainly the man who held substantial lands a dozen or so miles away in Clopton and Bassingbourn in the 1340s: *Victoria History of Cambridgeshire*, VIII, 17, 35–36.

[40] 3/m.49 (17 October 1342); 4/m.8 (29 November 1345); 4/m.10 (17 February 1347); 4/m.13 (15 October 1348).

[41] William apparently held only a croft containing one acre from the abbot, but he is recorded as holder of twenty-four acres three and half rods of the Picot fee: BL, Add. MS 5845, fol. 63.

Conclusion

This investigation suggests that a sizeable share of Oakington peasant households holding ten to fifteen acres of arable land were able to secure credit before the Black Death. They did this, in part, by seeking out individuals with a potentially superior capacity to lend, such as non-residents of the village and 'specialist' lenders. Schofield has argued that access to substantial supplies of credit, including credit intended for production and investment, was restricted to wealthy villagers, who used it to consolidate their position of local influence.[43] The picture for Oakington appears somewhat different, since peasant households of what can best be described as middling wealth were conspicuously involved in transactions situated towards the more formal end of the spectrum of village credit. Small peasants holding under ten acres also borrowed, but there was clearly a link between a household's creditworthiness and the amount of land it held since those with ten to fifteen acres were able to borrow more on average than the small peasants. As in many other societies, this link undoubtedly derived in large part from the use of land as collateral for loans, although in the English medieval context most aspects of how the relationship between the peasant land and credit markets worked in practice remain unexplored in detail.[44]

One could argue, of course, that the very fact that the households studied were being sued for debt suggests that the strategy of borrowing to improve one's position was unsuccessful. Indeed, there is a tendency among those historians of the pre-plague peasantry who have touched on the subject to regard indebtedness purely as an index of poverty.[45] Yet this is a limited view that makes little effort to reconstruct the credit system as a whole. Of course, some credit relationships failed due to the inability of households to repay, but this should not distract attention from the existence of a potentially much wider network of successful loans. While indebtedness was sometimes a sign of a more general catastrophe for the household concerned, leading on occasion to crisis sales of land, one should not assume that every appearance of a debtor in court was the result of dire poverty. It might rather be a calculated unwillingness to discharge an obligation until a more convenient time. Litigation against a reluctant rather than incapable debtor was begun largely as a potent reminder to begin repayments, and there was little intention that court proceedings should be pursued to their conclusion. Many debtors took the opportunity to terminate proceedings quickly by paying for an amercement (or fine) to the lord for a 'licence to agree' (*licencia concordandi*) which removed the dispute from court, so a negotiated settlement could begin. Ninety-six of 367 debt plaints (26.2%) of the period 1291–1349 were terminated in this manner, and the median amercement paid by a debtor for a 'licence to agree' was just 2*d*.[46]

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[42] 3/m.50 (16 November 1342); 4/m.15 (28 January 1348).

[43] Schofield, 'Access to Credit', pp. 117–19.

[44] For comments on some of the rare examples of mortgages found in court rolls, see *Select Cases in Manorial Courts 1250–1550: Property and Family Law*, ed. by L. R. Poos and Lloyd Bonfield, Selden Society, 114 (London: Selden Society, 1997), pp. clxiii–clxvii.

[45] For example, Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death*, p. 79, which treats appearance as a debtor as characteristic of the middling peasant who 'did not do well', and appearance as creditor as characteristic of the more successful middling peasant.

Middle peasant Geoffrey King of Oakington was sued eighteen times for debt between 1339 and 1349. Instead of simply emphasizing that this shows he was carrying too much debt and heading for disaster, one should perhaps be struck by the fact that so many people were willing to continue lending to him. What is more, if peasants with ten acres like Geoffrey King were creditworthy enough to borrow on a frequent basis, then it is likely that an even better position was enjoyed by peasants who had more land but were still in the vulnerable group, according to the eighteen-acre estimate of the minimum subsistence holding. As well as arguing that middle peasants were important users of credit, this essay has also touched on some pessimistic assumptions regarding the overall character of the rural credit system in which those households were engaged. It has suggested that, in Oakington at least, 'specialist' lenders were active. There is little in the ambiguous evidence examined to contradict the suggestion that cash loans were less common than credit sales, but cash loans were not unimportant and can be estimated at a third of money debts. The issue of whether the supply of credit dried up when it was most needed is more difficult to tackle due to the lack of information on the date of initiation of credit relationships. Few would dispute, though, that loans must have been almost completely unavailable in the very worst periods such as the catastrophic second decade of the fourteenth century.

Finally, these observations on the overall character of the credit system may be concluded with some remarks concerning the advantageous institutional context in which much lending took place. Success in bringing lenders and borrowers together requires, among other things, measures to reduce the risks associated with default. There are grounds for emphasizing the advantages of the manor court in this context. A key difference between medieval England, in the period *c*. 1250–*c*. 1350 in particular, and some other agrarian societies is that the local courts — in combination with the other layers of the civil justice system that peasants sometimes used — provided rural England with an important means of regulating contracts and enforcing debt repayment. This is what has been referred to, in a slightly different context, as the manor court's role 'as an agency serving to reduce personal risk and uncertainty'.[47] As noted earlier, there is evidence that in Oakington and elsewhere there were periodic improvements made to the efficiency of the manor court as a debt recovery body. Perhaps these circumstances encouraged lenders to risk their cash to a greater extent than they might otherwise have done, and drove down the rate of any interest that was charged.

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[46] Figures for all plaints rather than just those with Oakington debtors. The figure of 26.2% is probably too low, since there were 131 plaints of the period 1291–1349 which indicate only that an interpersonal dispute was involved but give no information on its cause. Some of these 'unknown' plaints, seventy-one of which (54.2%) were concluded by 'licence to agree', were probably debt plaints terminated at an early stage.

This essay has shown that middle peasants were active borrowers, but it has not established the quantitative importance of credit for their household budgets.[48] To do so with any degree of accuracy is probably impossible due to the large number of unknowns surrounding the data on credit. It has also been concerned with one village only, and the situation for middle peasants wishing to borrow was possibly less favourable in other localities, especially those where the tendency of the court system to encourage the formation of contracts was not as great. Nonetheless, enough evidence has been gathered to suggest that in Oakington and places like it the position of households holding rather less than eighteen acres may have been substantially ameliorated in difficult years, if not in the very worst years, by their involvement in credit networks.

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[47] Richard M. Smith, 'The Manorial Court and the Elderly Tenant in Late Medieval England', in *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives*, ed. by Margaret Pelling and Richard M. Smith (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 39–61 (p. 56).

[48] Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer, 'The Peasant *Domus* and Material Culture in Northern Castile in the Later Middle Ages', in this volume, indicates that in northern Castile in the early sixteenth century, households of middling wealth were similar to those discussed here in having both a periodic need for credit and sufficient economic standing with which to secure it.

Women and Work in the Household Economy: The Social and Linguistic Evidence from Porto, *c.* 1340–1450

ARNALDO SOUSA MELO

In Portugal, studies about labour in medieval times, and particularly in relation to the family unit, are rare. The few that exist give us an insight into the occupations of women at that time, but they do not integrate them within the framework of the household as an economic unit.[1] I shall take a somewhat different approach. While discussing the urban scene of the artisans and merchants of Porto, I shall focus on what can be discovered about the economic and social role of women in the household (understood as a unit of production — of goods and income).[2] In other words, I shall attempt to find out whether the activities of women coincide with those of the other household members (particularly husbands and fathers), whether they are complementary or related in any way, or whether women operated quite independently. For this purpose, I shall look at the occupations pursued by women and defined as such, but also at activities carried out by women that imply an economic role, such as making leasing contracts, lending money, or running their own businesses. First, however, I shall briefly discuss the economic and social character of the city, and the sources used in this essay.

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[1] The most important study is still that by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho nas cidades medievais portuguesas', in *Homens, Espaços e Poderes Séculos XI–XVI*, vol. I, *Notas do Viver Social* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1990), pp. 37–59.

[2] On this definition of the urban household, see, among many others, Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 5–8; Donata Degrassi, *L'economia artigiana nell'Italia Medievale* (Roma: Carocci Editore, 1998), pp. 43–48; several essays in *La Donna nell'economia secc. XIII–XVIII, Atti della 'Ventunesima Settimana di Studi' 10–15 aprile 1989* (Prato: Istituto internazionale di storia economica 'F. Datini', 1990); also, Claudia Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher no final da Idade Média (1250–1500)', in *História das Mulheres no Ocidente*, ed. by G. Duby and M. Perrot, vol. II, *A Idade Média*, ed. by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1993), pp. 390–410. On the rural household as unit of production, see bibliography in note 76 below. And on fishing communities near Porto, see Isabel Maria Madureira Franco, 'Les Dynamiques familiales et sociales dans un village de pêcheurs des environs de Porto (1449–1497)', in this volume.

In the late Middle Ages, Porto was already the second most important city in Portugal, after Lisbon.[3] It was a city whose economy was largely based on trade, above all maritime trade due to its geographical location four and a half kilometres from the mouth of the Douro River. This trade was with other parts of the kingdom but mainly with north-west Europe. This important international dimension was possible because Porto was the main commercial trading centre for the north of Portugal. A powerful elite, composed mainly of merchants with strong interests in international maritime trade, ruled the city. From the thirteenth century onwards, merchants from Porto had regular business with northern Europe, above all French, Flemish, and English ports (Harfleur, La Rochelle, Brugge, and London were common destinations), though contacts with Mediterranean commercial centres, both Christian and Islamic ones, also existed.[4] At the same time, the city developed its craft and industrial activities, partially in connection with the maritime trade. Some of the most important activities were in boat construction, textiles, gold-work, barrel-making, shoemaking, butchery, and other victualling industries. The provisioning of the city in essential goods was, like everywhere else in Europe, of great concern for the town government. Therefore, much attention was paid to the provision of bread, meat, fish, wine, and other essential goods, with price, quantity, and quality all being regulated. The documents used for this essay are thus much concerned with these subjects, such as the small-scale selling of goods by hucksters and fishwives.

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[3] For an overview of the medieval history of Porto — its economy, government, and social structure — see Armindo de Sousa, 'Tempos Medievais', in *História do Porto*, ed. by Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos (Porto: Porto Editora, 1994), pp. 118–253. This should be supplemented by A. H. Oliveira Marques, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos* XIV *e* XV, vol. IV of *Nova História de Portugal*, ed. by A. H. Oliveira Marques and Joel Serrão (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1987), pp. 74–75, 150–80; and Armindo de Sousa, 'Condicionamentos Básicos, 1325–1480', in *História de Portugal*, ed. by J. Mattoso, vol. II, *A Monarquia Feudal (1096–1480)* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1993), pp. 310–556.

[4] For example, the merchants of Porto and Lisbon signed a commercial treaty with the English king, Edward III, in 1353, which was only afterwards recognized by the Portuguese king, Afonso IV. However, previous commerce treaties existed between Portugal and England and since the late thirteenth century the presence of Portuguese merchants in England is well known. On the international Portuguese maritime trade, especially with England, France, and the Low Countries, see Patrícia Baubeta, 'Some Early English Sources of Portuguese History', *Estudos Medievais*, 9 (1988), 201–10; V. M. Shillington and A. B. Wallis Chapman, *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal* (London: [n.pub.], [n.d.]); A. H. Oliveira Marques, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, 2nd edn (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1993); see also Oliveira Marques, *Portugal na Crise*, pp. 150–80.

For this essay I focused on published sources referring to the town of Porto, so the research came to centre fundamentally on the years 1340–1450. The sources consist of *Livros de Vereações* and *Livros de Pergaminhos*, both held in the City Municipal Archives. *Vereações* are the *actae* of the city's governing body. In Porto, as in many Portuguese medieval towns, city officials held meetings twice a week, theoretically open to anyone who wished to participate in them. All the major issues, as well as the minor ones from everyday life, were discussed and dealt with at these meetings and, therefore, virtually any subject can appear in the *actae*.[5] Among them can be found problems and decisions regarding crafts. In Porto there are such documents from the late fourteenth century onwards; the published ones correspond to the years 1390–1449, but with many hiatus in between where the records are lost.[6] As for the published *Livros de Pergaminhos* (books of parchments), from the 'Arquivo Municipal do Porto' (town archives), they deal with the years from 1338 to 1424 (the few parchments from earlier years were not taken into account because they could distort the data with too wide a chronology).[7] The books consist of a variety of parchments that the council considered important enough to preserve. Some are from the royal chancellery, others are from local king's officers, and some are from the town council itself or written by the public notary. They also cover a huge variety of subjects. It should be emphasized that all the sources used in this paper are in Portuguese and it is worth mentioning that, in Portugal, since the late thirteenth century (*c*. 1288) all official documents were required to be written in this language, by order of King Dinis. Needless to say, such a practice is of great value for an approach partially based on vocabulary use, like the one developed in this essay. However, the nature and volume of the sources imposed certain limits on this study. Indeed, it should be said that I could not detect any evolution over time, which was undoubtedly a consequence of the restricted nature of the sample used.

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[5] In the *Livros de Vereações* the problems and questions presented to the town's government, as well as the decisions made, were written; and by being registered in such Books the decisions gained legal force and became town laws (see Machado e Duarte, 'Introdução', in *'Vereaçoens' 1431–1432*, vol. I, Transcription, Indexes, and notes by João Alberto Machado and Luís Miguel Duarte (Porto: Arquivo Histórico-Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1985), pp. 9–16).

[6] *Livros de Vereações,* books 0, 1, and 2 which correspond to the years 1390–95, 1401–03 and 1412–14, 1431–32, 1442–43, and 1448–49 (**LV, 0** = *'Vereaçoens' Anos de 1390–1395*, with comments and notes by A. Magalhães Basto, 2nd edn (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, [n.d.]); **LV, 1** = *'Vereaçoens' 1431–1432*, vol. I; **LV, 2** = *'Vereaçoens' Anos de 1401–1449*, with Foreword by J. A. Pinto Ferreira Director of the Gabinete de História da Cidade (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, Gabinete de História da Cidade, 1980)). The nature of these documents and their limitations are discussed in Arnaldo Melo, Isabel Franco, and Luís Amaral, 'Artesãos e actividades artesanais no Porto nos finais da Idade Média, através dos *Livros de Vereações* e do *Cofre dos Bens do Concelho*', in *Qualificações, Memórias e Identidades do Trabalho*, ed. by Inês Amorim (Lisboa: Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional, 2002), pp. 191–228.

[7] Published in the *Corpus Codicum latinorum et portugalensium eorum qui in Archivo Municipali Portucalensi asservantur antiquissimorum*, 6 vols (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, Gabinete de História da Cidade, 1899–1978). The unpublished ones, which are not analysed here, are from subsequent years.

It is known that, in many instances, a woman worked side by side with her husband in artisan endeavours, or took in orders of work to be done at home (in the context of the *putting out system* or *Verlag system*), especially in the textile sector. Besides some of the textile activities, it is widely thought that it was in small- and medium-sized commerce that female labour would have been more important, particularly in the victualling trades.[8] However, women's contribution to labour was much wider and extended to many other activities. This is the case with the building industries, where several studies have stressed the role of women and children. There are also documented examples of female smiths, founders, and tanners, though the statistical significance is not well known.[9] In general, one might assume that most of the female contribution would have been related to trades that did not require a high degree of specialization (although certain specific professional attributes would have been necessary) and/or trades connected to their families' activities (such as the case of fishwives, or female smiths).[10] Nevertheless, I was not able to find references to many of these activities in the sources analysed for this essay, which is related to the nature of those sources.

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[8] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', esp. pp. 38 and 44–45. For other regions in medieval Europe, cf. P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300–1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 93–99; Mavis Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 47; Maria Asenjo González, 'Las mujeres y el trabajo en las ciudades de la Corona de Castilla (siglos XIII–XV): Integración marginación', in *La Donna nell'economia secc. XIII–XVIII*, pp. 553–62, particularly pp. 559–60; Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, 'La femme dans l'artisanat de la péninsule ibérique', in *L'Artisan dans la Péninsule Ibérique*, RAZO, Cahiers du Centre d'Études Médiévales de Nice, 14 (Nice: Université de Nice, 1993), pp. 103–14; Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', pp. 353–435, esp. p. 411; and Luca Molà, 'La donne nell'industria serica veneziana del Rinascimento', in *La Seta in Italia del Medioevo al Seicento: Dal baco al drappo*, ed. by L. Molà and others (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2000), pp. 423–59. For Philippe Braunstein it is in the field of textile activity that women's work was most important, with some of the tasks being largely done by women, whether within a *domestic economy*, or as part of a *capitalist* one by way of the *verlag system* (see Philippe Braunstein, 'Artisans', in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Occident médiévale*, ed. by J. Le Goff and J.-C. Schmitt (Paris: Fayard, 1999), pp. 67–75, esp. p. 69).

[9] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 47; Asenjo González, 'Las mujeres y el trabajo', p. 560; Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp. 9–97, esp. 82–83; Ph. Braunstein, '"Jeahanne la Flamengue, tant pour lui que pour ses compagnes . . ."', in *Commerce, finances et société (XI^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles): Recueil d'Histoire Médiévale offert à H. Dubois*, dir. by Contamine and others (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1993), pp. 341–45; and for building construction especially Philippe Bernardi, 'Pour une étude du rôle des femmes dans le bâtiment au Moyen Âge', *Provence Historique*, 173 (1993), 267–78.

[10] Cf. the bibliography of the previous footnotes and, among others, Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp. 80–83; Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Women's Work in a Market Town', in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. by B. Hanawalt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 155–58.

Indeed, one could perhaps suggest that it was only when a woman undertook work in the public sphere, independently of her husband or other family members, that the traces of her work show up in the documents. This would explain why a large part of female labour escapes our analysis.[11] However, much of that work done 'in the open' is also absent from the analysed documents. Another factor to be taken into account, then, is the phenomenon of multiple occupations among women, as well as among men.[12] By analysing the vocabulary that was used to describe the occupations of women, we can find out about some of main occupations followed by women.[13]

Vocabulary and Occupations

There are two different ways of looking at vocabulary referring to women's occupations: on the one hand, analysing the general terms (*mester*; *ofício*) and, on the other, analysing those occupations that were designated in the feminine. Both approaches can help to shed some light on the economic role of women and, above all, on how this role was seen and perceived in this period. For this it is an advantage that we can follow the vocabulary patterns in Portuguese, the language actually spoken, rather than in Latin. It is this essay's contention that systematically used vocabulary is revealing of contemporary perceptions and views. This is important given that references to women are comparatively rare in normative medieval documents such as the sources used here. I shall begin by briefly observing how the vocabulary used for the general description of *work* and *occupations* is applied to those undertaken by females.

Two words constantly reappear in the medieval Portuguese documents that refer to urban work or labour, whether of artisans or merchants. The words *ofício/oficial*

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[11] In another study that we carried out on late medieval Porto, of ninety-eight occupational designations, only eight could be linked to female individuals or were recorded in the feminine form. However, these figures have only an indicative value, since the analysis was limited to a few sources (the first four *Livros de Vereação* and the two *Livros do Cofre do Bens do Concelho*): see Melo, Franco, and Amaral, 'Artesãos e actividades artesanais', pp. 191–228, particularly Apêndice-Quadro III. The same has been found elsewhere in medieval Europe. Cf., for England, Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 101–06 and 133–34; Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, pp. 39–48; see also Cordelia Beattie on how views about women and labour could affect the way in which the relationship between females and work is presented in documents, in 'The Problem of Women's Work Identities in Post Black Death England', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by James Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg, and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000) pp. 1–19, esp. pp. 4–10.

[12] Cf. Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 40 and n. 17.

[13] This essay should be seen as a first approach to all these themes and therefore many questions will inevitably go unanswered.

(office)[14] and *mester/mesteiral* (craft, or métier),[15] as synonyms respectively for an occupation or for its practitioners, were used equally for activities predominantly carried out by men or women. This is also true in the rare examples found of public offices entrusted to women, such as *medideiras do pão* (measurers of bread) who were charged with 'the proper upholding of the *oficio*'.[16]

Within the vocabulary for specific occupations, it was found that there were nouns that were used exclusively, or in the overwhelming majority of cases, in either their feminine or their masculine form. Others occur as alternatively masculine or feminine. If we limit ourselves to studying the use of vocabulary, we would end up with the impression that some tasks were exclusively masculine or, at the very least, largely dominated by men. There are others, although very few, which appear to have been only, or mainly, carried out by women. However, there are two areas that we can consider: the cases where the designation of an occupation, in its feminine form, is used with the names of actual women, and the cases where the text of the document refers, in general terms, to the practitioners of a certain occupation but they are systematically, or predominantly, designated in the feminine. It is the second type that proves richer for the purposes of our analysis, especially when it is a recurring practice in the documents. It would seem likely that when a certain occupation is uniformly referred to in its feminine form, it signifies an occupation largely, if not exclusively, dominated by women. From such a vocabulary analysis, I shall then consider its social significance, that is, the real practices underlying the vocabulary.

Concerning the central issue of this essay, the relationship between women, work, and the household, it is possible to distinguish a number of different types (insofar as the documents studied permit that knowledge):

1. Women whose occupation is clearly and expressly identified:
    - 1.1. Independent from the husband's or family's occupation
    - 1.2. Related to or complementary to the occupation of the husband or family
    - 1.3. Same occupation as husband or family members (with or without differentiated functions)
2. Women who appear as agents of legal or economic activities, but neither they nor what they do is classified in terms of a specific occupation:
    - 2.1. Perform tasks clearly related to the occupation of the husband
    - 2.2. Agents of legal or economic actions independent of any specific occupation (whether their own or that of the family group)

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[14] *Ofício de mercador* (merchant) (LV, 2, p. 264), *ofício de armeiro* (swordsman) (LV, 2, p. 441); the same for the female trades: *oficio de regateira* (female huckster) (LV, 2, p. 225) and several examples in LV, 2, pp. 376–377; and *Corpus Codicum*, VI.4, 63.

[15] For a few examples from 1347 to 1448: *Corpus Codicum*, VI.4, 63; LV, 2, pp. 76–77, 324; *Corpus Codicum*, VI.2, 33; among others*, mester de regateira* (female huckster) in 1363 (*Corpus Codicum*, VI.4, 12).

[16] LV, 1, pp. 108–09 (1432). *Ofício* is used here to refer to office-holding.

I shall elaborate on these types, usually with discussion of specific occupations. It should be noted that women's marital status — married, widowed, single but under her family's control, or single and outside it — should also be considered, as this affected a woman's ability to legally dispose of goods or capital.

Women Whose Occupation Is Expressly Identified: Different from Husband/Family Occupation (types 1.1 and 1.2)

Regateiras (Female Hucksters or Regraters). As has been found for many places in Europe, the business of selling small goods, particularly foodstuffs of daily or almost daily requirement, would have been largely in the hands of women. In Porto they are either generically designated as *regateiras*, and the corresponding masculine form of *regatões*, or with a term specifying the product such as *regateira do pão* (female huckster of bread).[17] These people sold small quantities of goods, usually foodstuffs, at higher prices. However, these are the *minimum common characteristics* to be found, because *regatões* and *regateiras* of various degrees of wealth and power existed; many were often accused of increasing prices and of being involved in the illegal activities of monopoly, speculation, forestalling, and cheating on weights and qualities of goods.[18] Claudia Opitz argues that it was in this area of small business that 'the control exercised over the female sex' by their husbands first fell away. In spite of some limits (which will be discussed below), the opportunities women had for this kind of small commerce are obvious, since it was unskilled and loosely organized, although profits were not generally very high.[19]

Some of the *regateiras*, just like some of the *regatões*, possessed considerable resources that enabled them to buy significant quantities of certain goods, to resell later at a much higher price. One can find many examples of *regateiras* accused of not complying with civic regulations on provisions and prices, particularly regarding practices of monopoly, who had the support of men of great wealth and with positions in local government, either husbands or relatives.[20] Due to a general tendency towards ignoring municipal orders, it was felt necessary to regulate the practice of regrating and, from at least 1401, it was decided that only the *regateiras* who were registered in the town council book 'by the hand of their registrar' could regrate.[21] In 1484 it was decided that any man whose wife was either a *padeira* (female baker) or a *regateira* could not be a holder of a city office.[22] This shows that if a wife followed the occupation of female huckster, even if this was independent from her husband's occupation, the couple could have been seen as interacting economically. The need to control the tendency of hucksters to forestall, or similar, had been felt much earlier, though.

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[17] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 40–44, particularly nn. 24–26; For European examples, cf. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 93–99 and 104–07; Asenjo González, 'Las mujeres y el trabajo', p. 60.

[18] In England, according to Goldberg, hucksters or regraters were often associated with clients who were too poor to buy in the regular market. To regrate was associated with selling in small quantities, often at a higher price than the regular quantities sold at market (Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, p. 107, n. 45, and pp. 117–18 and 124–27). In Castile, Asenjo González classifies the 'regateras' or 'regatonas' as women who sold small quantities of goods that were hard to find outside market days and, therefore, made the prices go up (Asenjo González, 'Las mujeres y el trabajo', p. 560). However, for Portugal these strict definitions do not necessarily apply. What one can say is that regraters always seemed to have a tendency to increase prices, speculate, and cheat whenever they could (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 40–44).

[19] Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', pp. 392 and 395–97.

> In 1363 King D. Pedro, reiterating previous legislation (both of royal and communal origin) concerning the city, recalled that the distribution of fish by the hucksters (male and female) was to be controlled by the *almotacé* (the municipal weights and measures inspector) in order to ensure it was fair and independent of whether someone was 'rich' or 'poor'.[23]

The concern was obviously to avoid auction-like bidding in which the rich would be at a manifest advantage, being able to monopolize the fish market and thus increase prices dramatically. This reinforces the idea that the *regateiras* and the *regatões* sold the fish that the fishermen, fishwives, or others brought to them.[24] On the other hand, from the same example of 1363, it seems that *regateiras* and *regatões* lent money to the fishermen based on the fish they were expected to catch.[25] This shows again that at least some of the *regatões* and *regateiras* did have capital, or had the backing of rich and powerful men.

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[20] Such an accusation is quite often found: in 1363, for example (*Corpus Codicum*, VI.4, 11–14), or in 1393 (LV, 0, pp. 200–01; and Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 44 and nn. 79, 80–81); in 1484 (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 44 and n. 79). The same was observed in England where, for example, in Nottingham in 1482, or in London in 1422, women were accused of buying goods before they arrived in town, straight from the producers or the fishermen's boats, practices that made the prices go up and were forbidden (Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 106–07; Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, pp. 45–46).

[21] LV, 2, p. 76. The same happened in 1452 (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 44 and n. 78). In 1454 seventeen *regateiras do pescado* (hucksters of fish) and twenty-eight *regateiras da fruta* (hucksters of fruit) were registered (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 44 and nn. 77–78).

[22] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', n. 79.

[23] It was established that if the poorest of the hucksters did not want all the fish that they were entitled to, only then could the officials allow any other regrater that wanted it to take it (*Corpus Codicum.*, VI.4, 1–14; and *Corpus Codicum*, VI.4, 18–19; see also A. Magalhães Basto, 'Nota IX A cobrança de Coimas e os Almotacés', in *'Vereaçoens' Anos de 1390–1395*, pp. 350–65).

[24] The same idea is also given by the regulation that fishermen and fishwives could only sell large quantities to the hucksters after the hour of terce (LV, 2, pp. 17–18); see also examples in LV, 0, p. 47; LV, 0, p. 20; Magalhães Basto, 'Nota IX A cobrança de Coimas e os Almotacés'. See also what I say below about fishwives.

We know that the women, who had to receive authorization from the town council to be *regateiras*, were generally married or 'honest widows' (as the town's legislation calls them). It was an occupation that was expressly forbidden to single women in Porto, at least from 1402, although that would not have been scrupulously respected in practice.[26] Cruz Coelho cites examples indicating that single women also practised these activities, although married women constituted the majority.[27] Married, widowed, or sometimes single, hucksters must have acted as independent traders, in the sense of not working in direct connection with a husband or other relative. Also, this occupation must have enabled the economic survival of widows and single women, though they often lived in more difficult conditions than the married ones.[28]

As a group, hucksters corresponded to an occupation largely, though not exclusively, exercised by women. This is the conclusion that the vocabulary evidence, as well as the specific examples discussed, seems to point out. I have already noted the existence of *regatões/regateiras* with very different levels of economic capacity and proximity to power. The town authorities seemed to want to keep the regraters within the confines of small retail trade, inhibiting or prohibiting the purchase of large quantities of products and therefore enforcing price control. For example, a municipal decision of 1393 states that the regraters should be the only ones who could buy olive oil to resell, but they could only buy it in the town and in small quantities. They were forbidden to go outside town and buy it straight from the producers, because then they would sell it at a higher price.[29] Yet, that such legislation was often reissued suggests the temptation to act in this way was very great, especially when the regrater was under the protection of a person of power within the town. We do not yet have prosopographies of *regateiras*, but there are many indications that, when married, their occupation could be distinct from that of their husbands. However, one would assume that the activity of *regateira* clearly constitutes part of the household economy and in this sense was linked to the husband or family.

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[25] King D. Pedro tried to outlaw such practices, but the town council asked him not to, saying that many fishermen were poor and from Galicia (northern Spain) and needed that money to fix their boats and nets, otherwise they would not come to the city with their fish. Perhaps we can see similarities here with the hidden interests of those powerful men who protected and financed some hucksters in their forbidden practices (*Corpus Codicum*, VI.4, 11–13 and 18–19).

[26] LV, 2, p. 144. The same was true in Lisbon and perhaps in other towns (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 43 and n. 76).

[27] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 43–44 and nn. 76–80. The same has been found for England, where plenty of the regraters were married and could practice this occupation part time, though others must have done it full time (Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, pp. 45–48).

[28] See Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, pp. 46–48; Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 93–133; Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', p. 411.

[29] LV, 0, pp. 176–77. Similar examples can be found in London in 1422 and Nottingham in 1482 (Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 106–07).

Padeiras (Female Bakers). Cruz Coelho considered the kneading and baking of bread in Portugal as largely or exclusively female activities, indicated by the terms *padeira* (female baker) and *forneira* (female oven keeper), while milling was predominately male work.[30] In the Iberian world, the feminine form *padeira* commonly appears and in places such as Oviedo, in northern Leon (Spain), bakers were exclusively female, indicating a similar situation.[31] In other parts of Europe it seems that the baker was also usually female.[32] However, it appears that the professionalization of baking in England led to it becoming a largely male activity, whilst the selling of bread seems to have remained the domain of women.[33]

In Porto, as in Portugal generally, the baker, when referred to in general terms, appears in the documents in the feminine form, *padeira*.[34]

> In a dispatch from the King's judge of Porto in the year 1375, concerning the 'charges' imposed on prisoners by the sheriff of the city, the examples given are of any *carniceiro* (butcher), *padeira* (female baker) or *vinhateiro* (wine seller), or other inhabitant of the city being imprisoned.[35]

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[30] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 45–47.

[31] Asenjo González, 'Las mujeres y el trabajo', pp. 559 n. 22.

[32] In central and western Europe, Opitz thinks that occupations connected with food in general, including baking, were those (together with textile activities) where female activity must have been greater (Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', p. 403 and p. 392; see also Françoise Piponnier, 'O universo feminino: espaços e objectos', *História das Mulheres no Ocidente*, vol. II, *A Idade Média*, ed. Klapisch-Zuber, pp. 441–59, esp. p. 449).

[33] In England, Goldberg argues that female bakers were sometimes only involved in selling bread (Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 109–11 and pp. 104–05). Kowaleski thinks that the majority of the baking was carried out by men, though some female bakers can be found (Maryanne Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 139–40). However, Mate warns that these conclusions may be skewed by the sources, with the whole of a family being represented in the sources by its head, the man, although she seems to agree that in England men dominated the trade of baking. Nevertheless, the selling of bread was mainly performed by females, many of whom were bakers' wives, representing a case of related occupations between husband and wife (Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, pp. 44 and also pp. 41, 51, and 54).

[34] For example, in 1282 (*Corpus Codicum*, VI.2, 18), as in 1412 (Magalhães Basto, 'Nota IX A cobrança de Coimas e os Almotacés', pp. 360–61); see also Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 45 and n. 100).

[35] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.4, 63. That these three occupations are given as examples of prisoners suggests that it was not unusual for such craftsmen to be sentenced, certainly for not complying with the rules regarding their occupations and practices.

In this example, in a parchment from the King's judge in the city, only *padeira* appears in the female form. Also in the examples detected of named bakers, I only found *padeiras* (female bakers) and the majority were married. In the rare cases in which we know the occupation of the husband, it is given as totally independent (for example, carpenter).[36] The following example also shows the practice of systematically referring to this trade in the female form, *padeiras*, rather then the male one, *padeiros*. Furthermore, it sheds light on the female bakers' activities in comparison with those of the 'hucksters who sell bread' (*regateiras do pão*).

> In 1442, in a meeting of the Porto town council, mention is made of the padeiras who wanted to and indeed did make the bread 'demais pequeno pezo do que lhes era mandado' (at a lesser weight than they were ordered to do), so the regateiras who sold the bread were obliged to have 'cada huma sua balança e peso' (each one her own scales and weights), under the penalty of no longer being allowed to follow that trade.[37]

It is noteworthy that this imposition is expressly directed to the female regraters and not to the female bakers. However, in other known examples, the regulations were aimed at the *padeiras*.[38] This seems to indicate that the *regateiras* sold the bread that the *padeiras* produced. Yet this does not mean that female bakers did not also sell bread directly to the consumers.[39] So, *regateiras* of bread are differentiated from the *padeiras* by the fact that they sold bread they had not made. The female bakers were also frequently accused of trying to rob or cheat in weight, quality, and price, particularly during lean years, and especially since they had the monopoly on the confection of bread.[40] For all these reasons, and in the same way as the *regateiras*, the *padeiras* had to register at the town hall in order to exercise their craft, and from that we know that they could be of any marital status, although in fact widows and married women predominated, and, it seems, their husbands' occupations were not generally related.[41]

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[36] The example of a female baker married to a carpenter is in a list of female bakers, butchers, and wine sellers from Azurara (north of Porto) in 1403 (LV, 2, pp. 192–93).

[37] LV, 2, pp. 224–25. On the same day, reference is also made to the need to control the weights used by female bakers and carders, as well as the weights and measures of butchers and others (LV, 2, p. 220).

[38] For example, in 1403 a deal was reached between the council and the town *padeiras* (feminine form only), on the types, weights, and prices of bread. The council gave back the goods that had been seized due to the women's initial refusal to follow the town's orders (LV, 2, p. 174).

[39] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 41, 43, and n. 67.

[40] According to Cruz Coelho, the craft of female baker had some prestige, connected to the particularly religious symbolism of bread. She also refers to an example of the widow of a city official (*vereador*) from Loulé, an honourable woman, being given the privilege of being a female baker of white bread (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 46–47).

[41] In Porto in 1483 there were twenty-four *padeiras* registered in the city books (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 46 and nn. 101–02); in Azurara (near Porto) ten *padeiras*

Medideiras do pão (Female Bread Measurers). Given that the *padeiras* were largely or exclusively women, it might come as no surprise that the only exclusively female office holders found in this study were *medideiras do pão*. It is not only that the generic designation appears in the feminine form, but also that, in the cases where their names are specified, they are always women. These *medideiras* would probably measure the bread in grain weight, and not the kneaded and baked bread.[42] The men of the town council chose the bread measurers, and their names were registered in the book from 1402 onwards, although it could have been an earlier practice which was not properly followed. In 1402 there were six *medideiras do pão* registered in the council book, a result of the town council trying to put an end to what is described as the existence of many badly controlled bakers, often accused of committing infringements.[43]

This constitutes a rare, if not unique, case of women being the holders of a city office, albeit one of secondary importance and controlled by the *vedores do pão* (bread inspectors), men without whose presence they were expressly prohibited to measure in 1392.[44] For Cruz Coelho, the existence of female bread measurers, also found in cities such as Lisbon, does not put into question the dominant paradigm of male monopoly of power, as they dealt with duties of 'inferior level' and, moreover, given that the individuals over whom their power fell were mostly, if not exclusively, women.[45] In the only case in which we know of the occupation of a *medideira,* she was an *alfaiata* (seamstress), an apparently unconnected activity.[46] Perhaps this was desirable to try to ensure some impartiality, although examples of abuses by *medideiras* do exist.[47]

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registered in 1403 (LV, 2, pp. 192–93). We do not know when this registration became compulsory and if it was generally respected.

[42] See A. H. Oliveira Marques, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal: A questão cerealífera durante a Idade Média*, 3rd edn (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1978), pp. 85–86 and pp. 207–08. This can also be inferred from some documents, where the *medideiras do pão* are told to keep an eye on the *cubas*, which means vats for storing grain (LV, 0, pp. 154–56; LV, 2, p. 143). In medieval Portuguese texts 'bread' (*pão*) was a word that could designate either the grain or the baked product: see Oliveira Marques, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal*, pp. 85–86.

[43] LV, 2, p. 143. See also A. Magalhães Basto, 'Nota X Arrendamento das medidas do azeite e do pão', in *'Vereações' Anos de 1390–1395*, pp. 366–68; see also LV, 0, p. 146.

[44] LV, 0, pp. 154–56. See also Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 47 and n. 118.

[45] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 47 and n. 118. This dominant paradigm is found elsewhere in medieval Europe. For example, in England, Sarah Rees Jones finds one such paradigm within the crafts and city governments (Sarah Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Bothwell, Goldberg, and Ormrod, pp. 133–53 (p. 149)). The same has been found by Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade*, pp. 145–64, mainly pp. 155–58.

[46] LV, 1, p. 109 (1432). The name of the six *medideiras* authorized in 1402 can be found in LV, 2, p. 143; for other examples, see LV, 0, p. 51 (1391), LV, 1, p. 46 (1431).

[47] Oliveira Marques, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal*, pp. 207–08.

Pescadeiras (Fishwives). *Pescador* (fisherman) was the person who fished and who came by boat to sell the fish on the quay side; *pescadeira* (fishwife) was the wife, widow, daughter, or sister of a fisherman who travelled to the city overland from the neighbouring fishing villages — from Leça, Matosinhos, or perhaps Foz — to sell fish.[48] This specifically female occupation is the product of a very particular world: that of the fishing communities situated close to the city. The *pescadeiras* carried out an activity that was a direct consequence of the economic activity of their family group: fishing. In England, too, women were frequently found in the fish business, quite often as wives, widows, or relations of fishermen. In some cases they worked legally, while in others they were accused of the prohibited practice of forestalling.[49]

The activity of the fishermen and fishwives is distinguishable from that of the *regateiras* and *regatões* (hucksters) because they are presented in the documents as selling the *fruit of their labour*, while the latter just practised the resale of fish. This can be seen very clearly, for example, in the city's requirement that the fishermen and fishwives sell the fish in a designated place on the riverbank, the Ribeira Square, and do not sell in bulk to the *regateiras* and *regatões* before the hour of terce.

> In 1401 the city council attempted to combat the practice of the *pescadores* and the *pescadeiras* of selling fish in Miragaia (a suburb) and 'per a rrua antes que chegassem aa dita rribeira' (in the street before arriving at the said Ribeira [square]), which resulted in great speculation and shortages in the city because the *regateiras* and the *regatões* bought the fish in this way and would then go on to sell it later at the Ribeira, at a higher price.[50]

This example clearly shows the distinction between *pescadeiras* and *regateiras/ regatões*.[51] On the other hand, the designations *regateira* and *regateira do pescado* (huckster of fish) — both masculine and feminine — do not seem to always correspond to any specialization. The word *regateira* could also be applied to a huckster selling fish, but we do not know if *regateira do pescado* would be a person that sold only fish, as we do not have prosopographies of these men and women. In other words, we cannot confirm the existence of such specialization among hucksters.

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[48] LV, 2, p. 17. Cruz Coelho has already advanced such a hypothesis (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 41, n. 37). On the activities and significance of the fishwives (*pescadeiras*), and for a much broader chronology, see Inês Amorim and Isabel Franco, 'Pescadeira', in *História do Trabalho e das Ocupações*, ed. by Nuno L. Madureira, vol. II, *As Pescas*, ed. by Inês Amorim (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2001), pp. 50–54. See also Franco, 'Les Dynamiques familiales et sociales', in this volume.

[49] Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 107–08; Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, p. 45.

[50] LV, 2, pp. 12, 16–18; and also LV, 0, p. 47. Hucksters were accused of not complying with this custom (LV, 2, p. 17). Cruz Coelho has already detected such practices ('A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 41–42).

[51] There are several other examples in LV, 2, pp. 17–18; LV, 0, p. 47 (1391); LV, 0, p. 20 (1390); see also Magalhães Basto, 'Nota IX A cobrança de Coimas e os Almotacés', mostly pp. 351–56; also Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 41–42; and Amorim, 'Pescadeira', pp. 50–54.

As Cruz Coelho has already shown, the *regatia* (regrating) of fish, or rather the existence of an intermediary between the fishermen and the fishwives, on the one hand, and the consumer, on the other, increased the price of the product. This is also illustrated by the various documents that shed light on practices of hoarding — in order to sell the fish at a later hour and at a higher price — on the part of the *regatões* and the *regateiras* of greater wealth, and other people.[52] According to Cruz Coelho, the documents frequently associate '*pescadeiras*, *regateiras* or *vendedeiras* (vendors), *sardinheiras* (sardine sellers) and *marisqueiras* (seafood sellers)' with other fraudulent practices.[53] In the light of this, the city council even decided that only the wives of fishermen could sell fish, a rule that was, however, impossible to uphold.[54]

Women Whose Occupation Is Expressly Identified: Same as Husband/Family (type 1.3)

Women would have carried out various other occupations but, due to the sources and the scope of this study, I have obtained only vague references to such activities. Together with the small businesses of regrating, victualling, and bread making, it is in the textile sector that the work of women knew perhaps greater importance and dimension, without forgetting their contribution in other areas such as building or inn keeping. An important part of those activities with regard to textiles, inn keeping, or activities directly connected with the householder's occupation, was done in the domestic sphere and, therefore, it is seldom referred to in the documents.[55] That is probably one of the reasons why this study did not find significant data relating to women performing the same occupation as their husbands or family members.

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[52] See the examples cited in the previous notes.

[53] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 41–42; see also what I have said above on the fish hucksters.

[54] Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 41 and n. 35.

[55] On the female contribution to the textile activities, see, for Portugal, Arnaldo Melo and others, 'Tecedeira/Tecelão', in *História do Trabalho e das Ocupações*, ed. by Nuno L. Madureira, vol. I, *A Indústria Têxtil* (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2001), pp. 77–96; Arnaldo Melo and others 'Aprendiz/Oficial/Mestre', in *História do Trabalho e das Ocupações*, ed. by Madureira, vol. I, *A Indústria Têxtil*, pp. 228–35; Ferreira Rodrigues and Amado Mendes, *História da Indústria Portuguesa: Da Idade Média aos Nossos Dias* (Porto: Europa-América e Associação Industrial Portuense, 1999), pp. 90–94. There are several examples in Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 45 and n. 88. For a European perspective, see Braunstein, 'Artisans', esp. p. 69. Also cf., among others, Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 93–124; Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', pp. 401–03 and 411; Luca Molà, 'La donne nell'industria serica veneziana', pp. 423–59; and the other references in note 8 above.

Women Whose Occupation Is Not Expressly Classified: Performing Tasks Related to the Husband's Occupation (type 2.1)

In the registers used for this study, the term mercador (merchant) is one that is never found in a feminine form or applied to females. Reference is always to the wives (or widows) of merchants, when referred to in general, or wife of such and such a merchant. Nevertheless, I also found indications (though only a few) that Porto merchants authorized and trusted their wives to perform certain duties connected to their business dealings when they were absent, for example, in Flanders or northern France. Such is the case of the wife of the merchant João Ramalho who, in 1392, during his absence with the galleys the king had sent to Rome, sent abroad 100 moios (approximately five quarters) of grain by boat, due to a royal privilege her husband had authorizing that kind of operation.[56] Such duties, like sending wine and other products to their husbands abroad, seem to constitute a very important activity for these wives, and one that implies a high level of confidence and great responsibility. In the case of council complaints about the aposentadorias (places for stopovers) for nobles in the city, what they have in mind are the homes of widows and wives of merchants away on business, who might be vulnerable to a nobleman's abuses or impositions.[57] That such women were mentioned in a complaint to the king suggests, as one might expect, that it was not that exceptional for married women to be left alone while their husbands were absent on business. Thus we might assume that it would also not be unusual for such women to act as their husbands' correspondents when they were away. Nevertheless, it is not yet possible to determine the extent of such practices.[58]

Throughout Europe one can find examples of women participating in business. There are cases of women throughout western Europe working effectively in large-scale commerce, forming partnerships with male merchants. This is a situation that appears to have developed throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which was, for Opitz, 'the great epoch of great European female traders', in comparison with the previous centuries.[59] Such women, however, were always quite clearly a minority. On the contrary, the lesser trade of *regateira,* as we have seen, would have been predominately female in participation. In Montpellier, France, it is apparent that women participated in large international and local businesses, although in lesser numbers than men. Usually, they acted as part of a business partnership and were frequently involved for family reasons. For example, they were widows or in partnership with brothers or other family members. Their activity at the level of capital loans was also not negligible.[60] Goldberg finds women in England, often widows, participating in big business, especially in the textile sector — where female participation in production is also to be noted — but they were always the exception, in comparison with the small business of clothing where the female presence was far more abundant.[61] Furthermore, Kowaleski notes that the majority of merchants' homes in Exeter brewed ale, because the merchants had the necessary capital and their wives were not involved in the business dealings of their husbands, therefore having time for brewing. This was not the case for those wives who worked more directly with their husbands, for example in the textile or leather trades.[62]

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[56] LV, 0, pp. 150–51. For other examples, see *Corpus Codicum,* VI.2, 47.

[57] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.2, 47.

[58] For Cruz Coelho, they are exceptions and the norm for wives of merchants was to be kept apart from the world of work and business dealings ('A mulher e o trabalho', p. 39).

[59] This statement has a relative validity that does not challenge the idea that the vast majority of traders were male. Examples in Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', pp. 395–98.

Such European examples suggest that, although women who participated in business and large-scale commerce were always in a minority, in the late medieval centuries their numbers seem to have increased slightly, at least in some places. Together with the little evidence found so far with regard to Porto, this makes me wonder whether the degree of female participation in the merchant sphere in this Portuguese town would have been so exceptional as modern historiography tends to suggest.

Women Whose Occupation Is Not Expressly Identified: Agents of Legal or Economic Actions Independent of Any Specific Occupation (type 2.2)

I shall now discuss some examples of women's actions which are not associated with a specific occupation, either their own or that of a husband. What they have in common is that they all clearly constitute economic or legal activities practised by women, independently of their eventual occupation, their family occupation, or their marital status.

In some rare cases, this study found women who acted as men would in demanding recognition of their rights as *vizinho da cidade* (a term meaning 'neighbour of the city'),[63] filing legal petitions against (male) town officials, and sometimes even winning those lawsuits.

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[60] Kathryn Reyerson, 'Women in Business in Medieval Montpellier', in *Women and Work*, ed. by Hanawalt, pp. 117–44, above all pp. 129–33.

[61] Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 124–27. Goldberg found the low number of women in large-scale commerce to be a consequence of their lack of technical knowledge and, above all, of recourse to the huge capital needed to set up in business (Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 93–99). This is similar to Castile, where Asenjo González relates the presence of women in big business to their belonging to a *family* — in the widest sense — that carries out such activities (Asenjo González, 'Las mujeres y el trabajo', p. 560).

[62] Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade*, pp. 133–36; see also Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, pp. 41–43.

[63] 'Neighbour of the city' is someone who has the rights and obligations of 'being a neighbour', this is similar to the *freeman* or *citizen* in English towns. It implies above all an economic and fiscal status with a number of rights and obligations attached. On the distinction between *morador* (resident), *natural* (born there), *vizinho* (neighbour), *cidadão* (citizen), and *homem-bom* (literally, good man) in Porto, see Armindo de Sousa, 'Tempos Medievais', pp. 208 and 231–34.

> In 1338, one Domingas d'Álem is expressly identified as someone who has a boat in which she transports wine and other products, hers and those of others, from up the Douro valley. Explicitly identified as a *vizinha da cidade* (neighbour of the city), she came before the town judges to complain of her rights having been disrespected by Rui Martins, procurator of the city, and the town councillors recognized her grievance.[64]

We are uncertain of the precise details of this episode; for example, whether the woman was single or a widow, to what specific social group she belonged (apart from being 'vizinha', which implies some status), or the antecedents and the consequences of the action. However, its existence is in itself revealing: it shows a woman being in full possession of her rights as *neighbour of the city*; claiming her status for herself, without recourse to any male figure or family, and this being recognized by the municipal authorities themselves. That the procurator — an administrator of the city, a man of the ruling elite, 'son and grandson of men from the town's oligarchy' — almost received a humiliating prison sentence should also be emphasized.

> In 1351 Maria Eanes, widow of Meem Donis, *moradora* (resident) of Porto, was accused of buying wheat for speculative purposes — to regrate — and, as such, the wheat was apprehended by the officers of the city as the woman had contravened city orders. She threatened to run to the King.[65]

This incident is known because this woman and the city representative both asked the public notary to attest these facts, and the document survived. Such a document presumably would have been needed to present the case at the king's court, which was what Maria Eanes apparently intended to do. In this example it should be emphasized that the woman was a widow and appeared able to carry out economic operations, in the form of capital investment. She seemed to lack confidence in the council justice but was able to seek recourse with the king's justice.

Other examples reveal the existence of women who I suspect dedicated themselves to trade or who were, at least, women of some wealth. For example, in 1356, Prince D. Pedro, co-ruler of the kingdom since the previous year, demanded a loan of twelve thousand pounds from the city of Porto.[66] In a list of approximately 120 'good men' (*homens-bons*), neighbours of the city who contributed to this loan, we find ten or eleven women. We know little or nothing about the majority of them but their very presence on this list, despite being obviously in the minority, and how they are described are revealing. First, the majority are identified without recourse to family references such as 'wife of' or 'daughter of'. On the contrary, some males are even identified by reference to these women, for example, a certain 'Johanne Anes brother of Senhorinha Anes'.[67] Secondly, some of the women listed are among those *homens-bons* who lent the largest sums of money. Thirdly, they are included in a list of 'homens bons vizinhos da cidade' ('good men, neighbours of the city'), which means people of the elite, recognized citizens of the town.[68] Finally, their inclusion in this list suggests that they were women capable of carrying out economic activities, with a certain economic autonomy and responsibility derived from some decision-making capacities. Here, I make no distinction between a woman as a representative of an absent husband, following his instructions to the letter, and a widow with a high level of autonomy and decision-making capacity, or some other possible situation, because those details are not known to us.

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[64] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.2, 27–29. This episode had already been referred to, in another context, by Armindo de Sousa, 'Tempos Medievais', p. 208; see also previous note.

[65] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.2, 37–38.

[66] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.2, 48–51.

Women from the mercantile elite or the town's oligarchy (whether wives, widows, or other) tended to follow more aristocratic patterns of behaviour than those of artisan status. The merchants of Porto, as in other Portuguese towns, tried to follow some patterns of the nobility,[69] and would have wanted to leave behind some of the *popular* ones, such as the identification with labour in general, or an occupation in particular (besides that of merchant).[70] Was this one of the reasons why such women are never identified or classified as belonging to an occupation (even when widows or when performing economic operations by themselves, as we have just seen in the previous examples)? That they were trying to follow some kind of aristocratic female profile might help explain the absence of occupational classification for such women, whereas men were often designated as merchants. For the time being, though, such questions must remain unanswered.

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[67] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.2, 49.

[68] See note 62 above on the meaning of *homem-bom* and *vizinho*.

[69] Several authors argue that merchants tended to follow aristocratic models of behaviour, but this does not mean that they did not strongly oppose the nobility or the clergy whenever their rights and interests were at stake. Armindo de Sousa has developed several arguments about this (Armindo de Sousa, 'Conflitos entre o Bispo e a Câmara do Porto nos Meados do século XV', *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal do Porto*, 2nd series, 1 (1983), 9–103; idem, 'Condicionamentos Básicos, 1325–1480', pp. 421–23 and pp. 467–71; see also idem, 'Tempos Medievais', pp. 207–14 and pp. 231–45, above all pp. 244–45). See also Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', pp. 37–39.

[70] It is known that, in certain noble and ecclesiastical circles at least, manual labour was seen as the burden of the popular classes and not suitable for the nobility. See Jacques Le Goff, 'Le Travail dans les systèmes de valeur de l'Occident médiéval', in *Le Travail au Moyen Âge: Une approche interdisciplinaire. Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve 21–23 mai 1987*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse and Colette Muraille-Samaran (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1990), pp. 7–21; J. Le Goff, *Para um Novo Conceito de Idade Média: Tempo, Trabalho e Cultura no Ocidente* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1993), pp. 85–119 and 151–67. A complementary and sometimes alternative view can be found in Christopher Dyer, 'Work Ethics in the Fourteenth Century', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Bothwell, Goldberg, and Ormrod, pp. 21–41.

We can, however, take into account another level of the capacities of the women who carried out legal and economic activities: property rights. Some women were in full possession of property rights, sometimes because they were widows, sometimes because their husbands were absent for some reason and so they acted as their procurators. Such women made contracts with the council, or inherited those contracts and, in all cases, acted as legitimate title holders. For example, in 1391 Inês Aparício, wife of the cooper Domingos Martins, appears as her husband's procurator and, as such, received a tenancy contract on *três vidas* during his absence (the term means 'three lives', and refers to contracts made on the husband, wife, and son, daughter, or other person of their choice).[71] It would appear that such situations did not seem to cause either the women themselves or the town councillors any particular problems. Women also acted as executors of their husbands' wills. In an example, from 1368, one Senhorinha Anes appears as heir and executor of her late husband's will.[72] Furthermore, a document dated 1384 reveals that it was an ancient custom in Porto, as well as in Coimbra (a town one hundred kilometres south of Porto), that goods and properties were common between man and wife and that, on the death of one, these should be divided, with half going to the remaining spouse and half to the heirs of the one who had died.[73]

The inheritance of property, and in particular of tenancy contracts, deserves further attention. The widespread practice of contracts on 'three lives', predominant in Portugal in the late Middle Ages, might indicate that it was fairly customary for widows to keep their contractual obligations, either by themselves, by remarrying, or by passing the onus onto relatives, in particular their sons or married daughters.[74] Many widows, as title holders of contracts or owners of property in some form, remarried while others transferred or renounced their right to the property in some way, sometimes with subclauses which guaranteed their maintenance. For example, one Maria Domingues, widow of the sailor Gonçalo Martins, as second person in a tenancy contract, renounced it in 1423 on behalf of a third individual, allegedly 'because she is a poor woman that cannot keep the houses' and could not meet the obligations of the contract (presumably paying the rent).[75] Such practices often represent hidden sales, though. Yet there are also examples of widows who seem to have been able to fulfil their economic obligations. As we have already seen in some of the previous examples, it was sometimes seen as a normal situation for women to live alone (in the sense of living without a husband or other adult male relative), as widows, during the absences of their husbands, or in some other situation.[76] However, we do not know which of the various possible ways of living, for single or widowed women who were heirs, were the most prevalent: living alone, remarriage, or passing the onus onto someone else, whether a relative or not.

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[71] LV, 0, p. 81; also in Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', n. 16; Franco, 'Les Dynamiques familiales et sociales', in this volume, with several examples.

[72] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.4, 40. For examples of legal and economic actions performed by women in other Portuguese towns: from Guimarães (north-east of Porto), Conceição Falcão Ferreira, *Guimarães: 'Duas vilas um só povo'* (Braga: Universidade do Minho, in press), pp. 703–40; from other Portuguese towns (Évora and Loulé), in Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', nn. 123–24. Women also appeared as authors and/or victims of a variety of petty crimes; among others, we could mention defamation and the corresponding fines (the famous *renda das bravas*), which represented no small revenue for the town council (Cruz Coelho, 'A mulher e o trabalho', p. 48 and n. 130 on Porto).

[73] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.5, 14. On the role of women as will makers and heirs in Guimarães (north-east Porto), and their relationships to families and households, see Falcão Ferreira, *Guimarães*, pp. 703–40 and 755–64. Cf. the situation found in Sussex in Mavis Mate, *Daughters, Wives and Widows after the Black Death: Women in Sussex, 1350–1535* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 76–134; and Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, pp. 78–95.

[74] See also Franco, 'Les Dynamiques familiales et sociales', in this volume, with several examples.

Conclusions

As in the countryside,[77] the urban household must have functioned as an economic cell of production, and not just of consumption: in some instances showing itself to be multi-occupational, with those occupations loosely, or not at all, related, and in other instances centred only on one or two economic activities to which everyone, in some form, would directly contribute. From what this study has found, within the general frame of the household and urban economies, it seems that the economic role of women was by no means of small account. It should be emphasized, for example, that some occupations, when referred to in general terms, were predominantly designated in the feminine form, such as regraters, bakers, and fishwives (while the first is also found in the male form, the latter two were found exclusively in the feminine form).

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[75] *Corpus Codicum*, VI.5, 18–20. Cf. Mate, *Daughters, Wives and Widows*, pp. 76–134.

[76] See examples above. Also in *Corpus Codicum*, VI.2, 47. Cf. Mate, *Daughters, Wives and Widows*, pp. 76–134; Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, pp. 16–26 and pp. 78–95; and Franco, 'Les Dynamiques familiales et sociales', in this volume. For some examples of widows living alone in England, see also Beattie, 'The Problem of Women's Work Identities', pp. 4–15.

[77] On the rural household as a unit of production, see, among others, Reyna Pastor, 'Poder y Familia en la sociedad foral gallega: Aproximación a su estudio, siglos XIII y XIV', in *Relaciones de poder, de produccion y parentesco en la Edad Media y Moderna: Aproximación a su estudio*, ed. by Reyna Pastor (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), pp. 171–201; Coral Cuadrada, 'Poder, producción y familia en el mundo rural catalán (siglo XI–XIV)', in *Relaciones de poder*, ed. by Pastor, pp. 225–61; and Francisco Ruiz Gómez, 'El parentesco y las relaciones sociales en las aldeas castellanas medievales', in *Relaciones de poder*, ed. by Pastor, pp. 263–77. For Portugal, see, among others, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *O Baixo Mondego nos finais da Idade Média*, 2 vols (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1989), I, 606–28; and Luís Carlos Amaral, *São Salvador de Grijó na Segunda metade do século XIV: Estudo de gestão agrária* (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1994), pp. 84–87.

The wives of artisans and possibly, although in a different way, those of merchants made a significant contribution to the household economy and income (as perhaps did other family members). Some married women practised activities independently of their husbands, despite the fact that the family unit usually worked as a whole, as a unit of production of goods and income. It was also the case that, in many trades, wives undertook activities more or less directly related to the occupation of their husbands. Merchants' wives might have been tempted to follow a somewhat aristocratic model of behaviour but, nevertheless, this study found that at least some of them undertook an active role in their husbands' businesses. When their husbands were absent on business or as widows, they developed activities that were quite clearly within the spheres of trading or urban estate management.

Due to lack of information, we do not know, though, what the most common practices were. In general, female activities that were directly connected to the occupations of husbands were those that the sources told us least about and so those situations could not be analysed in this essay. The sources used in this study were normative civic records, and therefore only the activities and practices that were of concern to the town government appear. As such, as far as female labour is concerned, an occupation carried out 'in the open' (the public sphere), and independently from that of the householder, is more likely to be found. A woman's activities which were directly connected with the householder's occupation, or complementary to it, are generally not found in these documents because they were mainly performed in the private space, the household, and therefore are 'represented' by the householder in these sources. This should be no surprise to us, if one remembers that the purpose of these records was to regulate public life, rather than the activities themselves. However, the positive value of these sources should be re-emphasized. The general use of the Portuguese language in all official documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was an essential condition for the vocabulary gender analysis used in this essay.

Les Dynamiques familiales et sociales dans un village de pêcheurs des environs de Porto (1449–1497)

ISABEL MARIA MADUREIRA FRANCO

Abstract

The anthroponymic and prosopographical reading of property contracts of the domain of St João da Foz (Porto, northern Portugal), intertwined with the contract arrangements, suggests a family dynamic that centred on a limited domestic group, understood at once as a unit of production, space, and consumption. This nuclear family enlarged itself by the process of promoting the cohabitation of grandparents and grandchildren. The husband represented authority and work strength, but women were also considered to have capacity to manage the household goods. The woman had diversified and crucial tasks in the domestic economy of the family dependent always on the equilibrium between this community of fishermen and the resources of the land and the sea. The equilibrium was fragile because of the possibility of widowhood, which, among other things, often required exchanges of favours between parents and their children. In effect, celibacy or old age often resulted in a precarious situation, an uncertainty caused by the necessity to safeguard one's survival and fulfil one's obligations to the monastery. Sale or donation of part or all of the properties following the renewal of a contract and/or a second marriage was one available solution for overcoming this state of insecurity characteristic of scarcity. These waivers or donations were sometimes in favour of the son or son-in-law and they offered the children control over the property and helped them establish themselves economically and socially. In return, the son or son-in-law ensures the survival of his father or mother and eases their responsibilities. This type of solidarity could set off some conflicts between parents and children, which is attested by the preoccupation not to have parents live under the same roof as their children while they shared the same property.

Le village de pêcheurs S. João da Foz était localisé à l'embouchure du fleuve Douro, dans les environs de la ville du Porto, au Nord du Portugal dans la péninsule ibérique. Entre 1449 et 1497, ce village était une communauté de pêcheurs, d'hommes qui travaillaient et dépendaient de la bonté du fleuve et de la mer, des écosystèmes piscicoles et des techniques et embarcations qu'ils possédaient sans oublier leurs enclos et potagers, comme le témoignent les actes de louage du monastère bénédictin de Santo Tirso, lui aussi localisé dans le Nord du Portugal.

Ce monastère, considéré par le roi du Portugal D. Afonso V comme l'un des plus importants monastères du royaume, se situait sur la rive gauche du fleuve Ave, à un important nœud de voies de communication entre les villes Porto-Guimarães et Braga-Barcelos-Penafiel. Ce monastère possédait un vaste patrimoine foncier constitué par le domaine dans les environs du monastère, par les domaines de Silvares et de Vila Nova dos Infantes, près de Guimarães, et aussi par le domaine de S. João da Foz, entre autres propriétés, sans oublier évidemment les centaines d'habitations rurales et urbaines dispersées dans les régions du Nord et du centre du Portugal.[1]

Les données des documents de louage des propriétés de ce monastère, relatifs au domaine de S. João da Foz,[2] peuvent aider à faire la lumière sur les questions relatives aux structures et relations familiales qui n'ont pas encore beaucoup de réponses dans l'historiographie portugaise médiéviste, puisque les études ayant cet objet sont rares, sporadiques.[3] C'est donc en centrant notre attention sur la petite communauté de pêcheurs de S. João da Foz que nous prétendons essayer de connaître les rôles des différents membres d'une famille et ses structures et dynamiques.

Nous sommes évidemment toujours limités du fait de la nature des sources. En effet, nous parlons d'une documentation irrégulièrement distribuée dans le temps, de 1449 à 1497, même si les années 1449, 1467/68/69, 1485 et 1497 rassemblent le plus grand nombre de contrats. Ceux-ci sont bilatéraux et couvrent une durée de trois vies (la vie du chef de famille, la vie de sa femme et la vie de son fils ou fille ou de la personne qui a été nommée entre-temps), définissant des obligations, loyers qui étaient payés en nature ou en argent.

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[1] Armindo de Sousa, 'O Mosteiro de Santo Tirso no século XV', *Estudos Medievais*, 1 (1981), 95–156 (pp. 96–97, 104–10).

[2] Ces contrats se trouvent dans l'Arquivo Distrital do Porto, Séccion Monastique, Monastére de Saint Tirso de Riba Ave (désormais, ADP), Códice 149 – *Livro 1º de Prazos Antigos* (fols 88^{v}, 89, 91^{v}, 92^{v}, 93, 93^{v}, 94, 94^{v}, 95, 101^{v}, 112, 112^{v}, 145, 145^{v}, 152, 152^{v}, 165, 168, 171^{v}, 183, 183^{v}, 200^{v}, 205^{v}, 206, 206^{v}, 207, 213, 213^{v}, 214, 214^{v}, 217, 218, 218^{v}, 219, 219^{v}, 220^{v}, 221, 221^{v}, 223^{v}, 225^{v}, 226, 226^{v}, 233^{v}, 234, 234^{v}, 235^{v}, 236, 237, 243, 244, 249^{v}, 252^{v}, 253, 262, 262^{v}, 265^{v}, 269, 274, 288, 296), et Códice 59 – *Livro 2º de Prazos Antigos* (fols 20, 20^{v}, 21, 23^{v}, 24, 24^{v}, 41^{v}, 42, 49, 49^{v}, 55^{v}, 56, 56^{v}, 57, 59^{v}, 61, 61^{v}, 63^{v}, 64, 77, 77^{v}, 79^{v}, 80, 93, 105^{v}, 108, 109, 125^{v}, 138^{v}, 143, 149^{v}, 150, 164^{v}, 165, 168^{v}, 169, 176, 176^{v}, 177, 189, 189^{v}).

[3] On doit souligner les études de Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *O Baixo Mondego nos Finais da Idade Média*, vol. I (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1989), pp. 709–15, et 'A mulher e o trabalho nas cidades medievais portuguesas', in *Homens, Espaços e Poderes Séculos XI–XVI*, vol. I, *Notas do Viver Social* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1990), pp. 37–59; d'Arnaldo Sousa Melo, 'Women and Work in the Household Economy: The Social and Linguistic Evidence from Porto, *c.* 1340–1450', dans ce volume.

Nous avons pu identifier 241 personnes (161 hommes et 80femmes) et nous avons constaté que, dans l'univers des occupations présentées, les références à des pêcheurs sont les plus nombreuses[4] parmi celles qui sont nommées; plus rares sont: *o almocreve* (le muletier),[5] *o carniceiro* (le boucher),[6] *o carpinteiro* (le charpentier),[7] *o cordoeiro* (le cordelier),[8] *o lavrador* (le paysan),[9] *o pedreiro* (le maçon),[10] *o sapateiro* (le cordonnier)[11] et *o vendedor* (le vendeur).[12] L'identification de ces individus et des propriétés repose cependant sur des informations partielles de natures différentes (relations familiales, résidence, renonciations, occupations, relations de propriété et de voisinage). Nous parlons évidemment d'individus ayant des interventions de nature différente: des locataires, des habitants, des individus qui ont des propriétés, des témoins et des membres de la famille. Ces différentes interventions influençaient la façon de les identifier et de les nommer puisque, fréquemment, l'identification des titulaires, nommément du premier titulaire, était plus complète que celles des autres intervenants.

Nous devons remarquer que les individus identifiés apparaissent de manière indirecte dans les documents sus-cités, et que ce ne sont pas eux qui élaborent ces derniers, mais le monastère. De cette façon, les dispositions de ces contrats traduisent surtout les intérêts et les préoccupations du monastère qui était très attaché à ses biens. Ainsi, il s'agit de données toutes obtenues indirectement et, par conséquent, d'une façon fragmentaire (et travaillant sur des sources indirectes, nous sommes obligés). Nous travaillons donc sur des sources indirectes qui obligent à être attentifs et à chercher les moyens de filtrer les informations.

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[4] Les individus inventoriés sont: *Afonso António Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 88^{v}, 89), *Afonso Eanes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 206, 206^{v}, 207), *Afonso Martins Pescador* (ADP, 149, fold 225^{v}, 226), *Afonso Vasques Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 234^{v}), *Álvaro Eanes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 183, 183^{v}), *André Domingues Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 91^{v}, 93^{v}, 94), *André Eanes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 112, 112^{v}), *Diogo Eanes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 145^{v}), *Diogo Vasques Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 152^{v}), *Fernão Eanes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 236), *Gil Eanes o Velho Pescador* (ADP, 59, fol. 93), *Gil Gonçalves Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 218, 219), *Gonçalo Álvares Pescador* (ADP, 59, fols 164^{v}, 165), *Gonçalo do Souto Pescador* (ADP, 59, fols 168^{v}, 169), *João de Sousa Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 92^{v}), *João Afonso Pescador* (ADP, 59, fols 189, 189^{v}), *João Afonso Pescador* (ADP, 59, fols 168^{v}, 169), *João Afonso Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 91^{v}), *João Dinis Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 214, 214^{v}), *João Domingues Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 94^{v}), *João Eanes Pescador da Foz* (ADP, 149, fol. 95), *João Ferreira Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 183, 183^{v}), *João Martins Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 94^{v}, 95), *Luís Álvares Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 234^{v}, 252^{v}, 274), *Luís Eanes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 253), *Luís Martins Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 205^{v}), *Martim Eanes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 225^{v}), *Pedro Domingues Pescador* (ADP, 149, fol. 145), *Pedro Eanes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 214^{v}, 217), *Pedro Fernandes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 213, 213^{v}), *Vasco Gonçalves Pescador* (ADP, 59, fols 77, 77^{v}).

[5] *Afonso Eanes Almocreve* (ADP, 59, fols 20–20^{v}).

[6] *Afonso Eanes Carniceiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 233^{v}; ADP, 149, fol. 108).

[7] *Afonso Eanes Carpinteiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 253; ADP, 59, fols 20–20^{v}), *João Afonso Carpinteiro* (ADP, 59, fols 176–77), *Martim Álvares Carpinteiro* (ADP, 59, fols 176–77).

[8] *João Alvares Cordoeiro* (ADP, 59, fols 189–189^{v}).

[9] *Gonçalo Luís Lavrador* (ADP, 149, fol. 235^{v}).

[10] *João Pedreiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 101^{v}).

[11] *Afonso Eanes Sapateiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 237).

[12] *Diogo Peres Vendedor* (ADP, 59, fols 168^{v}–169).

L'anthroponymie et la prosopographie ont été les moyens, les clés d'entrée dans l'univers communautaire de S. João da Foz. Effectivement, les études d'anthroponymie médiévale réalisées à Azay-le-Ferron sous la coordination de Monique Bourin, ainsi que les travaux de Suarez Soledad Beltran, Henri Moreu Rey et Garcia de Cortazar ont prouvé combien les analyses anthroponymiques peuvent aider à découvrir le *modus vivendi* des individus; à détecter les migrations des populations, les modes de conscience familiale et de sociabilité; les éléments onomastiques et leurs interactions permettent , lorsqu'ils sont croisés avec d'autres données, de pénétrer réellement dans les communautés. Les études anthroponymiques ne sont pas abondantes au Portugal. Nous pouvons souligner cependant les travaux classiques de Leite de Vasconcelos[13] et les études de Iria Gonçalves[14] et de Isabel Franco[15] qui fournissent quelques données sur l'étymologie de certains noms propres, le stock onomastique de certaines régions, les structures anthroponymiques et leurs dynamiques.

En suivant les recherches dirigées par Monique Bourin et Pascal Chareille, nous avons donc procédé à un inventaire de tous les anthroponymes (1^{er} désignatif, $2^{ème}$ désignatif, $3^{ème}$ et $4^{ème}$ désignatifs, adjonctions nominales) consignés dans les contrats; nous avons analysé les interactions des différents désignatifs par rapport aux structures anthroponymiques et avons enregistré toutes les informations fournies par les documents. Ce dépouillement a eu pour but de comprendre les conditions qui ont motivé et engagé l'attribution des différents éléments onomastiques de façon à pénétrer dans l'univers des relations sociales et des solidarités tissées par cette communauté de S. João da Foz durant les années mil quatre cents. Effectivement, les différents désignatifs identifiant l'individu et attribués par la famille ou par la communauté semblent s'inspirer des relations de parenté, des occupations, des mouvements migratoires, du lieu de résidence, des relations communautaires, du statut économique et social et des caractéristiques physiques et psychologiques. Nous croyons donc que ces données, établies à partir de croisement avec les dispositions des contrats, permettent de dessiner ainsi une ébauche des relations/fonctions jouées par les différents éléments dans le sein familial[16] où la référence centrale était l'homme. Nous commencerons par analyser les rôles de l'homme, de la femme, des enfants, puis étudierons les structure et la dynamique familiales.

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[13] Leite de Vasconcelos, *Antroponímia portuguesa* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1928) et *Opúsculos,* vol. III (Coimbra: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1931).

[14] Les études de l'onomastique des privilégiées de la région de Évora et de l'anthroponymie des locataires du Monastère d'Alcobaça, insérés dans l'ouvrage *Imagens do mundo medieval* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1988), 'Amostra de antroponímia alentejana', pp. 69–104, et 'Antroponímia das terras alcobacences nos fins da Idade Média', pp. 105–142.

[15] Isabel Franco, 'O Couto de Sto. Tirso (1432–1516): antroponímia e socialidade' (Thèse de Maîtrisât non publiée, Université du Porto, 1995).

Le rôle de l'homme

Quand nous avons besoin d'identifier un individu à partir de la famille, l'homme est la référence centrale, tantôt comme mari tantôt comme père. Effectivement, dans l'univers des surnoms et dans les cas où il est possible d'identifier le fils et le père, nous avons eu l'occasion de vérifier que ce désignatif, dans la structure anthroponymique, est toujours patronymique,[17] indiquant le nom propre du père:

> *Afonso* ***Eanes*** (Pesoeiro) (fils de João Pedreiro); *Afonso* ***Martins*** *Pescador* (fils de Martim Eanes Pescador et de Senhorinha Eanes); *Álvaro Eanes Pescador* (fils de João Ferreira Pescador); *André* ***Eanes*** *Pescador* (fils de João Domingues); *André* ***Luís*** (fils de Luís Eanes da Velha); *André* ***Luís*** (fils de Luís Martins Pescador et de Maria Gil); *António* ***Martins*** (fils de Martim Eanes da Condessa); *Bartolomeu* ***Fernandes*** (fils de Fernão Eanes Pescador); *Catarina* ***Peres*** (fille de Pedro Domingues); *Diogo* ***Vasques*** (fils de Vasco Gonçalves Pescador); *Gonçalo* ***Afonso*** (fils de Afonso António Pescador et de Inês Afonso); *Isabel* ***Fernandes*** (fille de Fernão Eanes Pescador) *Maria* ***Afonso*** (fille de Afonso Eanes Rouceiro), *Pedro* ***Afonso*** (fils de Afonso Eanes); *João* ***Eanes*** (fils de João Domingues Pescador); *João* ***Fernandes*** (fils de Fernão Eanes); *João* ***Luís*** (fils de Luís Antonino); *João* ***Martins*** (fils de Martim Eanes); *João* ***Martins*** *Pescador* (fils de Martim Pequeno); *Maria* ***Eanes*** (fille de João Frade); *Maria* ***Eanes*** (fille de João Martins et de Inês Gonçalves); *Maria* ***Gil*** (fille de Gil Eanes da Condessa); *Pedro* ***Eanes*** (fils de João Afonso de Sousa (Pescador) o Velho); *Tomé Afonso* (fils de Afonso Vaio).[18]

De cette façon, il est intéressant de vérifier que le surnom peut témoigner d'une alliance entre enfant et père, enfant et famille, par rapport à son lieu de naissance, au lieu où il a été élevé. Nous pressentons que, lors de l'accouchement et pendant la croissance d'un enfant, on a besoin de l'identifier et, lorsque le nom propre seul ne suffit pas pour le distinguer des autres, un point de référence suprême s'impose: celui de la famille et, à son intérieur, celui du père. Tous les enfants ont droit au surnom qu'ils soient fils ou filles et, pour ces dernières, sauf rares exceptions,[19] le surnom n'est jamais omis. Entre les anthroponymes masculins, le surnom peut être accompagné, au contraire de ce qui se passe dans l'anthroponymie féminine, par le troisième et le quatrième désignatifs. On parle des désignatifs géographiques, occupationnels, entre autres. Dans cette communauté, ces désignatifs sont seulement attribués aux hommes et peuvent encourager, conjugués avec l'homonymie[20] et le parcours de vie de chaque individu, l'omission du surnom. En effet, l'attribution de ces désignatifs peut témoigner que l'homme pouvait couper son cordon ombilical et édifier sa propre vie, ce qui peut correspondre à l'omission du surnom, à l'identification avec d'autres désignatifs qui ne renvoient pas à la famille, mais, dans la plupart des cas, à la location[21] et/ou à l'occupation,[22] tandis que la femme, elle, même après son mariage continuait à être associée à son père à travers le surnom toujours présent. Il est curieux de constater aussi que quand, dans un couple, on a besoin d'identifier le père de l'épouse, celui-ci est nommé, non comme père, mais comme beau-père.[23] Nous pouvons cependant admettre que ce genre de désignation résulte d'une caractéristique des contrats puisqu'ils s'adressent à son premier bénéficiaire qui correspond, généralement, à l'homme et tout est fait et écrit autour de lui.

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[16] Garcia de Cortázar et Ruiz Aguirre, *História rural medieval* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1983), pp. 111–12.

[17] Sauf quelques exceptions comme par exemple: ***Luís Eanes*** *o Moço filho de* (fils de) *Luís Eanes da Velha* et *João* ***Fernandes*** *o Moço filho de* (fils de) *de Pedro Fernandes et de Beatriz Eanes*. Dans le premier cas le 1er désignatif (nom propre) et le 2ème désignatif (surnom) sont les mêmes pour le père et pour le fils; le 3ème désignatif de 'Luís Eanes **o Moço**' fait la distinction entre le fils et le père, soulignant la jeunesse du fils. Dans le deuxième cas, le père et le fils partagent le même surnom (Fernandes), dénonçant un héritage, peut-être la présence d'un nom de famille.

[18] Dans ces exemples, on prétend établir une corrélation entre le surnom du fils (à noir) et le nom propre du père (souligné), de façon à montrer le caractère patronymique du surnom. ADP, 59, fols 21, 24–24^{v}, 61–61^{v}, 77, 77^{v}, 150, 168^{v}, 169, 176, 176^{v}, 177; ADP, 149, fols 94^{v}, 95, 101^{v}, 112, 112^{v}, 171^{v}, 183, 183^{v}, 205^{v}, 221^{v}, 223^{v}, 226, 226^{v}, 234, 236, 243, 244, 253, 265^{v}, 269.

Malgré cela, ces données enrichissaient l'idée que la titularisation de l'autorité dans l'intérieur de la famille, appartient au mari, en connexion avec la doctrine du mariage défendue par l'Eglise[24] à la fin du Moyen Âge. Effectivement, le mari est présenté comme le titulaire du contrat, le chef du couple/maison.[25] Rarement on parle de la mère. Nous avons seulement trouvé un cas faisant référence au nom de la mère, mais d'une façon indirecte et parce que le père (son mari) était déjà mort: *Maria Gil*,[26] *mãe* (mère) *de João e viúva* (veuve) *de João da Lagoa*. Même après sa mort, le père peut fonctionner comme référence. *Álvaro Eanes*, titulaire d'un contrat, est identifié avec une adjonction nominale[27] qui se rapporte au père qui était déjà mort: *Álvaro Eanes Pescador* (pêcheur) *filho de* (fils de) *João Ferreira Pescador* (pêcheur) *morador que foi* (qui a été résident) dans le domaine de S. João da Foz.[28]

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[19] Toutes les femmes, individualisées sont identifiées avec le nom propre (1er désignatif) et le surnom patronymique (2ème désignatif), à l'exception de *Maria de Sousa* (fille de João de Sousa o Velho) (ADP, 149, fols 112–112^{v}).

[20] Dans le total de 224 surnoms, nous avons seulement compilé 30 unités onomastiques. Les surnoms 'Eanes', 'Afonso' et 'Martins' rassemblent 50% des individus identifiés avec un surnom. Ces données soulignent la pénurie onomastique de la génération des parents qui continue dans la génération des enfants. En effet, relativement aux noms propres, nous apercevons la même réalité: une très petite quantité des noms propres identifient la plupart de la population étudiée: 'João', 'Afonso', 'Pedro' sont les noms propres préférés identifiant 51.23% de la population masculine; 'Maria' e 'Inês' désignent, plus de 50% de la population féminine, tandis que 'Catarina' en identifie 25%.

[21] On peut présenter les cas suivants: *Domingos do Barreiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 145^{v}), *Gonçalo do Souto* (ADP, 59, fols 168^{v}, 169), *João da Lagoa* (ADP, 149, fol. 235^{v}), *João de Canellos* (ADP, 149, fol. 234), *João de Sousa o Velho* (ADP, 149, fols 205^{v}, 223^{v}, 112, 112^{v}, 212^{v}), *Martim da Maia* (ADP, 149, fols 152, 206, 206^{v}), *Pedro do Barreiro* (ADP, 59, fol. 92^{v}).

[22] On peut donner les exemples suivants: *o Gaiteiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 235^{v}), *João Pedreiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 101^{v}), *Martim Moleiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 93^{v}).

[23] Par exemple: [Afonso Eanes Rouceiro] *sogro* (beau-père) *de Fernão Afonso* (ADP, 59, fols 149^{v}, 150), *genro de* (beau-fils) de *Álvaro Gil* (ADP, 149, fol. 234).

Les relations parentales sont, de ce fait, définies en fonction de l'homme. Pour soutenir cette idée émergent les adjonctions nominales très riches parce qu'elles offrent des informations complémentaires qui renforcent le nom propre et le surnom et/ou autres désignatifs, établissant essentiellement des relations qui ont encore une fois trait à l'homme, à l'homme père, à l'homme mari: *fils de* ou *épouse de*. De ces données, commence à émerger et à être esquissée une subalternité de la femme par rapport à l'homme et se pause la question de la position de la femme à l'intérieur des relations familiales.

Le rôle de la femme

Les quatre-vingt femmes individualisées sont identifiées[29] avec une structure anthroponymique qui ne dispense pas le nom propre et le surnom[30] et la majorité a aussi recours à une adjonction nominale qui se rapporte au mari: *mulher de* (épouse de).[31] Il faut rappeler que ces femmes participent dans les contrats comme deuxième titulaire, après le mari, qui est le premier titulaire. Cette situation pouvait influencer la façon d'identifier le deuxième titulaire — la femme — puisqu'on indique la relation qui existe entre le premier et le deuxième titulaire, nommément quand ils sont mariés. Toutefois, malgré l'importance de la position de titularisation relativement à l'identification des femmes dans ces sources, il paraît certain que l'identification de la femme est très liée à l'homme: l'homme père (certifié par le surnom toujours patronymique); l'homme mari (témoigné par une adjonction nominal d'alliance). Ces données anthroponymiques permettent donc de penser que le mariage influençait l'identification de la femme puisque, quoiqu'elle continue à être identifiée avec le nom propre et le surnom patronymique qui renvoie aux relations de consanguinité, la femme mariée acquiert un nouvel axe de référence: le mari. La fille est aussi une épouse. Le mariage paraît transformer la structure de l'anthroponyme féminin qui est alors constituée par trois éléments: nom propre, surnom patronymique et adjonction nominal indicative de la relation d'alliance (épouse de) qui est presque omniprésent, même dans les cas de veuvage: *mulher que fostes de* (toi qui a été l'épouse de).

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[24] Claudia Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher no final da Idade Média (1250–1500)', in *História das Mulheres no Ocidente*, vol. II, *A Idade Média*, dir. de Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1993), pp. 253–435 (p. 366).

[25] Cortázar et Aguirre, *História rural medieval*, p. 110.

[26] ADP, 149, fol. 265^{v}.

[27] Les adjonctions nominales sont des désignations complémentaires qui sont annexées á la structure anthroponymique et aident à identifier l'individu. Par exemple: fils de, épouse de, entre autres. Monique Bourin dit que ces désignations complémentaires ne participent pas d'une véritable anthroponymie, mais aident à différencier des personnages (Monique Bourin, 'Les formes anthroponymiques et leur évolution d'après les données du Cartulaire du Chapitre Cathédrale d'Agde (X^{e} siècle–1250)', in *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne: Études d'anthroponymie médiévale Ières et IIèmes rencontres – Azay-le-Ferron*, vol. I (Tours: Publication de l'Université de Tours, 1990), pp. 179–217 (p. 191).

[28] ADP, 149, fols 183, 183^{v}.

[29] Il y a seulement un cas qui on ne connaît pas le surnom de la femme à cause du mauvais état de la source qui a empêché la lecture. C'est la situation de Maria mariée avec *Pero Domingues*, mère de *Catarina Peres* et belle-mère de *Diogo Eanes* (ADP, 149, fol. 243).

[30] On trouve seulement un cas qui fuit à cette réalite: Maria de Sousa. Cette femme est identifiée, au contraire de son frère, avec un désignatif qui a été attribué au père (de Sousa), mais

Nous avons trouvé quatre situations explicites de veuvage. Dans ces cas, elles sont identifiées aussi avec une adjonction nominale qui renvoie au mari déjà mort:

- *Catarina Afonso mulher que fostes* (qui a été l'épouse de) *de Estevão Peres*;[32]
- *Inês Gonçalves mulher que fostes* (qui a été l'épouse de) *de João Martins*;[33]
- *Maria Gil mulher que fostes* (qui a été l'épouse de) *de Joao da Lagoa*;[34]
- *Beatriz Eanes mulher que foi* (qui a été l'épouse de) *de Pero Fernandes*.[35]

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pas avec un surnom qui dénonce le premier nom (le nom propre) du père. *Maria* ***de Sousa*** est fille de *João de Sousa o Velho* (ADP, 149, fols 112, 112^{v}); son frère est identifié de cette façon: *Pedro* ***Eanes*** *filho de* (fils de) *João de Sousa o Velho*. On doit dire aussi que la structure anthroponymique du père est dynamique: *João Afonso de Sousa Pescador Morador em S. João da Foz* (1449) (ADP, 149, fol. 92^{v}), *João de Sousa o Velho* (1465) (ADP, 149, fol. 205^{v}), *João de Sousa o Velho* (1468) (ADP, 149, fol. 112), *João de Sousa o Velho Morador em S. João da Foz* (1468) (ADP, 149, fol. 112^{v}), *João de Sousa* (1468) (ADP, 149, fols 221^{v}, 223^{v}).

[31] Voici quelques exemples: *Ana Rodrigues mulher de Pero Afonso Lovados* (ADP, 59, fol. 108), *Beatriz Eanes mulher de Pero Fernandes Pescador* (ADP, 149, fols 213–213^{v}, 262), *Beatriz Esteves mulher de João André o Velho* (ADP, 149, fol. 221), *Beatriz Martins mulher de Rui Fernandes Escrivão das Sisas do Rei* (ADP, 149, fol. 252^{v}), *Beatriz Vasques mulher de João Ferreira Pescador morador [em S. João da Foz]* (ADP, 149, fols 183–183^{v}), *Catarina Álvares mulher de André Eanes Pescador morador no couto de S. João da Foz* (ADP, 149, fol. 253), entre autres.

[32] ADP, 149, fol. 93.

[33] ADP, 149, fols 226^{v}, 244.

[34] ADP, 149, fol. 26.

[35] ADP, 149, fol. 262.

Les premières trois femmes citées ici participent dans les contrats, non comme deuxième, mais comme première titulaire. Cette situation ne veut pas dire toutefois que, quand elles n'ont pas la position de premier titulaire, elles ne sont pas nommées en fonction du mari mort. En effet, les femmes susmentionnées *Beatriz Eanes mulher que foi de Pero Fernandes* et *Inês Gonçalves mulher que fostes de João Martins* confirment cette idée parce qu'elles n'ont pas la position de deuxième titulaire dans le contrat. *Beatriz Eanes* est nommée pour identifier une propriété à louer dans ledit contrat. *Inês Gonçalves* participe dans deux contrats et elle est identifiée avec la même structure anthroponymique, mais, dans le premier moment, elle est le premier titulaire du contrat[36] et, dans le second, elle est aussi une référence dans l'identification d'une propriété.[37]

De cette façon, en partant des ces données, nous pouvons affirmer que la femme enregistrée dans les contrats de louage est présentée à l'intérieur du noyau familial: elle est la fille,[38] l'épouse,[39] la mère,[40] la veuve d'un homme.[41] On peut entrevoir une femme dépendante de l'homme. En effet, comme nous l'avons dit auparavant, la plupart des femmes individualisées ont une participation secondaire dans le contrat, puisque le premier titulaire du contrat de location est le mari et qu'elles sont le deuxième titulaire; on assiste à une *tutelle du sexe masculin sur le sexe féminin*.[42] On ne découvre aucun cas où l'épouse est le premier titulaire et le mari le second titulaire du contrat. Les situations des femmes qui sont le premier titulaire correspondent, généralement, à des veuves qui, soit ne sont pas accompagnées dans la titularisation du contrat et doivent nommer le deuxième et troisième titulaires,[43] soit sont accompagnées par un fils ou une fille.[44]

Est renforcée l'idée que si le mari est le titulaire du contrat, il est également le chef du foyer.[45] La titularisation de l'autorité à l'intérieur de la famille appartenait au mari; en conséquence, l'épouse était hiérarchiquement inférieure à l'homme, elle serait une femme soumise à l'autorité du mari. C'est seulement quand le mari mourait que la femme héritait des responsabilités définies dans le contrat ou assumait la responsabilité du contrat ou faisait un nouveau contrat.

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[36] ADP, 149, fol. 226^{v}.

[37] ADP, 149, fol. 244.

[38] À travers d'un surnom patronymique.

[39] À travers d'une adjonction nominale d'alliance.

[40] À travers d'une adjonction nominale de consanguinité. On a trouvé les deux cas suivants: *vossa mãe Beatriz Vasques* [mère de Álvaro Eanes Pêcheur fils de João Ferreira Pêcheur] (ADP, 149, fols 183, 183^{v}), *Maria Gil vossa mãe* [mère de André Luís] (ADP, 59, fols 176, 176^{v}, 177).

[41] À travers d'une adjonction nominale d'alliance.

[42] Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', p. 356.

[43] On a trouvé les cas suivants: *Catarina Afonso* (ADP, 149, fol. 93), *Catarina Garcia* (ADP, 59, fol. 59^{v}), *Maria Gil* (ADP, 149, fol. 265). Il y a un autre cas d'une femme qui participe seule comme première titulaire, mais on ne connaît pas son état civil: *Maria Eanes Pristão* (ADP, 59, fols 189, 189^{v}).

[44] C'est la situation de *Inês Gonçalves* qui est la première titulaire et sa fille *Maria Eanes* est la seconde titulaire (ADP, 149, fol. 226^{v}).

[45] Cortázar et Aguirre, *História rural medieval*, p. 110.

A partir de ce contexte familial où, au moment de définir à qui appartient l'autorité dans la famille, l'infériorité de l'épouse paraît claire, une question commence à surgir: cette infériorité est-t-elle aussi manifeste au moment de la distribution des responsabilités entre le mari et l'épouse?

Cette question exige un cheminement différent parce qu'au moment de distribuer les responsabilités, nous commençons à découvrir une autre face de la réalité féminine qui paraît omise dans les données anthroponymiques: d'un être inférieur, la femme acquiert une fonction très importante, égale à celle jouée par l'homme.

Dans les contrats de louage, le mari et l'épouse ont indubitablement les mêmes obligations, indépendamment de celui qui mourrait le premier. Les droits et les devoirs sont les mêmes pour les trois titulaires du contrat. On peut dire, dans cette perspective, que ces contrats concèdent respect et autorité à la femme, attendu qu'ils font passer l'idée que la capacité féminine dans la gestion des biens était reconnu, puisqu'elle était le successeur du contrat quand le mari mourait.

On admet donc que, quotidiennement, le mari et l'épouse étaient deux êtres humains complémentaires, le premier représentait la force du travail, le second était l'appui de cette force qui devrait toujours être prête à satisfaire toutes les nécessités du mari. Sûrement, pour accomplir les obligations définies dans les contrats, on aurait besoin d'une famille; le mari et l'épouse seraient tous deux essentiels au procès de la survivance, puisqu'ils accompliraient des tâches complémentaires.[46] Nous trouvons également cette complémentarité dans le Centre du Portugal — Baixo Mondego — où Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho[47] dit que la femme paysanne collaborait avec son époux, travaillant la terre et élevant des animaux. Les *regateiras* (vendeuses à la criée), *padeiras* (boulangères) et *pescadeiras* (femmes pêcheurs) de la ville de Porto, en connexion ou non avec l'activité du mari, contribuaient également à l'économie domestique du noyau familial.[48] Les régions de la Galice[49] et de la Catalogne[50] (péninsule ibérique) présentent des situations similaires. Il en est de même, selon Henrietta Leyser, relativement au travail de la femme en Angleterre médiévale.[51] La femme avait certainement une tâche diversifiée et cruciale dans cette communauté de pêcheurs. Suivant quelques données des XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles, on l'imagine en train de préparer les filets, les instruments nécessaires à la pêche, en train de vendre et de conserver les poissons, utilisant le sel et l'huile, sans oublier les potagers; on l'imagine en train de prier pour les hommes qui constituent les équipages, et prendre soin des enfants et de la maison.[52]

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[46] Cortazar et Aguirre, *História Rural Medieval*, p. 111. Sur ce thème on peut aussi consulter l'article de Melo, 'Women and Work in the Household Economy', dans ce volume. Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', pp. 390–97.

[47] Cruz Coelho, *O Baixo Mondego*, pp. 711–12.

[48] Melo, 'Women and Work in the Household Economy', dans ce volume.

[49] Maria Carmen Pallares Mendez, 'Las Mujeres en la sociedad galega bajomedieval', in *Relaciones de poder, de produccion y parentesco en la Edad Media y Moderna: Aproximación a su estudio*, dir. de Reyna Pastor (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), pp. 351–73 (pp. 358–59).

[50] Coral Cuadrada, 'Poder, producción y familia en el mundo rural catalán', in *Relaciones de poder, de produccion y parentesco*, dir. de Pastor, pp. 225–61.

Corroborent cette idée les contrats, ci-dessus mentionnés, dans lesquels des femmes sont premières titulaires et qui montrent que les femmes n'étaient pas exclues de la vie économique et sociale et que l'on croyait en leur capacité de répondre à leurs obligations économiques,[53] même quand elles étaient seules, ressemblant un peu aux veuves paysannes d'Angleterre qui étaient très attachées de leurs droits et qui, pour la plupart, étaient capables de faire face à leurs responsabilités.[54]

Nonobstant, ces situations ne correspondent pas, certainement, à des moments d'émancipation de la femme, attendu qu'elle obtenait son autorité de son mari, mais elle pouvait déchoir, par contre, dans une situation de fragilité,[55] en parallèle avec ce qui se passait en Europe. Cette fragilité était vécue aussi par certains veuves de la société de Porto au XIV^{e} siècle. Luís Carlos Amaral et Luís Miguel Duarte affirment que, dans la ville de Porto, durant les années 1400, la mort du mari entraînait aussi l'appauvrissement de la femme, tombant dans la catégorie de *cabaneira.* Cet appauvrissement est visible dans les exemptions et/ou fuites des veuves par rapport aux paiements des contributions municipales, dans la perte des biens (maison, potagers) et des moyens de production. Dans cette ville il existait 'deux groupes sociaux maudits: les pauvres âgés et les pauvres veuves'.[56] La même chose se produit dans diverses régions de l'Europe à la fin du Moyen Age, par exemple parmi les veuves des villes du Nord de la France.[57] On croit aussi que l'appauvrissement de certaines veuves est lié à la féminisation de la pauvreté, décrite par Goldberg,[58] nommément dans les villes, aux XIII^{e} et XIV siècles.

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[51] Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450–1500* (London: Phoenix Press, 1995), pp. 142–67 (nommément pp. 145–52 et 162).

[52] Inês Amorim et Isabel Franco, 'Pescadeira', in *História do trabalho e das ocupações*, vol. II, *As Pescas* (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2001), pp. 50–54.

[53] Consulter l'article de Melo, 'Women and Work in the Household Economy' dans ce volume.

[54] Leyser, *Medieval Women*, pp. 184–85.

[55] On peut consulter aussi Cuadrada ('Poder, producción y familia', p. 260) et Cruz Coelho (*O Baixo Mondego*, pp. 627–28).

[56] Luís Carlos Amaral et Luís Miguel Duarte, *Os Homens que pagaram a Rua Nova (Fiscalização, Sociedade e Ordenamento territorial no Porto Quatrocentista)* (Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica – Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1985), pp. 32, 40–42.

[57] Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', pp. 411–12 et 416.

Le village de S. João da Foz semble correspondre à cette réalité puisque, célibataire ou non, on était obligé de garantir sa survie et de répondre aux obligations qui étaient dues au monastère qui exigeait le bon entretien de ses propriétés, ce qui n'était pas une tâche facile pour une femme seule (célibataire ou veuve).[59] Un second mariage[60] et/ou la renonciation, la vente ou la donation de part ou de la totalité des propriétés suivie de la rénovation du contrat, étaient les solutions trouvées par ces femmes veuves pour surpasser l'état d'insécurité et rééquilibrer leur vie économique. Ces solutions sont témoignées par les contrats de *Afonso Vasques* et *Isabel Eanes,* de *Margarida Afonso*, de *Beatriz Eanes* et *Inês Gonçalves.*

Le jeune couple, *Afonso Vasques* et *Isabel Eanes*, fait un contrat sur les maisons où habitait la mère. Celle ci a renoncé au contrat qu'elle avait de ses maisons en faveur de son fils et de sa belle-fille, mais à la condition d'habiter à vie les maisons susmentionnées. Le fils et la belle-fille ne pouvaient pas mettre dehors leur mère parce qu'ils perdraient immédiatement le contrat, le droit qu'ils auraient sur les maisons (1469).[61]

Margarida Afonso mulher de Simão Martins a vendu, après la mort de son mari, les propriétés qu'ils possédaient à *João Fernandes o Velho* et à *Gonçalo do Souto,* pêcheurs, résidents dans le domaine de S. João da Foz (1497).[62]

Beatriz Eanes veuve de *Pedro Fernandes* a vendu la moitié de sa maison et de son potager qui leur appartenaient, à elle et à son mari par contrat. Elle fait la novation du contrat de façon à ne prendre en compte que la moitié non vendue et, de façon à ce que son fils soit la seconde personne du contrat qui resterait avec le contrat au cas où la mère se remarierait (1471).[63]

Inês Gonçalves, veuve de *João Martins filho de Martim Eanes*, est la première titulaire d'un contrat où le deuxième titulaire est sa fille Maria Eanes. Dans ce contrat, elles procèdent à la location des maisons où elles habitaient avec seulement la moitié d'un potager parce qu'elle a donné l'autre moitié à son beau-frère (1468).[64]

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[58] Cité par Leyser (*Medieval Women*, pp. 155).

[59] Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, 'Arquitectura românica de Entre Douro e Minho' (Thèse de doctorat en Histoire de l'Art, non publiée, Université du Porto, 1978), pp. 210–11. Luis Amaral et Luis Miguel Duarte admettent aussi que, dans la ville du Porto des années quatre cents, parmi les contribuant pour la construction d'une rue très importante du Porto — *Rua Nova*, le *casal* (entendu, en même temps, comme propriété — maison et potagers — et couple — mari et épouse) était une unité, indispensable à la survivance d'une famille, mais difficile à travailler avec une seule personne (*Os Homens que pagaram a Rua Nova*, p. 41).

[60] Amaral et Duarte, *Os Homens que pagaram a Rua Nova*, p. 42. Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', p. 416.

[61] ADP, 149, fols 234, 234^{v}, 249^{v}.

[62] ADP, 59, fols 168^{v}–169.

[63] ADP, 149, fols 213, 213^{v}, 262, 262^{v}.

[64] ADP, 149, fols 226^{v}, 244.

Nous pouvons admettre, toutefois, que ces solutions étaient recherchées aussi par les hommes célibataires parce que, parmi les contrats du même monastère, relatifs au domaine de S. Tirso, situé aussi au Nord du Portugal, nous trouvons quelques hommes qui ont renoncé aux propriétés louées antérieurement. Ces locataires paraissent correspondre aussi à des hommes seuls qui ne se sont pas mariés ou qui sont veufs.[65] On admet que la communauté de S. João da Foz connaissait la même réalité, d'autant plus que les activités liées à la pêche étaient certainement plus dangereuses que les affaires roturières. Les contrats ne disent rien à ce sujet, mais nous savons que la documentation portugaise présente plus de références aux veuves qu'aux veufs.[66] En conséquence, le nombre de veuves à S. João da Foz serait plus grand que celui du domaine de Santo Tirso. On accepte, toutefois, que le célibat féminin ou masculin (nommément la viduité ou veuvage), associé à la vieillesse, était sûrement synonyme d'une certaine fragilité, d'inquiétudes.

C'est dans ce contexte que les dispositions des contrats font émerger les enfants, puisqu'ils pouvaient soulager l'insécurité de leurs parents veufs et/ou vieillissants.

Le rôle des enfants

Les sources étudiées parlent peu du rôle des enfants dans l'univers familial, mais la plupart des renonciations évoquées dans les contrats sont faites en faveur des enfants, ce qui peut traduire un échange d'aides entre parents et enfants. Les parents ou les beaux-parents renonçaient en faveur du fils ou beau-fils et, de cette façon, ils offraient à leurs enfants l'autorité dans la propriété et la possibilité de s'affirmer économiquement et socialement dans la communauté. En contrepartie, le fils ou le beau-fils offrait la garantie de survie à son père et/ou sa mère et soulageait ses responsabilités. C'était une solution d'intérêt, de compromis pour les deux parties parce qu'on établissait un équilibre entre la faible force de travail des parents et le besoin d'aide économique des jeunes pour édifier leur vie.

Partant de l'anthroponymie,[67] pendant les derniers temps du Moyen Âge, les petits étaient seulement identifiés avec leur nom propre accompagné, ou non, par une adjonction nominale de consanguinité *filho(a) d*e (fils/fille de). On a trouvé, parmi les contrats, deux situations: *João filho de* (fils de) *Maria Gil e de João de Lagoa*; *Francisco filho de* (fils de) *João Eanes et de Maria Brás*.

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[65] Franco, 'O Couto de Sto. Tirso', p. 82.

[66] Amaral et Duarte (*Os Homens que pagaram a Rua Nova*, p. 42) affirment, suivant les observations de Marie Thérèse Lorcin relativement aux testaments de la région lyonnais, à la fin du Moyen Âge, que la documentation portugaise laisse échapper plus de références à veuves (*mulher que foi de*) qu'à veufs.

[67] Iria Gonçalves, 'Amostra da antroponímia alentejana no século XV', in *Imagens do mundo medieval*, pp. 69–104 (p. 70).

João est le deuxième titulaire d'un contrat fait le 29 juin 1471, dans lequel sa mère est la première titulaire.[68] Le contrat dit que sa mère est veuve (*mulher que foi*) et que *João* est fils du mari décédé: *João de Lagoa*. Le contrat est fait par son grand-père maternel — *Gil Eanes das Serradas* — qui avait une procuration de sa mère. Le contrat dit aussi que le prochain mari qu'elle aura sera le troisième titulaire du contrat.

Francisco est aussi le deuxième titulaire d'un contrat fait le 22 mars 1482, dans lequel son père est le premier titulaire.[69] Le contrat dit que *Francisco* est fils de la première femme de son père, qui s'appelait Maria Brás, et il est relatif aux maisons qu'ils habitaient. On croit donc que sa mère, Maria Brás, était déjà morte et on admet la possibilité que son père ne s'était pas remarié.

Ces deux cas présentent pourtant deux enfants qui sont orphelins du père ou de la mère. Ils ne sont pas identifiés avec un surnom, mais ils ont une adjonction nominale qui les renvoie aux relations consanguines, même quand l'un des parents est déjà mort. L'attribution de ce genre d'adjonction nominale n'était cependant pas exclusive des petits. En effet, nous trouvons aussi des individus qui sont identifiés avec le nom propre, le surnom patronymique et l'adjonction nominale, soulignant la relation de consanguinité qui rattache l'enfant au père ou à la mère, même si la référence à la mère pouvait être liée à la mort du père. Ainsi, nous pouvons les exemples suivants: *Afonso Eanes Pesoeiro filho de* (fils de) *João Pedreiro*;[70] *Afonso Martins* (Pêcheur) *vosso filho* (votre fils) (de *Martim Eanes* Pêcheur),[71] *Tomé Afonso filho de* (fils de) *Afonso Vaio*,[72] *Álvaro Eanes* (Pêcheur) *filho de* (fils de) *João Ferreira* (Pêcheur),[73] *André Eanes filho de* (fils de) *João Domingues*,[74] *André Luís filho de* (fils de) *Luís da Velha*,[75] *António Martins morador em* (résidente à) *São João da Foz filho de* (fils de) *Martim Eanes da Condessa*,[76] *Bartolomeu Fernandes clérigo* (clerc) *e filho de* (fils de) *Fernão Eanes* Pêcheur,[77] *João Fernandes (Moço) filho de* (fils de) *Pero Fernandes*,[78] *João Afonso Coelho filho de* (fils de) *Beatriz Vasques* (épouse de *João André o Velho*)[79] et *Gonçalo Afonso filho de* (fils de) *Inês Afonso*.[80]

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[68] ADP, 149, fol. 265^{v}.

[69] ADP, 59, fol. 125^{v}.

[70] ADP, 149, fol. 101^{v}.

[71] ADP, 149, fols 225^{v}, 226; ADP, 59, fols 168^{v}, 169.

[72] ADP, 59, fols 176, 176^{v}, 177.

[73] ADP, 149, fols 183, 183^{v}.

[74] ADP, 149, fols 112, 112^{v}, 253.

[75] ADP, 59, fol. 21.

[76] ADP, 149, fol. 244.

[77] ADP, 149, fol. 236.

[78] ADP, 149, fol. 262^{v}; ADP, 59, fol. 105^{v}.

[79] ADP, 149, fol. 221.

[80] ADP, 149, fols 112, 112^{v}.

Ces individus participent au contrat comme deuxième titulaire quand le père ou la mère est le premier titulaire, ou comme premier titulaire célibataire (sans nommer le second et le troisième titulaire), ou comme premier titulaire marié (l'épouse est le second titulaire). On suppose que le recours aux adjonctions nominales qui renvoient aux parents dénonce des individus jeunes, à l'âge de l'adolescence (de quatorze à dix-huit /vingt et un ans) ou aux premières années de la vie adulte (vingt et un/vingt-huit ans)[81] et qui n'ont pas encore eu l'occasion de créer des racines dans la communauté. On conçoit donc avoir à faire à des individus qui attendent une opportunité pour s'affirmer ou qui sont en train d'acquérir quelque stabilité économique pour maintenir un nouveau noyau familial. Parfois, ces individus ont l'aide économique de leurs parents, quand ceux-ci partagent, renoncent ou font, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, des donations de propriétés qu'ils possédaient en leur faveur. *Diogo Vasques filho de Vasco Gonçalves Pescador* fait un contrat de location des maisons où habitaient son père et sa mère, à condition que ceux-ci continuent à habiter à vie les maisons suscitées, partageant le même toit avec le fils qui n'était pas marié (1478).[82] *Fernão Afonso* et *Maria Afonso* (épouse) ont célébré un contrat d'une maison dans laquelle ils habitaient et qui leur avait été donné, lors de leur mariage par les beaux-parents/parents. Ceux-ci, *Afonso Eanes Rouceiro* et *Maria Martins*, renouvellent leur contrat de façon à contempler la surdité donation (1490).[83] *Gonçalo Peres* et *Margarida Afonso* (épouse) ont fait un contrat d'un terrain qui leur a été donné par leur père/beau-père. Ce terrain se situe dans un autre qui appartient au père (1485).[84] *João André o Velho* et *Beatriz Esteves* (épouse) ont fait un contrat des maisons et potagers à condition de donner au fils de *Beatriz Esteves*[85] la maison qu'ils ont construite et une partie du potager (1467).[86]

On admet que l'enregistrement du nom du père permettait au fils d'aller chercher chez le père un peu de sa maturité, même quand il est marié, et peut-être jeune-mariés. Ce genre de 'solidarité' est visible aussi dans la communauté de roturiers de Santo Tirso, domaine dudit Monastère. Ici, on constate que la majorité des pères, nommés pour aider à identifier le fils, est associée au genre et à la durabilité de l'alliance que le père a établi avec une propriété et/ou avec les moyens de production qu'il possédait, ou à la contribution de leur occupation ou à son savoir-faire dans certaines occupations.[87]

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[81] Cette définition a suivi celle qui a été proposée par le roi D. Duarte, présenté par Armindo de Sousa, 'Condicionamentos Básicos', in *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso, vol. II, *A Monarquia Feudal (1096–1480)* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1993), pp. 313–89 (p. 358).

[82] ADP, 59, fols 77–77^{v}.

[83] ADP, 59, fols 149^{v}–150.

[84] ADP, 59, fol. 23^{v}.

[85] *João Afonso Coelho filho de* (fils de) *Beatriz Esteves*.

[86] ADP, 149, fols 221–221^{v}.

[87] Franco, 'O Couto de Sto. Tirso', p. 82.

L'anthroponymie et les données que les contrats laissent échapper présentent des enfants insérés dans le cœur des relations familiales, dépendants des parents, des jeunes qui avaient besoin de l'appui de leur père, de leur famille. L'identification qui ne fait pas appel aux parents peut être associée, parmi d'autres circonstances, à une certaine émancipation des enfants ou à une faible importance de la famille dans le parcours de vie de l'enfant.

L'émancipation de certains individus par rapport à leur parents peut être révélée par l'attribution d'autres désignatifs, généralement un troisième désignatif qui associe fréquemment l'individu à certaines occupations: *boucher*,[88] *charpentier*,[89] *cordier*,[90] *cordonnier*,[91] *pêcheur*,[92] *marchand*,[93] *maçon*,[94] *marin*,[95] *meunier*,[96] et *roturier*.[97] L'attribution de ces désignatifs témoigne un enracinement, un attachement de l'individu à une occupation. Ils offraient un statut à l'individu et, en même temps, permettaient de combattre un peu la cristallisation onomastique et conséquente homonymie caractéristique de cette communauté.[98] Parfois, ces désignatifs portaient sur l'omission du surnom et de l'adjonction nominale de consanguinité.

Les dynamiques familiales

L'approche des rôles de l'homme, de la femme et des enfants conduit encore à une autre question, en mettant un peu à nu la structure du noyau familiale et ses dynamiques internes. La famille et son évolution exigent une étude complexe puisqu'elles n'obéissent pas à des déterminismes linéaires et qu'elles connaissent des variations en fonction des régions, des différentes couches sociales,[99] des agents démographiques,[100] entre autres.

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[88] *Afonso Eanes Carniceiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 233^{v}; ADP, 149, fol. 108).

[89] *Afonso Eanes Carpinteiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 253; ADP, 59, fols 20, 20^{v}), *João Afonso Carpinteiro* (ADP, 59, fols 176–77), *Martim Alvares Carpinteiro* (ADP, 59, fols 176–77).

[90] *João Álvares Cordoeiro* (ADP, 59, fols 189–89^{v}).

[91] *Afonso Eanes Sapateiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 237).

[92] Consulter la note 4, où tous les individus avec le désignatif *pêcheur* sont présentés.

[93] *Afonso Eanes Almocreve* (ADP, 59, fols 20–20^{v}), *Diogo Peres Vendedor* (ADP, 59, fols 168^{v}–169).

[94] *João Pedreiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 101^{v}).

[95] *Afonso Eanes Marinheiro* (ADP, 59, fols 168^{v}, 169), *Apariço Fernandes Marinheiro* (ADP, 59, fols 176, 176^{v}, 177).

[96] *Martim Moleiro* (ADP, 149, fol. 93^{v}).

[97] *Gonçalo Luís Lavrador* (ADP, 149, fol. 235^{v}).

[98] Similairement au stock anthroponymique d'autres régions de Portugal (Gonçalves, 'Amostra da antroponímia alentejana', pp. 73–74, 107–10), la pénurie onomastique et l'irrégularité de l'attribution des noms propres aux, individus caractérisent la réalité anthroponymique de cette communauté de saint João da Foz.

On admet, cependant, que la structure familiale des XIVᵉ et XVᵉ siècles est liée au processus complexe de fragmentation de la famille de lignage des VIIIᵉ et IXᵉ siècles, tracé par Garcia de Cortázar, caractéristique des régions septentrionales de la Péninsule Ibérique et qui s'est traduit en deux réalités différentes, mais convergentes:[101] la décadence de la grande famille cognatique, à travers des unités familiales autonomes liées à des unités de petites explorations; la cristallisation des moyens de succession qui privilégient la transmission de la propriété par la voie masculine.[102]

Dans le Nord de la péninsule ibérique en Galice, cette évolution a abouti à des groupes domestiques constitués 'par une famille conjugale directe avec ascendants et descendants directs', où d'autres familiers, moins proches, pouvaient ou non s'insérer.[103] Nous parlons donc d'un groupe domestique constitué par le mari, l'épouse et ses enfants.

La même tendance paraît visible dans la région Nord du Portugal — Entre Douro et Minho — avec la prédominance de la petite propriété[104] qui est associée à une famille nucléaire et à une attitude individualiste.[105] Cette structure nucléaire est visible aussi dans le centre du Portugal — Baixo Mondego, où Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho trouve le roturier et la roturière qui constituent, avec leur couple et leurs futurs enfants, un groupe domestique de petits foyers: le *fogo*.[106]

On croit que les contrats de location du monastère de Santo Tirso ont contribué à cette structure familiale et à la manière dont les relations familiales devaient s'organiser, l'ont renforcée et y ont interféré, comme cela se passait avec les contrats des monastères de la Galice au Nord de la péninsule ibérique. Effectivement, Reyna Pastor défend que la durée moyenne, brève, de ce genre de contrats (habituellement la vie du mari, de l'épouse et d'un des enfants) dénonce une politique économique et une politique sócio-démographique déterminées, basées sur le calcul économique et temporel, puisqu'ils interféraient dans l'organisation familiale entendue comme unité économique, unité de travail, et permettaient au monastère de modifier les rentes et autres impositions.[107] Réellement, à travers ces contrats, les monastères instauraient une individualisation de l'unité économique qui va aboutir à une famille nucléaire, un jeune couple, qu'il ait ou non des enfants.[108] C'est seulement après la mort des parents que la troisième personne du contrat — généralement l'un des enfants — pouvait prendre possession, réaffirmant aussi la structure conjugale. Par conséquent, l' un des enfants devait rester avec les parents. Les modes de succession imposées par les contrats développaient donc à l'intérieur de la famille des micro-régulateurs qui seraient actionnés par l'extérieur (monastère), à la mesure que le pêcheur-rôturier sentait la nécessité de régler la croissance et la dynamique de sa famille.[109]

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[99] Robert Durand, 'Vivre en famille', in *Vivre au village au Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Messidor/Temps Actuels, 1984), pp. 45–55 (p. 38).

[100] Reyna Pastor, 'Señoríos monásticos y familia forera en Galicia (siglos XIII–XV)', in *Poder y sociedad en la Galicia medieval*, Colección Semata Ciencias e Humanidades, 4 (Santiago de Compustela: Tórculo Edicíons, [n.d.]), pp. 5–20 (pp. 11–13).

[101] José Mattoso, *A nobreza medieval portuguesa: A família e o poder* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1987), pp. 404–05

[102] Cortázar et Aguirre, *História rural medieval*, pp. 116–18.

[103] Pastor, 'Señoríos monásticos y familia forera', p. 6.

[104] Orlando Ribeiro, *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1987), pp. 111–13.

[105] Pastor, 'Señoríos monásticos y familia forera', p. 10.

[106] Cruz Coelho, *O Baixo Mondego*, pp. 607, 709, 711.

Incontestablement, dans les contrats du Monastère de Santo Tirso,[110] la structure familiale qui est définie est nucléaire, ce qui n'est pas étranger aux sociétés européennes, pendant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge, qui ont vu s'accroître l'importance de la famille nucléaire et du mariage.[111] Ce genre de famille conjugale se combinait, de son côté, avec le type de propriété plus fréquent dans les contrats: le *casal* (maison/couple). Cette propriété comprenait une maison ou une maison avec des potagers, tout ce qui était nécessaire à la subsistance économique du noyau familial. Le terme *casal* était, dès le XIII^e^ siècle, entendu comme unité domestique/familiale et unité de production, de travail[112], indispensable à la subsistance, à la survie d'une famille. En conséquence, la famille restait soumise à sa structure, à ses relations parentales et de production.[113] La documentation étudiée définit une relation de production entre le monastère et les locataires, à travers des propriétés (maisons, potagers), partant, dans la plupart des cas, d'une relation matrimoniale (un couple) ou d'un célibataire disposé à se marier.

Simultanément, les références anthroponymiques, enregistrées dans ces sources, témoignent aussi de cette structure domestique de la famille, puisque les grands-parents, les oncles ne sont pas nommés pour identifier les individus. En contrepartie, nous avons déjà vu que le père est une référence presque omniprésente, ou à travers le surnom, toujours patronymique, ou/et parmi les adjonctions nominales *filho(a) de* (fils de*).* Ces éléments anthroponymiques offrent, renvoyant au père, une vision de la famille limitée aux relations entre parents et enfants, faisant une 'segmentation de la famille par paire de générations',[114] en analogie avec l'anthroponymie de Navarre et Rioja au X^{e} siècle.[115] Robert Durand dit[116] aussi, parlant du nom de famille vers l'an mille, que ce genre de données anthroponymiques — le désignatif qui renvoie au père — attestent d'une structure familiale de deux générations, horizontale, sans profondeur chronologique. On arrive donc, presque comme les familles paysannes de la région de l'Est de la France — Lotharingie — aux IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles, à un groupe domestique simple dont le centre de gravité réside chez les parents et les enfants, ce qui indique, par contre, une population 'jeune et dynamique'.[117]

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[107] Pastor, 'Señoríos monásticos y familia forera', pp. 10–11.

[108] Reyna Pastor, 'Poder y familia en la sociedad foral gallega: Aproximation a su estudio, siglos XIII y XIV', in *Relaciones de poder, de produccion y parentesco*, dir. by Pastor, pp. 171–201 (p. 179).

[109] Pastor, 'Poder y familia en la sociedad foral gallega', p. 177.

[110] ADP, 149 et 59. Armindo de Sousa, 'O Mosteiro de Santo Tirso', pp. 96–97, 104–10.

[111] Opitz, 'O quotidiano da mulher', pp. 357, 390–91.

[112] Durand, 'Vivre en famille', p. 42.

[113] Maurice Gaudelier, 'Homem/Mulher', in *Enciclopédia Einaudi*, vol. XX (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1989), pp. 147–64 (p. 155).

Si nous sommes attentifs aux informations démographiques pour cette période, nous pouvons conclure que, fréquemment, les enfants se mariaient vers douze ans, les filles, quatorze ans, les fils. On sait encore que la durée moyenne de vie, après la puberté, était de 35–40 années.[118] De cette façon, quand les enfants se mariaient, les parents étaient sûrement encore vivants, cessant de faire des projets pour le futur. Ou les parents étaient déjà réalisés économiquement, culturellement et socialement ou ils entraient cependant dans le désabusement de réussir.[119] Dans cet encadrement familial, en proximité avec les familles paysannes de Galice aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles, il est possible, que, entre-temps, des petits-fils soient nés, ce qui étaient à l'origine de la convivialité des trois générations dans la même unité domestique — un groupe domestique élargi (grands-parents en état de viduité ou non, parents et enfants),[120] comme le témoigne la situation suivante: João Peres Valente et Catarina Eanes font un contrat sur la moitié d'un potager et d'une maison qui leur ont été donnés par leur mère/belle-mère et où tous habitaient. Ils devront construire une habitation dans la moitié du potager(1485).[121]

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[114] Bourin et Chevalier, 'L'Enquête', p. 8; García de Cortázar, 'Antroponimia en Navarra y Rioja en los Siglos X a XII', in *Estudios de historia medieval en homenaje a Luis Suarez Fernandes* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid – Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1991), pp. 175–91 (p. 184); J. Morsel, 'Changements anthroponymiques et sociogenèse de la noblesse en Franconie à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne: Études d'anthroponymie médiévale I*^{e} *et II*^{e} *rencontres – Azay-le-Ferron*, vol. III (Tours: Publication de l'Université de Tours, 1995), pp. 89–119 (p. 117).

[115] Cortázar, 'Antroponimia en Navarra y Rioja', p. 184.

[116] Durand, 'Vivre en famille', p. 40.

[117] Régine Le Jan, 'Entre maîtres et dépendants: Réflexions sur la famille paysanne en Lotharingie, aux IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles', in *Campagnes médiévales: L'Homme et son espace. Études offertes à Robert Fossier* (Paris: Université de Paris – Sorbonne, 1995), pp. 277–96 (p. 288).

[118] Cruz Coelho, *O Baixo Mondego*, p. 711, et Armindo de Sousa, 'Condicionamentos Básicos, 1325–1480', in *História de Portugal*, vol. II (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1993), pp. 310–556 (pp. 358–59).

[119] Sousa, 'Condicionamentos Básicos', p. 359.

[120] Pastor, 'Señoríos monásticos y familia forera', pp. 12–14.

[121] ADP, 59, fols 49–49^{v}.

Bien que le ‘drainage’ des enfants non titulaires du contrat soit facilité par l’hypothétique disponibilité de propriétés qui se faisait sentir dans cette période, on ne peut pas nier la possibilité, présentée par Reyna Pastor, que ce noyau familial s’élargisse à un frère ou sœur célibataire qui n’avait pas encore eu l’opportunité de s’émanciper.

Ces situations d’élargissement du groupe domestique pouvaient déclencher des situations de potentiels conflits qui convergeaient dans la nécessité de trouver un équilibre entre la rétribution morale du travail du jeune couple et l’attribution de l’autorité du vieux couple.[122] Un conflit qui ne finissait qu’à la mort du vieux couple et qui forçait le jeune couple à se réorganiser.[123]

Il est important de rappeler qu’on est dans un village de pêcheurs qui était fréquemment trahi par la mer, chaque fois qu’elle tirait la vie aux pêcheurs, faisant que les femmes deviennent veuves. On a déjà affirmé que ce nouvel état civil entraînait une certaine insécurité qui, entre autres, encourageait un second mariage; une nouvelle situation qui pourrait ou non envenimer les possibles conflits entre parents et enfants.

Les dispositions des contrats laissent entrevoir quelques solutions trouvées pour régulariser des situations de déséquilibre familial. *Gonçalo Luís* e *Catarina Eanes* (épouse) sont les titulaires d’un contrat sur un terrain à la condition qu’ils fassent deux habitations, l’une pour eux et l’autre pour un de leurs enfants (1465).[124] *Pedro Afonso* et *Maria Peres* (épouse) sont titulaires d’un contrat sur les maisons, les potagers dans lesquels habitait le père[125] qui, de son côté a renoncé au contrat qu’il avait en faveur de son fils (1485).[126] *Martim Eanes Pescador morador no couto de S. João da Foz* et *Senhorinha Eanes* (épouse) ont renouvelé le contrat des maisons qu’ils habitaient, de manière à en donner une partie à leur enfant qui ferait aussi un contrat (1468).[127] *André Eanes Pescador morador em S. João da Foz* et *Catarina Alvares* (épouse) font un contrat des maisons et d’un potager qui a appartenu à leur père/beau-père João Domingues (1469) avec les mêmes conditions qui étaient exigées (1469).[128] *João André o Velho* et *Beatriz Esteves* (épouse) ont fait un contrat des maisons et potagers à condition de donner au fils de Beatriz Esteves[129] la maison qu’ils ont construite pour lui et une partie du potager (1467).[130]

Ces solutions ont une préoccupation centrale: que le père et/ou la mère n’habitent pas sous le même toit que leurs enfants, mais qu’ils puissent, nonobstant, partager la même propriété. Ainsi, la construction d'une habitation propre pour le jeune couple (une construction faite par les parents ou à faire par le jeune couple), le renoncement des parents à une partie ou au total des propriétés qu'ils possédaient, en faveur du fils ou de la fille, de façon à ce qu'ils célèbrent leur propre contrat, étaient les moyens réels d'éviter ou de résoudre des conflits et de développer une aide réciproque dans les groupes domestiques de la communauté de pêcheurs de S. João da Foz au XV^e^ siècle. Par conséquent, nous pensons qu'il y avait des moments où la famille pouvait s'élargir quand le vieux couple partageait l'habitation ou la propriété avec le couple du jeune fils, mais c'étaient, dans leur majorité, des moments de transition, étant donnée la durée moyenne de vie de ce temps-là.

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[122] Cortázar et Aguirre, *História rural medieval*, pp. 111, 171–201.

[123] Pastor, ‘Señoríos monásticos y familia forera’, p. 15.

[124] ADP, 149, fol. 200^{v}.

[125] *Afonso Eanes*.

[126] ADP, 59, fols 24–24^{v}.

[127] ADP, 149, fols 225–225^{v}.

[128] *João Domingues* (ADP, 149, fol. 253).

[129] *João Afonso Coelho filho de* (fils de) *Beatriz Esteves*.

[130] ADP, 149, fols 221–221^{v}.

Ce noyau domestique restreint allait aussi au devant d'un modèle familial que l'église voulait mettre en place quand elle incitait 'le caractère public du mariage et renforçait l'indissolubilité du lien matrimonial'.[131] Il est évident qu'ensuite le monastère de Santo Tirso n'allait pas heurter ces principes et suivrait la conception de la famille catholique: cellules familiales restreintes, ce qui n'invalide pas la possibilité d'appartenir à un groupe parental plus large: la parentèle.[132] Les consanguins de l'ego, les alliés (consanguins de l'époux ou de l'épouse) et les parents spirituels (parrains) constitueraient le groupe familial dans l'intérieur duquel se disposaient les relations familiales. En effet, on ne pouvait pas être fidèle aux dispositions de l'église relativement au mariage entre parents de septième degré (et, à partir du Concile de Latran de 1215, entre parents de quatrième degré) s'il n'existait pas de conscience de parentèle.[133]

Conclusion

Les lectures anthroponymiques et prosopographiques des actes de louage (les contrats) des propriétés du domaine de S. João da Foz (Porto), croisées avec les dispositions des contrats, présentent une dynamique familiale centrée dans un groupe domestique restreint, où le père prend en charge le couple entendu comme unité familiale et économique. Cette famille nucléaire s'élargit dans son processus de croissance à certains moments de la vie d'une famille où était possible de s'affirmer la convivialité entre grands-parents et petits-enfants. Ces moments étaient sûrement peu durables en vertu d'une espérance de vie qui était faible. Le père était vraiment l'autorité, la force du travail, bien que la femme (l'épouse) ait aussi une tâche définie. Bien que subalterne au mari cette femme aidait et partageait les obligations de ce dernier; elle était un complément dans l'économie domestique de la famille dépendant de l'équilibre entre les hommes et les ressources de la terre et de la mer, équilibre fragile à cause de potentielles situations de veuvage qui, entre autres, exigeaient fréquemment des échanges de faveurs des parents envers leurs enfants et des enfants envers leurs parents. Ces 'solidarités' étaient une garantie de survie et de stabilité pour la génération des plus âgés, en même temps qu'elles facilitent l'enracinement économique et social des jeunes dans cette communauté de pêcheurs.

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[131] Cortázar et Aguirre, *História rural medieval*, p. 118.

[132] Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, 'El Sistema de parentesco medieval: sus formas (real/espiritual) y su dependencia con respecto a la organización del espacio', in *Relaciones de poder, de producción y parentesco*, dir. by Pastor, pp. 85–105 (p. 91).

[133] Durand, 'Vivre en famille', p. 45, et Guerreau-Jalabert, 'El Sistema de parentesco medieval', p. 91.

The *Rules* of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth-Century England[*]

LOUISE J. WILKINSON

Introduction

Headed by its lord or lady, and staffed or attended by a community of servants, officials, followers, friends, and close relations, the great household in thirteenth-century England was an institution experiencing significant structural change.[1] The movement towards increased departmentalization and a growing specialization of function that was evident in the royal household was also rapidly gaining momentum in the domestic establishments of the secular nobility.[2] Although separate officials were now responsible for the routine business of estate and household administration, noble landlords relied upon the produce and profits of their manors in order to maintain the luxurious lifestyles and outward magnificence appropriate to their rank.[3]

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[*] I am grateful to Dr Michael Burger, Elizabeth Danbury, and Evelyn Mackie for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper.

[1] This essay will treat the words 'household' and 'domestic establishment' as synonyms.

[2] Richard H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000–1500*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 131–32. These developments were by no means exclusive to England. See, for example, Marta VanLandingham, 'Household Practice and Royal Programme in the High Medieval Realms of Aragon', in this volume, on the household ordinances of King Pere the Great of Aragon.

[3] For English noble households in the thirteenth century, see Margaret Wade Labarge, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965); Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250–1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

The close connection between the great seigniorial households and their landed resources was rendered explicit in a detailed set of managerial guidelines that Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235–53), compiled for the Countess of Lincoln. Adapted under Grosseteste's guidance from the Latin ordinances for his own episcopal establishment, the *Rules* constitutes the earliest surviving written treatise on estate and household administration in England that was compiled for a lay rather than an ecclesiastical audience.[4] Composed in French, the language of the nobility, the text provided detailed instructions 'on how to guard and govern lands and household' (*de garder e governer terres e hostel*).[5]

This essay will offer new perspectives on the production, date, and contents of Grosseteste's *Rules*, especially the idealized picture that it presents of the Countess of Lincoln's household and estates, and the reality that it reflects. First, it will place this treatise within the context of existing scholarship on aristocratic women as estate and household managers in medieval England. This will provide the essential background to a discussion on the nature of Grosseteste's association with the countess and to challenging the conventional dating of the treatise to 1240–42. The essay will then consider the role that Grosseteste's text envisaged for the countess, before comparing the *Rules* with the documentary evidence for the countess's administrative personnel, household, and lands.

The Lady as Estate and Household Manager

Contemporary chroniclers and other writers clearly expected noble wives and widows to be actively involved in the daily management of their families' households and estates in late-twelfth- and thirteenth-century England. In *The Journey through Wales*, for example, Matilda de Saint Valery, wife of the Welsh Marcher lord, William de Braose, was described by the author, Gerald of Wales, as 'a prudent and chaste woman' who was not only 'well equipped to rule her household' but also 'as highly skilled in preserving her property within doors as in increasing it out of doors'.[6] At a time when women were normally excluded from government office on the grounds of gender, the roles that aristocratic ladies assumed as estate and household administrators were regarded by many churchmen, like Gerald, as extensions of their traditional responsibilities within the home. They, therefore, represented the acceptable faces of feminine power and influence.

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[4] *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting*, ed. and trans. by Dorothea Oschinsky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 5, 9, 191–95.

[5] 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste', in *Walter of Henley*, ed. and trans. by Oschinsky, pp. 388–407 (pp. 388–89).

[6] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales / The Description of Wales*, ed. and trans. by Lewis Thorpe, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 1978; repr. 1988), p. 83.

The prominence of noblewomen in seigniorial administration has emerged as a popular theme in secondary literature, especially as private estate and household account rolls have come under greater scrutiny from scholars. In 1934, N. Denholm-Young's pioneering study of the Yorkshire estates of Isabella de Forz (d. 1293), dowager Countess of Aumale and Countess of Devon, recognized the true potential of this type of document.[7] By drawing on the numerous local accounts that have survived from Isabella's manors during her long widowhood, Denholm-Young analysed her role as an absentee landlord who preferred to reside on her manors in the south of England rather than in the north. In recent years, historians such as Rowena Archer, Peter Coss, and Jennifer Ward have cast further light on the duties which noblewomen assumed as landholders, especially as widows.[8]

Widowhood was, by its nature, a time of loss, but it often brought aristocratic ladies greater responsibilities than they had previously enjoyed as wives. During marriage, a wife's landed and moveable property came under her husband's control; she could not gainsay what he decided to do with it during his lifetime, nor could she act against his wishes.[9] As a widow, however, a noblewoman was, in theory at least, able to govern her lands on her own behalf. The common law recognized widows as *femme soles* who were, in the words of one thirteenth-century royal justice, no longer 'under the rod and in the power' of their husbands.[10] Indeed, by the mid-thirteenth century, widows' property rights in England enjoyed the protection of the royal courts to a far greater degree than before, and Magna Carta's provisions had helped to alleviate the threat of aristocratic widows being compelled to remarry against their will.[11]

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[7] N. Denholm-Young, 'The Yorkshire Estates of Isabella de Fortibus', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 31 (1934), 388–420. See also N. Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 14–25. For a more recent assessment of Isabella's estate management, see Mavis Mate, 'Profit and Productivity on the Estates of Isabella de Forz, 1260–92', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 33 (1980), 326–34.

[8] See Rowena E. Archer, '"How ladies . . . who live on their manors ought to manage their households and estates": Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages', in *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c. 1200–1500*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg (Stroud: Sutton, 1992), pp. 149–81; Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England 1000–1500* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998); Jennifer C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1992). See also Ffiona Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman: Life in a Widow's Household in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999).

[9] *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Anglie qui Glanvilla vocatur*, ed. and trans. by George D. G. Hall, with a guide to further reading by Michael T. Clanchy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 135; Paul Brand, 'Family and Inheritance, Women and Children', in *An Illustrated History of Late Medieval England*, ed. by Chris Given-Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 58–81 (p. 65).

[10] Cited in Robert C. Palmer, 'Contexts of Marriage in Medieval England: Evidence from the King's Court circa 1300', *Speculum*, 59 (1984), 42–67 (p. 50).

[11] Scott L. Waugh, *The Lordship of England: Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics 1217–1327* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 85–87.

At the same time as noble widows were enjoying greater legal security as landholders, both male and female landlords faced new challenges. The tools, mechanisms, and functions of estate management were evolving in an era of 'estate high farming', and the increasingly bureaucratic methods of royal government were being imitated and adapted to suit the private administrations of earldoms and baronies.[12] It was partially in response to these changing conditions, and partially as a symptom of this increased sense of professionalism, that men, like Robert Grosseteste, began to compile a variety of written manuals in order to provide advice on the most effective agricultural and managerial methods.[13] Nevertheless, Grosseteste's *Rules* was extremely unusual in being produced for a woman.

The Production of the 'Rules'

It is now widely acknowledged that royal and aristocratic women were important literary patrons in the central and later Middle Ages, commissioning and overseeing the production of saints' lives and other devotional works, and encouraging the growth of vernacular literature.[14] Matthew Paris's *Life* of Edmund of Abingdon, for example, was dedicated to Isabella de Warenne, countess of Arundel, who inspired both the Latin and French editions of his text.[15] Evidence that ladies were also concerned with the practical uses of literacy can be found in the treatise that Walter de Bibbesworth, an Essex knight, wrote for Denise de Montchesny *c.* 1255 so that she might teach her children the French necessary for 'husbandry and management'.[16] Even so, the French treatise on estate and household management that Robert Grosseteste intended for the Countess of Lincoln's benefit, several years before Bibbesworth's work, represented a new departure for women's literary interests.

The Countess of Lincoln to whom Grosseteste dedicated his work was Margaret de Lacy, one of the most influential noble widows associated with King Henry III's court in the 1240s and 1250s. Margaret was the daughter and heiress of Hawise, youngest sister and co-heir of Ranulf III, earl of Chester and Lincoln, by Robert de Quency, eldest son of Saher IV, earl of Winchester. As a child, Margaret was passed over as heir to the Quency lands and the earldom of Winchester in favour of her paternal uncle, Roger de Quency.[17] Fortunately, Margaret's connections with her maternal uncle, Ranulf III, helped to safeguard her future, and in 1221, at the age of twelve, she married John de Lacy, constable of Chester, one of Ranulf's leading tenants. John's personal abilities and the useful political connections that he forged through his marriage to Margaret helped to ensure that he occupied a position at the heart of Henry III's government in the 1230s. Indeed, John's performance during these years persuaded the king to honour Hawise of Chester's request and confer the earldom of Lincoln on her daughter and son-in-law in the winter of 1232. John's death on 22 July 1240, however, left Margaret a widow with four young children.

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[12] Bruce M. S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 411–40; Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, pp. 2, 6–7; Britnell, *Commercialisation of English Society*, p. 132.

[13] Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, pp. 421–22.

[14] See, for example, Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 188–96; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, '"Clerc u lai, muïne u dame": Women and Anglo-Norman Hagiography in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150–1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 61–85; Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450–1500* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), ch. 12.

[15] Wogan-Browne, '"Clerc u lai, muïne u dame"', p. 78, n. 5, p. 80, n. 17.

[16] Cited in Coss, *The Lady*, p. 71.

The substantial dower that Margaret received from her dead husband's estates in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire,[18] together with her strong court connections, and her position as her mother's heiress (which involved the barony of Bolingbroke and other lands in Lindsey and Holland in Lincolnshire),[19] combined to make her an extremely eligible widow. In January 1242, less than two years after John de Lacy's death, Margaret married Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, as her second husband. A year later, she finally inherited Bolingbroke on her mother's death, but Walter's enjoyment of his wife's inheritance was cut short by his own death in November 1245. Walter's untimely end allowed Margaret to claim as dower not only a third of his estates in England and Wales, which were then valued at £1333 per annum, but also a third of the great fief of Leinster in Ireland, which was worth £1715 per annum.[20] This added further to Margaret's fortune and transformed her into one of the wealthiest women in England whose friendship was courted by Henry III's queen, Eleanor of Provence.

The text of Robert Grosseteste's *Rules* offers no clues as to whether this treatise was compiled at Margaret de Lacy's personal request or whether the bishop produced it at his own instigation and presented it to her as a gift. Difficulties are presented by the fact that the original manuscript of the *Rules* is now lost.[21] Although fourteen copies of the text survive today, including two copies of Grosseteste's statutes for his own household, not one of these later manuscripts can be shown to have belonged to Margaret de Lacy or her descendants.[22] It is possible to link the Lacy family with the production of another, albeit rather different, manuscript *c.* 1260, suggesting that Margaret and her family were interested in books. In her recent biography of Eleanor of Provence, Margaret Howell pointed out that the Rutland Psalter — which contains on the calendar the obit of Margaret's son, Edmund, who died in 1258 — was in the Lacy family's possession from an early date and could well have been commissioned by them. Perhaps it was even commissioned by Margaret, who outlived Edmund, or by her daughter-in-law, Alice of Saluzzo, the queen's cousin.[23]

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[17] For a more detailed survey of Margaret's life and her political career, see Louise Wilkinson, 'Pawn and Political Player: Observations on the Life of a Thirteenth-Century Countess', *Historical Research*, 73 (2000), 105–23.

[18] The demesne properties alone were valued at £315 per annum. See *Close Rolls 1237–42* (London: HMSO, 1911), pp. 260–61. See also ibid., pp. 261–63.

[19] For Hawise de Quency's Lincolnshire inheritance, see *Close Rolls 1231–34* (London: HMSO, 1905), pp. 169–70, 263–64; Ronald Stewart-Brown, 'The End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', *English Historical Review*, 35 (1920), 26–54 (pp. 31, 33).

[20] PRO, C 66/225, m. 45; *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. by John T. Gilbert, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 80 (London: Longman, 1884), II, 401–03; Wilkinson, 'Pawn and Political Player', p. 119.

[21] *Walter of Henley*, ed. by Oschinsky, p. 191.

The treatise that Robert Grosseteste produced for Margaret de Lacy was much more of a practical rather than a spiritual self-help guide. His concern for Margaret's ability to manage her own affairs might well have stemmed in part from his standing as her diocesan.[24] It is extremely difficult to trace a strong personal bond between these two people. One hundred and twenty-three of Grosseteste's letters survive but not one of these is addressed or refers to Margaret de Lacy, her mother, her son, or her husbands.[25] Just three of his surviving letters are addressed to women: one to his sister, one to Margaret's paternal grandmother, Margaret de Quency, and one to the queen.[26] Two of Grosseteste's letters are, however, addressed to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and other sources reveal that two of Simon's sons were raised in Grosseteste's household and that Simon's wife, Eleanor, lent Grosseteste her cook's services.[27] Margaret de Lacy was acquainted with the Montforts and moved in similar circles to them. In 1256, for example, three years after Grosseteste's death, Margaret de Lacy and Simon de Montfort were appointed to the same team of negotiators who were successfully charged by Edmund de Lacy with the task of arranging the marriage of Margaret's grandson, Henry.[28] There is evidence that contacts between the Lacys and the Montforts were still being maintained nine years later. Three entries on the household roll of Eleanor de Montfort record payments made for letters and messengers who were sent to the Countess of Lincoln in March, April, and May 1265.[29] This at least suggests that Grosseteste and Margaret shared a close set of social connections.

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[22] Of these fourteen, twelve copies were produced in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries and two in the fifteenth century. For an account of the individual texts and their provenance, see ibid., p. 11, no. 1; pp. 12–13, nos 5 and 7; p. 15, no. 11; pp. 17–18, nos 18 and 20; pp. 20–21, nos 28 and 30; pp. 23–24, no. 40; pp. 29–32, no. 44; pp. 40–41, nos 61 and 62; p. 43, no. 66; p. 47, no. 75.

[23] Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 87–88.

[24] See *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, Episcopi Lincolniensis* AD *MCCXXXV–MCCLIII*, ed. by F. N. Davis, Canterbury and York Society, 10 (London: [n. pub.], 1913), pp. 61, 111, 129.

[25] As far as I am aware, there is only one surviving piece of correspondence that was written by or for Margaret de Lacy. Elizabeth Danbury has recently discovered a letter, written in French, that was sent by Margaret de Lacy to Sir Robert de Vere of Addington in Northamptonshire, during her second marriage, requesting the return of a knife with a jasper handle. See Northamptonshire Record Office, SS 2200. I am grateful to Elizabeth for sending me a copy of her transcript and translation of this document.

[26] *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Quodam Lincolniensis Epistolae*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series, 25 (London: Longman, 1861), pp. 43–45, no. viii; pp. 33–38, no. v; pp. 310–11, no. ciii.

[27] Ibid., pp. 141–43, no. xlviii; pp. 243–44, no. lxxv; Labarge, *A Baronial Household*, pp. 46, 118.

In the past, scholars like Dorothea Oschinsky have dated the production of Grosseteste's *Rules* to 1240–42, coinciding with Margaret de Lacy's first period of widowhood and her new responsibilities as a *femme sole* following John de Lacy's death.[30] Margaret was certainly a widow when this text was written. A striking feature of the *Rules* is that the advice it contains is not at all gender specific. The introductions to the first, third, and fourth rules expressly state that they shall apply to a 'lord' (*seingnur*) or 'lady' (*dame*), while the remainder of the text addresses the reader in the second person as 'you' (*vus*).[31] Had Margaret been married when the text was produced, we might have expected the wife's and the husband's separate roles to have been discussed. Later, for example, Christine de Pizan's *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* distinguished between the wife's and the husband's areas of responsibility when the husband's absence from the marital home brought his wife into sharper focus.[32]

It is, however, possible to prove beyond doubt that Grosseteste's *Rules* was produced during Margaret's second period of widowhood, between Walter Marshal's death in 1245 and Grosseteste's own death in 1253. An important piece of internal evidence that has hitherto been neglected is provided by the twelfth rule, which advised the Countess of Lincoln where she ought to make her purchases.[33] Her wine, wax, and wardrobe should be bought from Boston fair when staying in Lindsey, Norfolk, or the vale of Belvoir. When at Caversham and Southampton, she should buy at Winchester, and when in Somerset, at Bristol. Her robes should be obtained from St Ives.[34] Margaret de Lacy only acquired the Oxfordshire manor of Caversham as part of her Marshal dower in December 1245 and, as far as I can tell, she enjoyed no territorial interest in this region before the Marshal marriage.[35] Furthermore, a set of royal messenger accounts records the destinations of several royal messengers who were sent by the queen to the countess in 1252–53 and these closely correspond with the places where Grosseteste expected Margaret to reside. In the autumn of 1252, messengers visited the countess on two separate occasions: the first visited her in Norfolk and the second travelled to see her in Lindsey. When another two men were dispatched in the winter of 1252–53, the countess was staying at Caversham.[36]

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[28] PRO, E 326/194.

[29] *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,* ed. by Thomas Hudson Turner (London: Roxburghe Club, 1841), pp. 8, 24, 33.

[30] Oschinsky was following the dating of Samuel Pegge and Elizabeth Lamond. See *Walter of Henley*, ed. by Oschinsky, p. 196.

[31] Ibid., pp. 388–91, nos i, iii, iv.

[32] Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, ed. and trans. by Sarah Lawson, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 1985), pp. 128, 130–33.

[33] This key piece of evidence was overlooked by Michael Burger in his recent reappraisal of Robert Grosseteste's *Rules*. See 'The Date and Authorship of Robert Grosseteste's *Rules* for Household and Estate Management', *Historical Research*, 74 (2001), 106–16.

The Rules

The production of Robert Grosseteste's *Rules* was clearly intended to help the widowed Countess of Lincoln deal with the situation in which she found herself after 1245 when she enjoyed independent control of both her mother's barony of Bolingbroke and her own dower lands for the first time.[37] The treatise itself was divided into two user-friendly sections that reflected the contemporary administrative distinction between a noble household and its lands: the first (rules i–xii) concerned the daily functioning of an estate, and the second (rules xiii–xxviii) dealt with the good governance of the household itself. It began with advice on how the countess might best gather detailed and reliable information about her estates by means of inquests.[38] Once the inquests were held and their findings enrolled, Margaret was urged to exhort her 'chief steward' (*graunt seneschal*) to look after her personal property and stock, and see that he sent the income from her various lands and rents directly to her person and her wardrobe. At the same time, the *Rules* reminded its reader that neither the steward nor his bailiffs should be permitted to harm any tenants, 'rich or poor' (*riche u povre*).[39]

The *Rules* offered Margaret de Lacy particularly detailed guidelines on how she might be able to live on the produce of her demesne lands throughout the year. Rule iv, for example, suggested that the total amount of corn grown each year should be estimated by threshing and measuring every twentieth sheaf that was brought into the countess's grange. Her household's consumption in bread and ale might then be based upon the amount left over, once deductions had been made for seed-corn and liveries of corn to servants, and any surplus sold. All the money collected from the corn, the rents, the manorial courts, and the sale of livestock ought to provide sufficient funds for the countess's expenditure on her kitchen, her wines, her clothes, her servants' wages, and improving her livestock.[40] To ease the burden of supporting her domestic establishment on her lands, Grosseteste even instructed Margaret to plan her household's itinerary for the coming year each Michaelmas, taking into consideration the seasonal produce available at each manor for her sustenance.[41]

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[34] *Walter of Henley*, ed. by Oschinsky, pp. 398–99, no. xii.

[35] *Close Rolls 1242–47* (London: HMSO, 1916), p. 379.

[36] PRO, E 101/308/1, mm. 1–2. The destinations of the other two messengers who were sent to Margaret in these accounts were not recorded.

[37] For Margaret performing homage to the king in December 1245, and securing seisin of her Lincolnshire inheritance, as well as the lands in Northamptonshire, Dorset, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk that she had inherited from her father, and her Lacy dower, see *Close Rolls 1242–47*, pp. 376–77.

[38] *Walter of Henley*, ed. by Oschinsky, pp. 388–89, nos i–ii.

[39] Ibid., pp. 390–91, no. iii.

The role that the Bishop of Lincoln envisaged for Margaret de Lacy within the household was one that placed her firmly at the centre of all its activities; as in the realm of estate management, she was to be a supervisor par excellence. Rule xiv admonished her to remind all the members of her household, both 'high' (*graunz*) and 'low' (*petiz*), that they should carry out her orders without any delay, obstruction, or complaint.[42] Grosseteste sought to impress upon Margaret the need for loyal, honest, obedient, and hardworking servants, regulated by means of careful inquiries into the standard of their service.[43] All visitors, both lay and religious alike, were to be received by porters, ushers, and marshals, and treated with courtesy by all her officials for the duration of their stay.[44]

The Countess of Lincoln's position as the head of her household was to be recognized and upheld by her insistence that her 'knights' (*chivalers*) and 'gentlemen' (*gentis hommes*) should wear her livery (*vos robes*) and not disgrace her with shabby and soiled attire.[45] Grosseteste instructed her to spend each mealtime in the dining hall, seated in the middle of the high table, so that she could see everything that was happening (and so that her presence as lady would be obvious to all her servants and, no doubt, to any visitors whom she wished to impress).[46] Rule xxiv offered advice on whom the food should be served by, while rule xxv urged Margaret to follow the example of the Bishop of Lincoln's establishment and provide at dinner, the main meal of the day, two dishes which were 'large and full' (*gros e pleners*) accompanied by 'two light courses' (*deus entremes*).[47] In short, Grosseteste's *Rules* left no area of estate or household administration untouched.

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[40] Ibid., pp. 390–93, no. iv.

[41] Ibid., pp. 396–99, no. x.

[42] Ibid., pp. 398–99, no. xiv.

[43] Ibid., pp. 400–01, nos xv–xviii; pp. 402–03, no. xxiii.

[44] Ibid., pp. 400–03, no. xx.

[45] Ibid., pp. 402–03, no. xxi.

[46] Ibid., pp. 402–03, no. xxii; pp. 404–07, no. xxvi. Rule xxviii decreed that dinners and suppers held outside the hall should be prohibited 'because much waste results from this and no honour to lord or lady'. See ibid., pp. 406–07, no. xxviii.

[47] Ibid., pp. 402–05, nos xxiv–xxv.

The Documentary Evidence

In terms of personnel, it is at least possible to confirm the impression created by Grosseteste's *Rules* that the Countess of Lincoln presided over a predominantly male estate and household staff.[48] A common characteristic of noble administrations by the middle of the thirteenth century was the existence of a seigniorial council, composed of knights and male officers who counselled their lord or lady and helped to supervise his or her local agents.[49] The estate steward was the key figure in this apparatus, and Sir Richard of Toynton, Margaret de Lacy's steward, regularly witnessed deeds relating to Margaret's properties.[50]

Although Margaret, like other noble widows, delegated administrative responsibilities both within and without the household to male subordinates, there was also a small number of women in attendance upon the countess's person. The wives and daughters of some of the knights who staffed her *curia* served the countess as female companions. In December 1245, the king granted Hawise de Rye, 'who remains with [. . .] Margaret [de Lacy] and who is near to birth', the use of Walter Marshal's former houses in Twyford for her impending confinement.[51] Hawise de Rye was still in Margaret's service seven years later when the countess and her household visited the royal court at Windsor in September 1252. During this sojourn, Hawise received a brooch from the queen, while Amice, Margery, and Joan, the Countess of Lincoln's other female attendants (*domicille Comitisse Lincolnie*), received other less valuable jewels.[52]

In the absence of any account rolls for Margaret de Lacy's household, it is hard to tell whether Margaret and her officials followed the Bishop of Lincoln's advice. Indeed, the documentary evidence for the countess's domestic establishment is extremely slender and only survives in the form of occasional references in the close and patent rolls, and in the records of the royal household. It shows just how difficult it can be to piece together a picture of a noble household in this period. The only clue that exists concerning the provisioning of Margaret's household is an order to a royal official, issued in May 1253. This directed him to return to the Countess of Lincoln and her son the forty casks of wine that they had purchased in Boston and which he had subsequently confiscated.[53] The destinations of the royal messengers whom the queen sent to Margaret in 1252–53 do at least reveal that Margaret's household was peripatetic, in common with other noble establishments in this period.[54] Margaret did not just spend her time in Lincolnshire but also visited her dower lands in other parts of England. Indeed, Margaret was staying at Hamstead Marshall in Berkshire, one of her Marshal dower manors, when she died in 1266.[55]

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[48] This was by no means unusual, even in households headed by women. See Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 8.

[49] Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, pp. 25–30; Labarge, *A Baronial Household*, p. 54.

[50] See, for example, PRO, DL 42/2, fol. 241; DL 25/52; DL 25/2383; DL 36/2/239; DL 36/3/117 (also witnessed by John Terry, constable of Bolingbroke). Three other knights who were also among Margaret's most senior advisers, regularly witnessing the property transactions in which she was involved and serving as her attorneys or representatives in business, were Geoffrey of Appleby, Walter de Ludham, and William de Rye. See, for example, PRO, DL 42/2, fol. 241; DL 25/52; DL 27/32; DL 36/3/117; *Close Rolls 1242–47*, p. 475; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–58* (London: HMSO, 1908), p. 96; *Close Rolls 1251–53* (London: HMSO, 1927), p. 34.

[51] *Close Rolls 1242–47*, p. 377.

[52] PRO, E 101/349/12, m. 2; Wilkinson, 'Pawn and Political Player', p. 117. On New Year's Day 1253, William Galafr', the countess's clerk, received a girdle from the queen which was probably intended for his mistress. See PRO, E 101/349/13, m. 1.

If little can be discovered about Margaret de Lacy's household from the existing source material, more can be learned about the lands from which Grosseteste expected the countess to supply her household. Two charters that were issued by Margaret have survived in the duchy of Lancaster archive in the Public Record Office, and both of these record small grants of property in the vill of Bolingbroke to men whom she identified as having been in her employment there. Lawrence, her carter, and Emma, his wife, received three-quarters of a bovate of land and a toft there, while William Wyting, her baker, received half a bovate of land with a croft and toft in the same place.[56] More information about Margaret's actual estate administration can also be gleaned from the forty-five deeds in the same archive in which she is named either as a grantee or as a party to an agreement.[57] The information provided by these documents relates entirely to Margaret's English estates and not to her Welsh or Irish Marshal properties. There is no firm evidence that she ever personally visited her Irish dower lands. Instead, a string of English representatives, presumably appointed by Margaret, managed her affairs there in her absence.[58]

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[53] See *Close Rolls 1251–53*, p. 476.

[54] See Mertes, *English Noble Household*, pp. 11–12, 15; Woolgar, *The Great Household*, pp. 46–47.

[55] *Annales Monastici*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series, 36 (London: Longman, 1864–69), II, 104, 373. Although Hamstead Marshall had been assigned to Margaret in a temporary dower settlement in December 1245, this manor can be found in the possession of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, in 1248. It is, therefore, possible that Margaret was staying at Hamstead Marshall as a guest in 1266. See *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees Commonly Called Testa de Nevill*, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1920–31), II, 1415. Hamstead Marshall and Caversham, another of Margaret's Marshal dower manors, had both been the favourite English residences of Walter Marshal's father, William, and had undergone building work and improvements during his lifetime. Caversham, for example, had its own private chapel tended by the canons of Notley Abbey. See David Crouch, *William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire 1147–1219* (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 10, 129–30, 193.

[56] PRO, DL 42/2, fol. 241 (the witnesses of this grant included Richard the falconer, Alan le Coilter, ? a maker of quilts or mattresses, and John the warrener); PRO, DL 27/32.

[57] Unfortunately, the small number of extant charters that were issued by Margaret herself prevents a reconstruction of her affinity.

Admittedly, there are certain problems in interpreting all these deeds relating to Margaret de Lacy. It is difficult to assess the scale of her acquisitions because the precise values and sizes of holdings are not always given. Nevertheless, they create the distinct impression that Margaret, or at least her senior officials, dealt with people who ranged in status from the heads of religious houses and members of the knightly class to lesser free tenants.[59] The charters also disclose an interesting approach to securing property. The geographical pattern of the lands and rights that Margaret acquired by purchase or exchange indicates that she followed a deliberate policy of adding to her existing demesne properties, with a special emphasis being placed on those areas where she already possessed an inherited, rather than a dower, interest. Thirty-four of the forty-five deeds in which Margaret de Lacy appears relate to the acquisition of properties in Lincolnshire, near manors that she inherited from her mother.[60] A further six concern properties in Cambridgeshire, Dorset, and Norfolk, counties where Margaret had inherited lands from her father.[61] Only five charters concern lands which Margaret held in dower from John de Lacy's estates.[62]

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[58] Men such as Geoffrey of Appleby, William de Ablynton, and Henry de Becco acted on Margaret's behalf in Ireland. See *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–58*, pp. 96, 616; *Close Rolls 1256–59* (London: HMSO, 1932), pp. 371, 382. For the difficulties that another thirteenth-century noblewoman encountered in managing her affairs in Ireland, see Cormac Ó Cléirigh, 'The Absentee Landlady and the Sturdy Robbers: Agnes de Valence', in *'The Fragility of her Sex?': Medieval Irish Women in their European Context*, ed. by Christine Meek and Katharine Simms (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 101–18.

[59] Margaret engaged in property transactions with religious houses, such as Kirkstall Abbey (Yorkshire), Waltham Holy Cross (Essex), Fineshade Priory (Northamptonshire), and Dereham Abbey (Norfolk), in her quest to consolidate her demesne properties. See PRO, DL 36/3/14; DL 36/3/212; DL 36/3/136; DL 25/52; DL 25/53.

[60] Margaret focused a good deal of attention on the Lincolnshire town of Wrangle, a coastal port situated in a fenland area with opportunities for land reclamation; no less than twenty-five of the charters in which Margaret appears detail acquisitions in this area. See PRO, DL 25/52; DL 25/53; DL 25/2411; DL 25/2413; DL 25/2426; DL 25/2438; DL 25/2444; DL 25/2446; DL 25/2447; DL 25/2448; DL 25/2474; DL 25/2476; DL 25/2480; DL 25/2482; DL 36/2/230; DL 36/2/231; DL 36/2/232; DL 36/2/235; DL 36/2/239; DL 36/2/261; DL 36/3/92; DL 36/3/136; DL 36/3/177; DL 36/3/212; DL 42/2, fol. 259. For the other nine deeds, detailing acquisitions in other parts of Lincolnshire, see PRO, DL 25/2239; DL 25/2358; DL 25/2361; DL 25/2383; DL 25/2385; DL 25/2493; DL 36/2/16; DL 36/3/117; DL 42/2, fol. 240.

[61] These were: East Bradenham (Norfolk), Grantchester (Cambridgeshire), Little Hey (?Cambridgeshire), and Kingston Lacy (Dorset). See PRO, DL 25/3389; DL 36/3/103; DL 36/3/163; DL 36/2/224; DL 25/2442; DL 42/2, fol. 206. For Margaret's inheritance from her father, outlined in a final concord of 1230, see PRO, DL 25/2336.

[62] Three of these concerned lands in East Halton and Skegness in Lincolnshire, which Margaret held in dower from John de Lacy. See PRO, DL 25/2506; DL 25/3082; DL 36/3/182.

There is no record of an inquisition *post mortem* for Margaret that might allow an insight into the condition of her manors on her death in 1266. Nevertheless, a tentative picture of the layout of Margaret's Lincolnshire lands and her Lacy dower can be obtained from the survey that was made of all the properties that her grandson and heir, Henry de Lacy, held as a tenant-in-chief on his death in 1311. It is, of course, necessary to adopt a certain degree of caution in using this source as a guide to Margaret's lands; it is almost impossible to tell whether we are looking at changes in buildings, agricultural technology, or land use that had been introduced by her grandson and his administrators in the forty-five years since Margaret's death.[63] Even so, the findings of Henry's inquisition *post mortem* still provide an impression of the properties that had once been under Margaret's control.

The extent of Henry de Lacy's lands reveals, for example, that the castle, manor, and soke of Bolingbroke, the caput of the barony which he had inherited from Margaret, was valued at £209 per annum in 1311.[64] The vill of Bolingbroke itself was situated six miles south-east of Horncastle, on the southern side of the Lincolnshire wolds, and Margaret's uncle, Ranulf III of Chester, had overseen the construction of a new castle there between *c*. 1220 and 1230.[65] By the time of Henry de Lacy's death, the manor farm at Bolingbroke included a grange, perhaps similar to the one in which Grosseteste had advised Margaret to collect her corn, and a cattle-shed and sheepfold.[66] There was also a water-mill and, in keeping with other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manors, a garden.[67]

Another concerned lands in Blackburnshire (PRO, DL 36/3/14), while the remaining charter was an exchange of dower lands with Edmund de Lacy for the manor of Castle Donington in Leicestershire (PRO, DL 25/2243).

[63] An insight into the administration of Henry de Lacy's household and estates in Lincolnshire is provided by a small set of surviving accounts from 1295–96 (PRO, DL 29/1/1) and 1304–05 (PRO, DL 29/1/2). For a discussion of his estate management and the changes introduced by the early fourteenth century, based on an analysis of these documents, see Graham Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire, 4 (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1985), pp. 97–102.

[64] PRO, C 134/22/27. This included a highly profitable turbary in the marsh. See PRO, C 134/22/6.

[65] The settlement associated with Ranulf III's castle is now known as Old Bolingbroke. See M. W. Beresford and J. K. S. St Joseph, *Medieval England: An Aerial Survey*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 150–52.

[66] *Walter of Henley*, ed. by Oschinsky, pp. 390–93, no. iv; pp. 394–95, no. vi.

[67] PRO, C 134/22/6; C 134/22/27. See also Labarge, *A Baronial Household*, pp. 84–85.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the *Rules* of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, was produced for Margaret de Lacy, countess of Lincoln, between 1245 and Grosseteste's death in 1253. In being firmly based on an intimate knowledge of the countess's English estates and her preferred residences during her second period of widowhood, when she governed her Lincolnshire inheritance and her Lacy and Marshal dower lands as a *femme sole*, this treatise was based on more than just an ideal. The role that Grosseteste envisaged for Margaret was highly appropriate for a woman of her wealth, rank, and marital status; it was one in which she took centre stage, personally presiding over and monitoring all matters concerning her domestic establishment and her lands. In being addressed to an aristocratic widow, and by expressly stating that its contents might apply equally to a lady or a lord, the *Rules* stands as testimony that households and estate administrations which were headed by widowed ladies provided just as important foci for local communities in thirteenth-century England as those that were headed by lords.

The Material Household

Preface

JANE GRENVILLE

The papers contained in this section all address the materiality of everyday living in houses and in households. That is, they adumbrate aspects of the structures themselves: house plans, construction materials and techniques, the size and shape of the domestic units operating within the buildings; and they look at the contents of houses: the furniture, fixtures, moveable household goods, and personal belongings that made houses into homes. Materiality in this sense is traditionally the sphere of the economic and social historian and of the archaeologist, but the two disciplines have pursued separate and very different trajectories in developing their specialist discourses and as a result more often have tended to talk past one another than to exchange useful insights. The interdisciplinary nature of the contributions presented here gives cause for real hope that the days of such myopic approaches are numbered. But the disciplinary differences remain apparent; in making them explicit, I hope to contribute to the process of creating a genuinely interdisciplinary approach to the study of the period. Readers should be aware that these comments emanate from a medieval archaeologist, albeit one who has been house-trained by patient colleagues at the Centre for Medieval Studies in York to appreciate the multivocal approaches of historians and literary scholars.

For archaeologists, the study of the medieval period has always been viewed somewhat equivocally. One argument proposes that a battery of theoretical constructs and practical techniques developed to understand societies through the only evidence available for 98% of human history, the artefactual and environmental assemblages of prehistory, is surely wasted on the study of a period readily accessible through the documentary evidence: 'It is in the reconstruction of prehistory, the unwritten history of all but a comparatively brief span of all humanity, that archaeology can render its greatest contribution to human understanding.'[1] Following on from this deeply antipathetic view towards the archaeological study of literate societies from within the discipline of archaeology itself was the hostile attitude of some historians that archaeology was little but an expensive way of telling us what we knew already. This is perhaps most clearly articulated by Moses Finley: 'It is self-evident that the potential contribution of archaeology to history is, in a rough way, inversely proportional to the quantity and quality of the available written sources.'[2]

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[1] J. G. D. Clark, *Archaeology and Society*, 3rd edn (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 22.

The most controversial expression of this view in medieval archaeology was made by Peter Sawyer, initially in his 1962 *Age of the Vikings* and then again, by way of rubbing salt into the wound while purporting to apologise: 'Archaeologists are, naturally, rather upset when it is suggested that their subject amounts to little more than a very expensive demonstration of the obvious, and it is unlikely that I shall be allowed to forget that I once said as much. There is obviously an element of truth in it.' He goes on to remark that 'it is an interesting exercise to consider in what particular ways archaeology can aid our study of early medieval history'.[3] This latter attitude, in which archaeology is seen as clearly subordinate to documentary history, has raised a sharp response from medieval archaeologists.

Philip Rahtz, in his inaugural lecture at York and again at the twenty-fifth anniversary conference of the Society for Medieval Archaeology, argued that 'medieval archaeology should develop as an autonomous discipline. It should not be merely providing illustrations of material culture for historians'.[4] The theme of archaeology as 'the handmaid of history' is one that recurs as a mournful chorus through much writing on medieval archaeology over the last thirty years. David Austin graphically describes the frustration of archaeologists:

> The fact is that we have been so trapped by the agenda set by historians and feel so weighed down with the paraphernalia of medieval history that we scarcely feel able to interpret and analyse in the modes of contemporary archaeology [. . .]. By and large the archaeologist of the High Middle Ages concedes the primacy of the documentary historian.[5]

The archaeological approach of 1980s and 90s was a direct response to this last problem of who sets the agenda, and sought to establish an explicitly 'archaeological' approach to the period, by denying the efficacy of understanding the historical context and concentrating instead on the material evidence as though it were indeed prehistoric.[6] Recently a more realistic approach has developed within archaeology, which sees the documentary evidence as an essential part of the discourse. It seeks various ways to enmesh material evidence within an archaeological discourse or to arrive at a theoretical stance that can convincingly straddle the two types of evidence to provide an integrated approach.[7] As Martin Carver observed:

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[2] M. Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History* (London: Penguin, 1986), p. 93.

[3] P. H. Sawyer, 'English Archaeology before the Conquest: A Historian's View', in D. A. Hinton, *25 Years of Medieval Archaeology* (Sheffield: The Department of Prehistory and Archaeology and the Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1983), pp. 44–47.

[4] P. A. Rahtz, 'New Approaches to Medieval Archaeology, Part 1', in Hinton, *25 Years of Medieval Archaeology*, pp. 12–23 (p. 12).

[5] D. Austin 'The "Proper Study" of Medieval Archaeology', in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, ed. by D. Austin and L. Alcock (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), pp. 9–42 (p. 13); see also R. L. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), esp. pp. 8–15.

> I would like to suggest that the difference between a text and an artefact is a less important difference than that between the expressive and the inert, the conscious and the unconscious, the emic and the etic, which can be found in each medium [. . .]. The study of texts, art and archaeology already has much common theory, a common purpose, common approaches and a shared agenda.[8]

Intellectual debates within history and literature are perhaps fiercer still. Many researchers in the post-war period sought to free themselves of the hegemonies of legal and political histories and canonical literatures. The development of schools of economic and social history, particularly in the 1960s and 70s led to an upsurge in the study of the middling and lower ranks of society and their social conditions and the use of quantitive techniques for the analysis of data.[9] Echoes of the methodologies developed by these schools for the study of the 'everyday' resonate through the papers that follow, but how far have we yet been successful in melding the material evidence (the houses where they survive, the excavated evidence where they don't, and the household paraphernalia that they contained) with the documentary?

The documentary sources used in these papers are many and fascinating — wills, building accounts, coroner's reports, leases, inventories. Like photographs taken by someone else, they often clip the edge of the subject you really want to see, leaving its shape and nature tantalizingly unclear. Those documents that clearly record household contents, such as wills and inventories, do so partially, for certain ranks of society only (the richer peasants and artisans upwards), and unevenly. Nevertheless, used judiciously, their very inconsistencies can reveal nuances of local variation, as

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[6] Rahtz, 'New Approaches to Medieval Archaeology', passim; Austin, '"Proper Study" of Medieval Archaeology', passim.

[7] M. O. H. Carver, 'Marriages of True Minds: Archaeology with Texts', in *Archaeology: The Widening Debate*, ed. by B. Cunliffe, W. Davies, and C. Renfrew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 465–96 (p. 467). Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*; J. Moreland *Archaeology and Text* (London: Duckworth, 2001).

[8] Carver, 'Marriages of True Minds', p. 467.

[9] For instance, the work of The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, founded in 1964 by Tony Wrigley and Peter Laslett, the work of Marxist historians such as R. H. Hilton and Robert Brenner, and the studies of everyday life by C. C. Dyer (most recently in *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850–1520* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002)).

Salter and Richardson demonstrate elegantly in their discussions of Kent material. Likewise the building accounts for the Iberian peninsula cited by Falcão Ferreira and Oliva Herrer provide a partial picture of the form and construction of medieval townhouses and their rural counterparts, but a preliminary investigation of the surviving archaeological evidence, both above and below ground, has revealed how much more there is to learn by taking the two categories of evidence together. The value of such intersection is triumphantly demonstrated when the three papers on Kent, including the consideration of townhouses by Sarah Pearson, are taken together. There is still much ground to make in such interdisciplinary approaches, but the papers presented here demonstrate the richness of the resources that we have hardly begun to tap (in the case of the European examples) and the colossal potential they hold for increasing our understanding of the social relations and economic conditions of the period when studied in great depth in relation to one another (in the case of the related studies in Kent).

Archaeological evidence also suffers from the 'clipped photo' syndrome. In their discussions of high-status architecture in Italy, both Paino and Caskey have to wrestle with the partial nature of their evidence. Parts of the complexes they describe have been rebuilt, crucial evidence for the original appearance is missing, and the overlay of early-twentieth-century attitudes towards Arabic influences in the visual arts provides a fascinating intellectual diversion. In reaction against the early art historians who regarded the study of aesthetics as an end in itself, and divorced their material from its social context, both authors are explicit in their discussion of buildings as direct social statements particularly in the relationship of power and its manifest display to the design and appearance of buildings. The idea that buildings can provide a concrete expression of social position and that their impact on their viewers can elicit specific and required social reactions such as the acknowledgement of overlordship is hardly new: these papers follow the fluctuating fortunes of the da Varano and the Rufolo families through the building's history, but what is interesting is the way in which the process is also turned round, and alterations to the fabric that are no longer extant are deduced from the known fortunes of the family at the time of the refurbishment. This reflexive approach to the use of the available evidence mirrors the theoretical stance, grounded in phenomenology and developed within the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, which argues that material culture both reflects and structures social practice.[10] Artefacts, buildings, and landscapes are increasingly seen as being not merely passive reflections of social structure, but active agents in the production and transformation of social identity. This is a line of thinking that has attracted much attention within archaeology in recent years and one which has the potential to deliver new insights. Its application to the study of Italian political history, albeit at a local level, suggests that there is a rich vein to quarry here.

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[10] See, for instance, C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Fontana, 1993); A. Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (London: Macmillan, 1979).

While there is much to be gained from the satisfactory marriage of material and documentary evidence, the problem is that these two different types of evidence do not always match up, sometimes fail to intersect, and sometimes flatly contradict one another. This may be the result of the partial nature of the sources, or the fact that we are attempting to use evidence collected for one very specific purpose, such as Alcock's coroner's reports, to deliver insights into aspects of domestic arrangements that were not, in themselves, the direct concern of the clerk of the court. So we do not know whether the scenarios described were typical in terms of their setting, and exceptional only in the fact of a random fatal accident, or whether such occurrences were alarmingly common, given the ubiquity of the domestic arrangements described.[11] The failure to intersect may be inherent in the nature of the material evidence, particularly in the case of movables. Few room arrangements beyond the most formal of governmental reception chambers survive generation change and although we may have the three-dimensional evidence of the buildings themselves, being certain of the location of specialized rooms mentioned in inventories is often a hazardous matter. It is here that close collaboration between students of the two sources may bear the most fruit, particularly if a commonly agreed theoretical approach is taken. But even then, we cannot be assured of congruence in the evidence, for what people say and what they do may be two very different things and what they say they do a third matter altogether. It is in identifying the dislocations between material and documentary evidence that we may arrive at the most interesting questions of social practice, the hidden agendas and the deliberate or unconscious masking of economic inequalities and social structures. The material presented in the following papers opens up a rich area for the study of such questions in relation to the social use of space.

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[11] For a fuller critique, see P. J. P. Goldberg, 'The Public and the Private: Women in the Pre-Plague Economy', in *Thirteenth Century England III*, ed. by Peter R. Coss and Simon Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 75–89.

The House of the Rufolos in Ravello: Lay Patronage and Diversification of Domestic Space in Southern Italy*

JILL CASKEY

Constructed from *c.* 1180 to 1283, the House of the Rufolos is situated in the heart of Ravello, a hill town south of Naples on the Amalfi coast. It is an unusual and splendid example of premodern residential architecture in the West.[1]

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* Part of a long-term research agenda, this study has benefited from the support of many institutions and individuals on both sides of the Atlantic and the 49th Parallel. I am grateful for the financial support (in reverse chronological order) of the Getty Grant Program, the Connaught Fund of the University of Toronto, the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the American Academy in Rome, the Fulbright Commission, and Yale University. I am indebted to many friends and colleagues at the Soprintendenza dei Beni Architettonici of Salerno, the Centro di Cultura e storia amalfitana, and the Centro universitario europeo at the Villa Rufolo for assistance with permissions, access, and photography. Funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada helped me participate at Leeds in 2001. Many thanks to Margaret Trott for her research acumen, and to Fiorella Paino and Anna Maslakovic for their thoughtful comments on the original draft of this paper.

[1] In its eight hundred years of existence, the residence of the Rufolos has been called a *domus*, *casa*, *palatium*, *palazzo*, and *villa*. Medieval notaries used *domus* or *casa*, and sixteenth-century chroniclers introduced the palace concept. Although the modest and unitary *domus* might be construed as incommensurate with this sprawling complex of buildings, I shall use its English equivalent here. 'House', after all, is less anachronistic and problematic than 'palace', a term of formal and ideological complexity and ambiguity, as the sources below emphasize. I also use the term to place the Rufolos within the history of their family compound, given the polyvalence of *domus*/house as architectural structure, family unit, and genealogical legacy. On the shifting meanings of the word *palatium* and the complexities of architectural terminology in the later Middle Ages, see Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press,

Related in type to the many medieval dwellings that still punctuate the Amalfitan landscape, the house is a complex of interrelated buildings scattered across uneven terrain (fig. 1). Its structures range in scale from an imposing entrance tower that is connected to a belt of thin, encircling walls, to the intimate spaces of a heated bathing chamber. Some structures, such as the entrance tower, are fairly autonomous; other rooms, such as the vaulted hall, cluster around an ornate three-storey courtyard, the heart of the complex. Painted umbrella domes, carved figures, and vibrant patterns of inlaid tufa contribute to the dynamism and texture of this ensemble.

The house's structural and decorative elements derive from disparate architectural traditions: from Middle Byzantine religious and residential architecture, Fatimid constructions in North Africa and related works in Norman Sicily, and local building conventions. Some features are closely related to canonical Western forms, such as the thin, round Gothic rib vault located in a small room off the courtyard. However, most of the individual components of the house elude traditional systems of classification, as does the ensemble as a whole. This is not a Romanesque or Gothic building, in the tradition of the compact two-storey townhouses of Lincoln or Cluny, the tower-houses of San Gimignano, or even the composite bishops' palaces found throughout the West. And neither is it indebted to strictly Islamic or Byzantine forms.

The inhabitants of this house also defy easy classification. The Rufolos were one of many families on the Amalfi coast who attained elite status through a shrewd combination of participation in ecclesiastical affairs, agricultural expansion, and long-distance trade.[2] In the mid-1200s, several members of the family became financial administrators of the kingdom, first under Friedrich II Hohenstaufen, and then Charles I of Anjou, thereby merging their seafaring and managerial skills. They rotated in and out of powerful positions in the *Regno*, acting as tax collectors, overseers of the royal mint, port inspectors, and bankers to the court. This era of prominence and influence proved to be short-lived. In 1283, the Angevin Prince of Salerno

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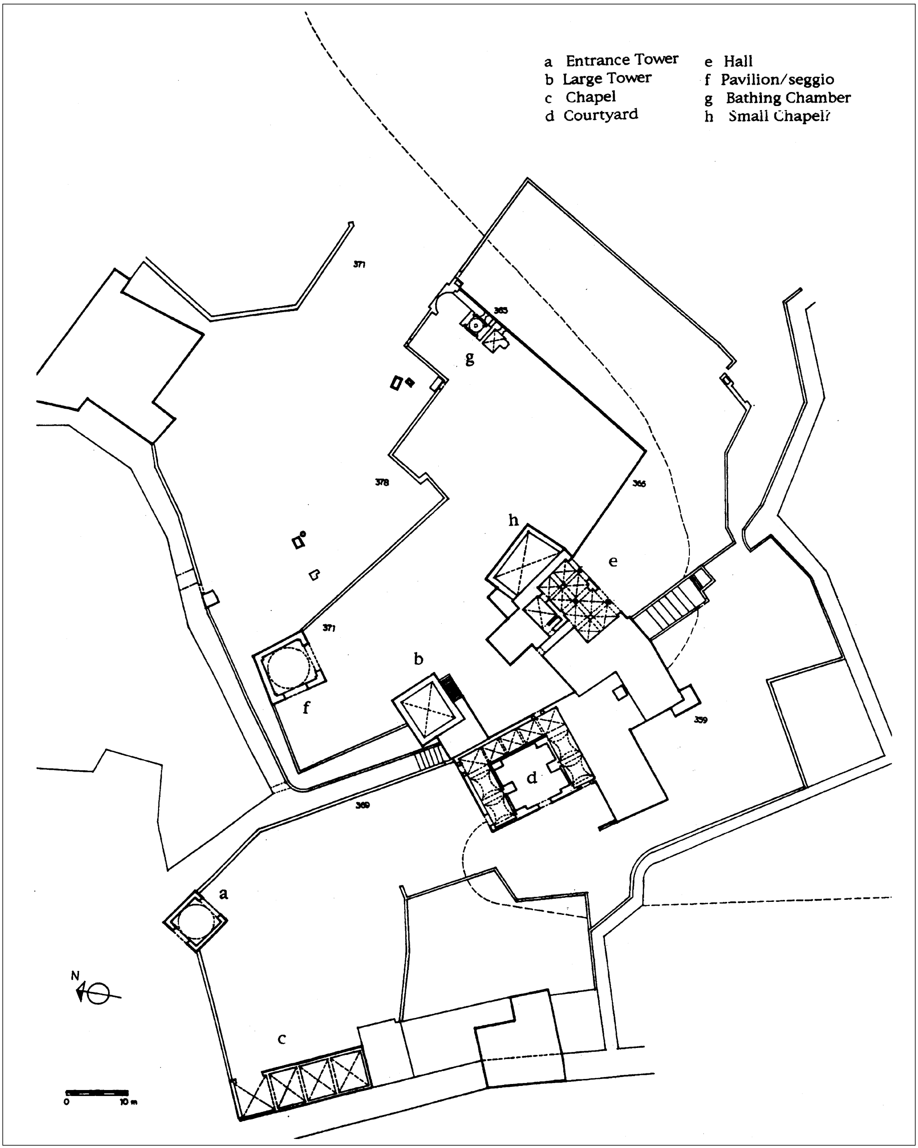
2000), esp. pp. 261–76; P. D'Achille and M. C. Rossini, s.v. 'Palazzo', in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. IX (Rome: Enciclopedia italiana, 1998), pp. 78–95; Thomas Zotz, 'Palatium et curtis: Aspects de la terminologie palatiale au Moyen Âge', in *Palais royaux et princiers au Moyen Âge*, Actes du colloque international tenu au Mans les 6–7 et 8 octobre 1994, ed. by Annie Renoux (Le Mans: Université du Maine, 1996), pp. 7–15; Gary Radke, 'The Palaces of Frederick II', in *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen*, ed. by William Tronzo (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1994), pp. 179–86.

[2] For the rise and fall of the Rufolo family and my characterization of the merchant elite, see Jill Caskey, 'The Rufolo Palace in Ravello and Merchant Culture in Medieval Campania' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1994). Also, recent work by François Widemann including 'Les Rufolo: Les voies de l'anoblissement d'une famille de marchands en Italie méridionale', in *La Noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Université d'Angers, Angers-Saumur, 3–6 juin 1998, ed. by Noël Coulet and Jean-Michel Matz, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 275 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), pp. 115–30.


a Entrance Tower
b Large Tower
c Chapel
d Courtyard
e Hall
f Pavilion/seggio
g Bathing Chamber
h Small Chapel?
371
365
g
378
366
h
e
371
b
f
359
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a
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10 m

Figure 1. Plan of the House of the Rufolos, Ravello, *c.* 1180–1280 (by Ruth Kockler after Lino Losanno).

(later King Charles II) accused Matteo Rufolo and his son Lorenzo of corruption and abuse of power.[3] Lorenzo was executed, and the family never recovered its financial or political clout.

This essay explores briefly the problems and promises surrounding the study of medieval domestic architecture. It will introduce some of the characteristics of the scholarship on the Rufolo house and southern Italy. It then analyses two components of the house, the bathing chamber and pavilion, and indicates how these specialized spaces introduced unusual forms and cultural practices into the domestic sphere. Since the buildings and related texts suggest that medieval laypeople had a prominent role in conceptualizing sophisticated residential environments, this context has important implications for the history of patronage and architecture.

Housing Crisis

In 1968, Robert Lopez urged medievalists to examine the secular remains of medieval towns, including city halls, fountains, markets, and houses, before affluence and urban development erased what two world wars had spared.[4] In the years since Lopez penned his treatise, ground-breaking studies of many of these building types and medieval cities as a whole have come to light.[5] In some regards these works illustrate the expanded parameters of scholarship on the Middle Ages, the result of multidisciplinary perspectives, the influence of critical theory, and a related openness to new research paths and topics.[6]

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[3] The classic study of the Rufolo debacle remains Eduard Sthamer, ‘Der Sturz der Familien Rufolo und Della Marra nach der sizilischen Vesper’, *Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 3 (1937), 1–68. Assessment rooted in cultural history in Jill Caskey, *Merchant Art and Culture in Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

[4] ‘Si l’on considère que les ravages du temps et l’activité des bâtisseurs et rénovateurs modernes menacent de destruction tout ce qui nous reste de l’architecture domestique médiévale, la tâche de cataloguer, étudier, et, si possible, protéger les témoignages survivants nous paraîtra particulièrement urgente’: Robert Lopez, ‘Annexe: Enquête sur l’architecture domestique et civile’, in *Les Constructions civiles d’intérêt public dans les villes d’Europe au Moyen Âge et sous l’Ancien Régime et leur financement* (Brussels: Pro Civitate, 1971), pp. 201–04 (p. 201).

[5] For example, David Friedman, *Florentine New Towns: Urban Design in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988); Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jacques Dubourg, *Histoire des bastides de Midi-Pyrénées* (Luçon: Editions Sud Ouest, 1991); *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion, 1280–1400*, ed. by Diana Norman, esp. vol. II (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Open University, 1995).

[6] For example, in art history, the collapse of the aesthetic prerequisite means that objects of study no longer must be ‘masterpieces’. Illustrative of new approaches in medieval studies are

But even with such methodological sea changes, domestic architecture still has remained of secondary importance to the mission of art history. The structuring of the field reinforces this situation. At best, medieval houses relate only awkwardly to the taxonomies of form created for religious architecture, and consequently do little to sustain narratives of Western medieval art and their eschatological emphases. Although many other problems complicate the study of domestic architecture, including fragmentary survivals and poor documentation,[7] this lack of correspondence is, or rather was, a particularly daunting obstacle.

In some contexts, this communication gap has isolated scholarship on housing and frozen it in a descriptive stage. For instance, studies of domestic environments in Italy are often fundamentally documentary, that is, based on cataloguing forms, evaluating building techniques, determining chronologies, and so on. This tendency partly derives from necessary emphases on preservation and restoration.[8] But an unfortunate consequence of such a perspective is that research can be dismissed as local history, and buildings are not discussed in ways that could render them relevant to a wider audience. The lively issues brought forth in discussions of northern medieval or early modern domestic environments — changing conceptions of private life, gendered spatial practices, and so on — are rarely addressed in the 'local' literature.

In contrast to this descriptive tradition, scholars from various disciplines (Howard, Miller, Andrews, Hubert, Kerscher, and others), have examined the interplay between the domestic, material, social, economic, and political dimensions of medieval life.[9]

The New Medievalism, ed. by Marina Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee, and Stephen Nichols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St Martin's, 2000).

[7] Helpful remarks regarding the heterogeneous structures of medieval castles in particular as obstacles to study are in Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 83–84.

[8] Such a focus is, of course, what Lopez called for in 1968. This emphasis on documentation contrasts with scholarship on England, where the social and economic implications of housing have been examined for generations. In contrast, studies of the Amalfitan housing tend to be descriptive or technical, rather than interpretive. England: M. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 600–1600* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1995), and idem, *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Maurice Barley, *Houses and History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986); Margaret Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London: Phoenix House, 1965); and others. Italy: Antonio Forcellino and Ruggero Martines, 'I recenti restauri a Villa Rufolo: Nuove acquisizioni sulla Villa e sulla sua genesi', *Beni culturali: Tutela e valorizzazione*, Rivista bimestrale a carattere scientifico, 6 (1999), 28–33; Giuseppe Fiengo, 'Le case a volte della costa di Amalfi', *Rassegna del Centro di cultural e storia amalfitana*, n.s., 3 (1993), 91–110; Giuseppe Gargano, 'La casa medievale amalfitana', *Rassegna del Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana*, 9 (1989), 113–28.

[9] Key monographs and collections of essays are Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Miller, *Bishop's Palace*; *Zeremoniell und Raum*, ed. by Werner Paravicini,

Recent work tends to be generated around issues, rather than relying on a canon of monuments with 'universal' points of reference. These models apply to varied geographical and chronological contexts, but tend to focus on the grand residences of sovereign authorities and their modes of self-representation. Bishops' palaces, for instance, have been portrayed as seams between imperial, ecclesiastical, and chivalric cultures that drew upon all three frames of reference.[10] Royal palaces, meanwhile, carefully choreographed views of the king and access to him; a key role of architecture was to define and redefine distinctions between public and private as monarchical power grew.[11] This type of thematic research on space or self-representation frees historians of domestic architecture from many of the structural problems that they faced in previous generations, when the canon defined the field.

By focusing on residential space in the Rufolo house, this essay responds both to Lopez's plea of a generation ago and to some of the newer theoretical concerns. I will examine the diversification of residential space in the later Middle Ages, a key concept in cultural and architectural history, but from an unusual vantage point: a lay context (albeit an elite one), located on the geographical and historiographical margins of the West. This promising environment, however, introduces some cultural baggage that must be unpacked.

Identity Crisis

For over a century, Orientalist views have dominated the literature on the Rufolo house and obscured the historical significance of the complex. One challenge here is to work through established characterizations of the house and their problematic

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vol. IV, Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1994 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1997); *Palais royaux et princiers*, ed. by Renoux; *Architecture et vie sociale: L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du moyen âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. by Jean Guillaume, Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 6 au 10 juin 1988 (Paris: Picard, 1994); Etienne Hubert, *Éspace urbaine et habitat à Rome du Xᵉ siècle à la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1990); Gottfried Kerscher, 'Privatraum und Zeremoniell im spätmittelalterlichen Papst- und Königspalast', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 26 (1990), 89–134; *A History of Private Life*, ed. by Georges Duby, vol. II, *Revelations of the Medieval World*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988); David Andrews, 'Medieval Domestic Architecture in Northern Lazio', in *Medieval Lazio*, ed. David Andrews, John Osborne, and David Whitehouse, BAR International Series, 125 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1982), pp. 1–121.

[10] For example, Miller, *Bishop's Palace.*

[11] For example, Mary Whiteley, 'Royal and Ducal Palaces in France in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Interior, Ceremony, and Function', in *Architecture et vie sociale*, ed. by Guillaume, pp. 47–64.

implications. A second challenge is to explore issues of identity and agency that shaped the form and cultural significance of the house.

In the first in-depth scholarly treatment of the complex, which appeared in his seminal survey of 1904, Bertaux characterized the monument through a series of incommensurate identifications: 'One could say that the creators of this fairyland architecture sought models from even beyond Sicily, in Greek or Saracen countries, to construct for an Italian merchant, favoured by a French monarch, the palace of an Oriental despot.'[12] In his study of the same year, Venturi similarly interpreted aspects of the Rufolo house as 'oriental'.[13] He did not name any actual 'oriental' comparisons or antecedents; he, like Bertaux, wished to signal a general mood, rather than to identify precise geographical, cultural, religious, aesthetic, or even chronological parameters.

Most subsequent studies are circumscribed, examining single ornamental patterns removed from their architectural context, for instance, or specific vaulting techniques.[14] But those few writers who have focused on the house as a whole have maintained the ahistorical, impressionistic tenor of Bertaux and Venturi, despite the fact that the field of Islamic art developed rapidly after 1904. Even recent archaeological reports, which are typically the bastion of dry objectivity, describe the house as a 'mysterious labyrinth', a 'pleasure palace' of 'artifice', 'meditation, poetry, or love'.[15]

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[12] In 1904, apparently no geographical or chronological specificity was required; any Oriental despot sufficed. 'On dirait que les créateurs de cette architecture de féerie ont chercher des modèles au-delà même de la Sicile, en pays grec or sarrasin, pour bâtir au marchand italien, favouri d'un souverain français, le palais d'un despote oriental': Émile Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale: De la fin de l'Empire romain à la conquête de Charles d'Anjou* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904), p. 627. Overall, Bertaux's survey is an impressive work, particularly considering the embryonic state of the field when he wrote it.

[13] Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan: Hoepli, 1904), III, 510.

[14] For example, Joselita Raspi Serra, 'L'architettura degli ordini mendicanti nel Principato salernitano', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 93 (1981), 605–81; Antonio Cadei in *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale: Aggiornamento dell'opera di Émile Bertaux*, ed. by Adriano Prandi (Rome: École français de Rome, 1978), pp. 781–84; Luigi Kalby, *Tarsie ed archi intrecciate nel romanico meridionale* (Salerno: Testaferrata, 1971).

[15] More than twenty years after Edward Said's ground-breaking work appeared, these reveries are widespread. Quotations from informative archaeological work by François Widemann, 'La Villa Rufolo de Ravello et ses propriétaires avant Nicola', *Apollo, Bollettino dei Musei provinciali del Salernitano* (hereafter *Apollo*), 13 (1997), 93–110; and Paolo Peduto, 'Un giardino-palazzo islamico del secolo XIII: L'artificio di Villa Rufolo a Ravello', *Apollo*, 12 (1996), 57–72. Also, pre-Said, Armando Schiavo, 'Villa Rufolo', *Le vie d'Italia*, 46 (1940), 478–90. Less essentialist views in *Gli arabi in Italia*, ed. by Francesco Gabrieli and Umberto Scerrato (Milan: Garzanti, 1985), though here the local social context and its relationship to residential architecture as a whole are not addressed.

Such Orientalist themes are not unique to discussions of the Rufolo house, as they are embedded in long-held views of southern Italy.[16] Studies that predate Bertaux's and Venturi's often admired the well-known and similarly hybrid monuments of Norman Sicily, of which the Zisa palace or the Palatine Chapel in Palermo are emblematic. However, foundational works such as Gioacchino di Marzo's *Delle belle arti in Sicilia* (1858) contain a negative essentialism. As di Marzo phrased it, 'The hot climate of the Oriental homeland produced among Arabs [in Sicily] this exaggeration in imagination and effects [. . .] Soft and lascivious customs engender excessiveness in decoration.'[17]

I include di Marzo here not to expose his predictable nineteenth-century biases, but because his form of Orientalism is still in currency. In its resolute focus on surface ornamentation and vague evocations of mood, this type of scholarship has had the effect of concealing one of the most significant characteristics of the Rufolo house, its elaborate layout and specialized spaces. This case is significant, as architectural differentiation in lay, domestic settings is generally associated with the early modern period, not the Middle Ages.[18]

The second issue emerging from the house and Bertaux's assessment of it concerns the 'creators of this fairyland architecture' and the 'Italian merchant(s)'. What did the Rufolos have to do with the unusual character of the residence? As I mentioned above, they were elites in Ravello proper *and* in the kingdom, with access to the king and his treasury. Most studies of Amalfitan history tend to label the Rufolos and their peers aristocratic or patrician.[19] But these general terms do little to illuminate social, economic, or cultural nuances; they do not signal how the Rufolos differed from earlier elites in Amalfi, or from their contemporaries in northern France or Byzantium, where historians often apply those same terms.[20]

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[16] This Orientalist perspective gained momentum around the time of the Unification of Italy in 1860, when the political discourse known as the Southern Question took shape. At this time, the South's status as Other, as less European than the North, and as 'hybrid' ethnically, was calcified. New research on the Southern Question, engaged from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, includes *Italy's 'Southern Question': Orientalism in One Country*, ed. by Jane Schneider (Oxford: Berg, 1998); Marta Petrusewicz, *Come il Meridione divenne una Questione: Rappresentazioni del Sud prima e dopo il Quarantotto* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1998); Piero Bevilacqua, 'Old and New in the Southern Question', *Modern Italy*, 1 (1996), 81–92. I explore the implications of this discourse for art history in *Merchant Art and Culture*.

[17] 'Il clima caldo delle patrie contrade orientali produsse negli arabi quell'esagerazione nell'immaginativa e negli affetti, donde procede quel genio e quel gusto iperbolico che traspare nelle arti loro. I costumi molli e lascivi v'ingenerarono l'eccesso nella decorazione.' Di Marzo's ultimate take on the Norman art is, notwithstanding this language, positive. Gioacchino di Marzo, *Delle Belle Arti in Sicilia*, vol. I, *Dai Normanni sino alla fine del secolo XIV* (Palermo, 1858; reprint Catania: Dafni, 1988), p. 86. For a critique of this widespread assertion that Islamic art is merely decorative and compares unfavorably with the structural, formal, and spatial integrity of Western art, see Gulrü Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture. Topkapi Museum Library Ms. H 1956* (Santa Monica: Getty Center, 1995), ch. 4.

[18] For example, Alice T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Bertrand Jestaz, 'Etiquette et distribution interieure dans les maisons royales de la Renaissance', *Bulletin monumental*, 146 (1988), 109–20.

As in the case of the Rufolos, most members of the coastal elite attained power and influence through commerce, an endeavor that Amalfitans had embraced wholeheartedly since the tenth century.[21] Even the political prestige of the Rufolos was indebted to their commercial prowess. Their responsibilities in the royal administration encompassed maritime law, taxation, and regulating the supply of food, salt, durable commodities, and currency — in short, the nitty-gritty of Mediterranean commerce that they knew so well. Although it would be misleading to label the Rufolos 'merchants' (*pace* Bertaux, but it is too narrow a term to encompass all of their professional activities), their cultural milieu was indeed a mercantile one.

This concept of the mercantile roots of Amalfi's elite can also be applied to the region's art and architecture. This interpretive framework takes us somewhere new, into the world of the fluid architectural vocabularies of the Mediterranean basin.

Specialized Spaces

I shall examine two components of the Rufolo house that were built during the family's heyday, from *c.* 1260 to 1283. These structures are the bathing chamber and pavilion. Since they are located within a house, they may not constitute literal 'building' types. However, their interior configurations closely resemble free-standing monuments associated with specific activities. In other words, the house contains spaces that are identified with certain functions, rather than containing a series of undifferentiated rooms.

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[19] For example, François Widemann, 'Giacomo Rufolo: Rôles et fonctions dans une famille patricienne de Ravello au XIII^e siècle', *Apollo*, 12 (1996), 73–100; Matteo Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e ducato di Amalfi* (Salerno, 1876; repr., Salerno: W. Casari, 1972).

[20] Critique in Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[21] Key works on Amalfitan trade from its heyday through its decline in the fourteenth century include David Abulafia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Mario Del Treppo and Alfonso Leone, *Amalfi medioevale* (Naples: Giannini, 1977); Armand Citarella, 'The Relations of Amalfi with the Arab World before the Crusades', *Speculum*, 42 (1967), 299–312.

Bath

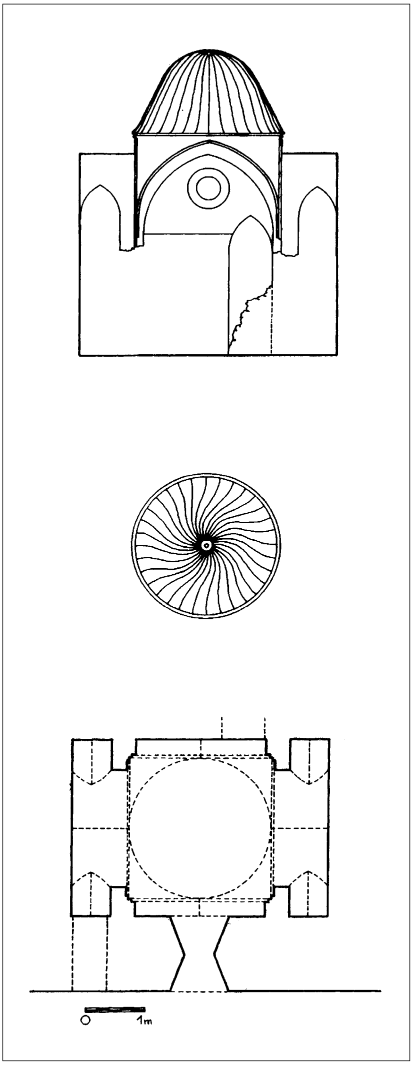

Figure 2. Plan of the Rufolo bathing chamber, Ravello, *c.* 1260–83 (by Lino Losanno).

The Rufolo bathing chamber is located along the southern border of the complex, on the edge of a cliff that falls off towards the sea.[22] The bath is distant from the residential core of the house. The logistics of water supply and discharge, not convenience of access, likely determined its location. This almost square room is crowned by a pleated dome that rests on pendentives (figs 2 and 3). Built up in stucco, the surface of the dome has deep triangular ridges that radiate from the centre of the cupola and bend slightly clockwise in an irregular pattern. Two side chambers less than a metre wide flank the central area. Probably serving more as decorative niches than as inhabitable spaces, they are topped with pointed barrel vaults.

The Rufolo example is one of at least five surviving bathing chambers built in southern Italy during the thirteenth century. As a group, these baths document the reduced scale and private nature in the Middle Ages of one of the ancient world's grand public institutions. In these small structures, running hot water and hypocausts (elevated floors under which hot air circulates) utilized ancient Roman technologies, whereas their architectural shells merge medieval Byzantine, Islamic, and southern Italian conventions. Similar centralized baths with segmented domes appeared in monastic and domestic settings in Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in Islamic residences through the 1300s (e.g. Kaisariani, Damascus, Alhama).[23]

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[22] Fuller treatment of the Rufolo bath and related buildings and issues in Jill Caskey, 'Steam and *Sanitas* in the Domestic Realm: Baths and Bathing in Southern Italy in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58 (1999), 170–95.

[23] Caskey, 'Steam and *Sanitas*', pp. 183–85.

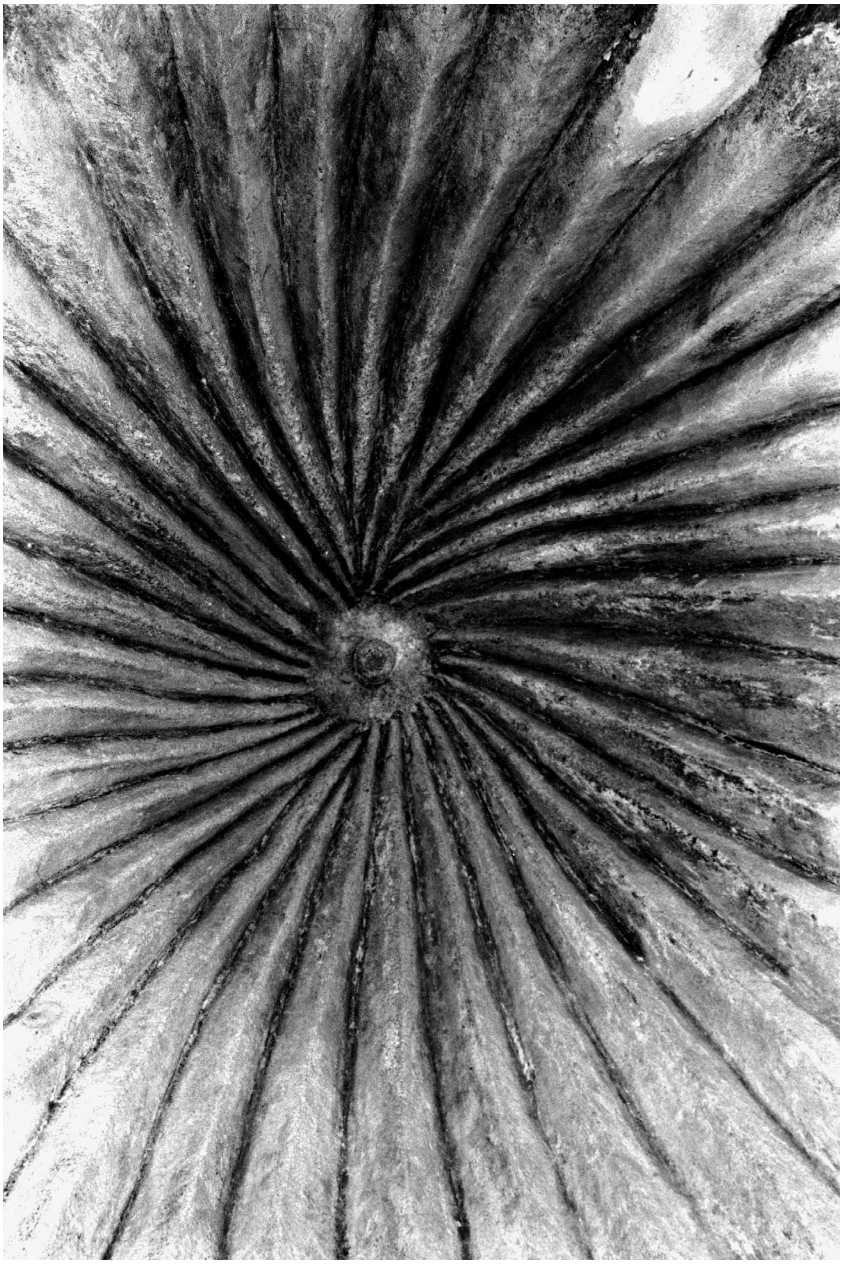

Figure 3. Interior of the Rufolo bathing chamber, Ravello, *c*. 1260–83 (photo: J. Caskey).

This building type was widespread in part because bathing was central to conceptions of health in medieval scientific circles. Drawing upon the theories of classical medical writers, Avicenna (or Ibn Sina, d. 1037) and other philosopher-physicians argued that baths of varying temperatures and durations readjust the body's four humours and thus cure ailments ranging from bad moods to digestive disorders. Treatises in preventative medicine, such as the *Regimen sanitatis* from the school of Salerno, just down the coast from Ravello, helped diffuse these theories and increased the popularity of baths in southern Italy.[24]

The significance of the baths extends beyond such medical practices, as bathing was also a social activity, bound up in Mediterranean-wide notions of hospitality and conviviality. As healthful amenities that could be offered to guests and expected by travellers far from home, baths embodied hospitality for people of varying backgrounds and religious beliefs. Medieval chronicles of the south indicate that bathing was neither a quick nor solitary endeavor, but one to savour and draw out in the presence of attendants, friends, or distinguished guests.[25] The scale of the Rufolo bath corroborates such accounts, as its central space could readily accommodate two or three bathers. Amalfitans were significant participants in this 'international' balneal culture of shared architectural forms, attitudes, and customs.

Inscribed within discourses of relaxation and healing, however, domestic baths were also sites of conspicuous consumption. The resources that they required, including renewable supplies of combustible materials and fresh running water, were not always easy to acquire in this elevated and dry location. The baths, then, participated in a trend that continues to this day: the tendency of the affluent to bring into the house (i.e. to domesticate or privatize) expensive and sophisticated technologies that were developed in the public sphere for the public good.[26]

Pavilion

In the north-east corner of the complex's encircling belt of walls lies a large square chamber that is now open to the sky (fig. 4). This 'pavilion' consists of four joined arches of rubble construction that support a drum. The north and east arches are

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[24] Caskey, 'Steam and *Sanitas*', pp. 188–89. On Salerno, see Paul Kristeller, 'The School of Salerno: Its Development and its Contribution to the History of Learning', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* 17 (1945), 139–94; Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), I, 98–110.

[25] For example, Matthew Paris on Frederick II; discussion in Caskey, 'Steam and *Sanitas*', pp. 186–87.

[26] Present-day parallels and their implications for a history of private life in Stuart Shapiro, 'Places and Spaces: The Historical Interaction of Technology, the Home, and Privacy', *The Information Society*, 14 (1998), 275–84.

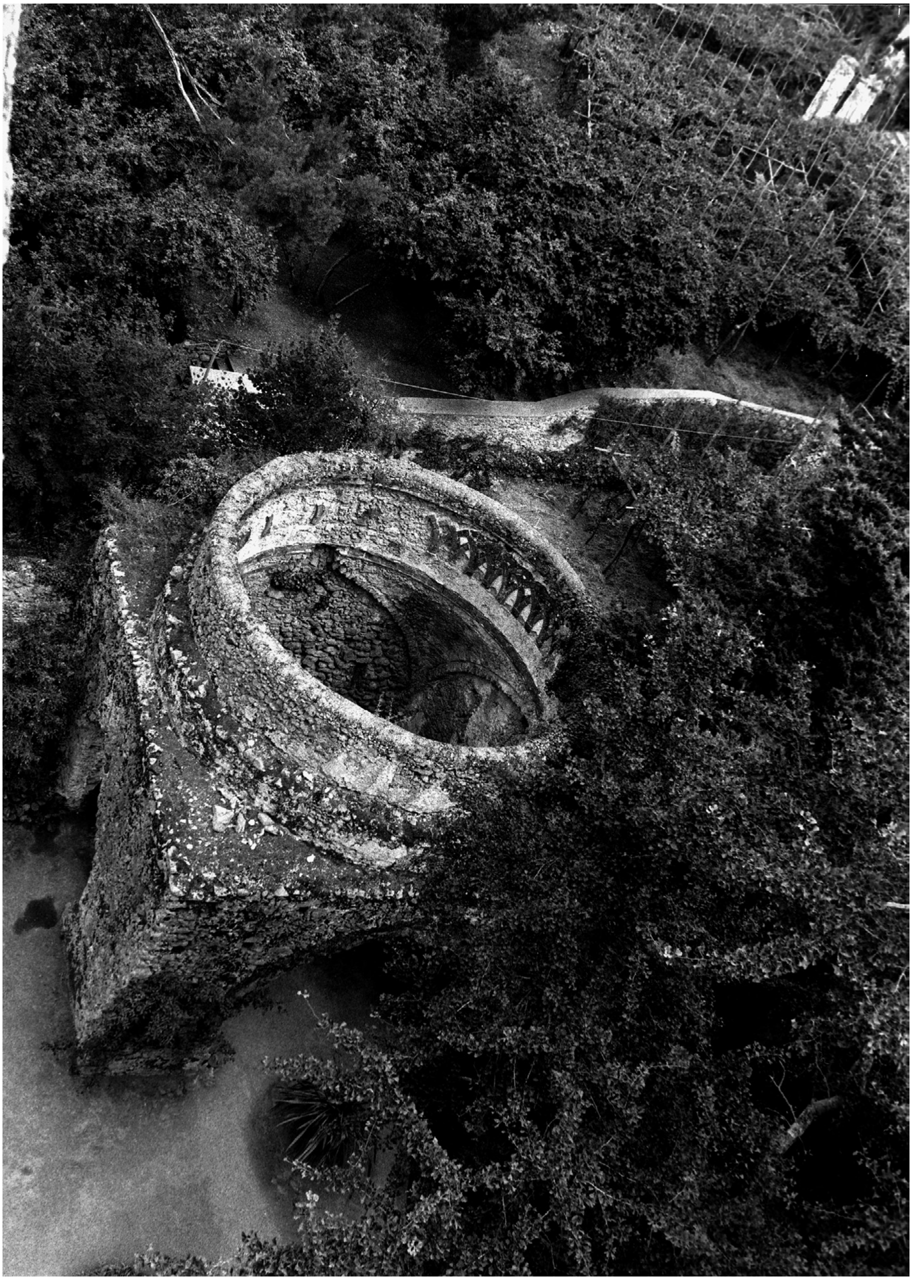

Figure 4. Aerial view of the Rufolo pavilion, Ravello, *c*. 1260–83
(photo: courtesy Robert Bergman).

filled in with rubble walls; the remaining two sides are open.[27] The extant ornament is a sober version of that found elsewhere in the house. Square moldings articulate the wide, open arches. A blind arcade of terracotta colonnettes and grey tufa intersecting arches enlivens the interior of the drum. The drum once supported a cupola, which was likely pleated or gored, as are the remaining domes in the complex.

Pavilions of unspecified form were prominent features of high-end domestic architecture during the Middle Byzantine period, as descriptions and inventories of palaces in Constantinople indicate.[28] Domes resting on open square bases are better documented, however, in contemporary Islamic settings. This is particularly evident in North Africa, with its domed palaces, tombs, and minarets, and in related monuments in Norman Sicily.[29]

The closest formal and geographical antecedent for the Rufolo example is the open domed pavilion called the Cubula (from the Arabic *qubba*, for dome) constructed by the third Norman king, William II, on the grounds of the royal hunting park in Palermo. The Cubula is the only surviving example of the *orbiculari* that were scattered across the park, according to a sixteenth-century source.[30] Built before 1180, this pavilion offered shade, repose, and a place for the king to survey his domain. Its site and form recall earlier Fatimid monuments in Cairo, a point of cultural and artistic reference for the Norman kings.[31] According to a twelfth-century description, domed pavilions defined the basic unit of the Eastern Palace there.[32]

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[27] Widemann recently argued that this domed chamber originally supported a tower akin to the one above the domed entrance vestibule, and that it likely functioned as a watch tower. But *pace* Widemann, the structure is wide open on the sides that face the heart of the complex, and it was ornately decorated. These features suggest that the pavilion would not have (successfully) supported a defensive function, though it likely did rise above the level of the dome. If the house had a watch tower, it was likely the taller and relatively austere structure adjacent to the residential core. Widemann, 'La Villa Rufolo de Ravello', pp. 95–96.

[28] Constantinopolitan inventories from 1192 and 1202: Michael Angold, 'Inventory of the So-called Palace of Botaneiates', in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. by Michael Angold (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1984), pp. 254–66; description of Ibn Battuta in 1333: Steven Runciman, 'Blachernae Palace and its Decoration', in *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. by Giles Robertson and George Henderson (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1975), pp. 277–83.

[29] For example, minaret crown of the Great Mosque of Susa (of disputed date; ninth century?); the Sidi bou Khrissan and the Msid al-Qubbah tombs in Tunis, dating from *c*. 1100. Tombs in Fatimid Egypt followed the same form, as the many eleventh-century mausolea at Aswan and a few in the capital of Cairo indicate. Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650–1250* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1987), p. 180; Slimane-Mostafa Zbiss, 'Documents d'architecture fatîmite d'Occident', *Ars orientalis*, 3 (1959), 27–31; Georges Marçais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1954), p. 299.

[30] The Cuba and Zisa residences were in this park as well. Description by Tommaso Fazzello in *De rebus siculis decades duae* (1588). Giovanella Cassata, Diego Ciccarelli, and Gabriella Costantino, *La Sicilia,* Italia romanica, 7 (Milan: Jaca, 1986), p. 157.

Domed or vaulted ceremonial chambers were also widespread in the western Mediterranean, particularly in monuments that shaped stylistic and iconographic aspects of architecture in Norman Sicily (e.g. Achir, al-Mahdiyya, the Qal'ah of the Beni Hammad, and possibly Bougie/Bigaya).[33] Some of these chambers were domed, such as the Tower of the Manar in the Qal'ah.[34] Under the Fatimids, these elevated, prominent chambers announced the ruler's dominance and were key settings for ceremonial and display. A late-tenth-century poet in the court of the Fatimids wrote about the palace Sabra al-Mansuriyya in present-day Tunisia in these terms:

> 'Now that glory has become great and the great one rules over the stars, a porticoed pavilion spreads.
> He built a dome for the dominion in the midst of a garden which is a delight to the eye.
> In well-laid-out squares, whose courtyards are green, whose birds are eloquent.'[35]

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[31] For example, William Tronzo, *The Cultures of his Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[32] Naser-i Khosraw described twelve garden pavilions there. Gulrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: MIT/Architectural History Foundation, 1991), p. 245.

[33] The Maghribi sources of Norman architecture in Sicily figure prominently in most recent discussions. Among the more immediate sources for Norman palace architecture is the Qal'ah of the Beni Hammad in present-day Algeria. This cultural centre was founded by the Hammadid dynasty in 1108–09 as a fortified outpost between Qayrawan and Achir. Because it was abandoned in the mid-twelfth century after the Hammadid court moved to Bougie, archaeological investigations there have been fruitful. Sibylle Mazot, 'L'architecture d'influence nord africaine à Palerme', in *L'Egypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire*, ed. by Marianne Barrucand (Paris: Université de Paris/Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 665–80; Ursula Staacke, *Un palazzo normanno a Palermo, la Zisa: La cultura musulmana negli edifici dei Re* (Palermo: Commune di Palermo, 1991); Jeremy Johns, 'The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 15 (1993), 133–59; Lucien Golvin, *Recherches archeologiques à la Qal'a des Benû Hammâd* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1965); Francesco Gabrieli, 'Il palazzo hammadita di Bigaya, descritto da Ibn Hamdis', in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75: Geburtstag am 26.10.1957* (Berlin: Mann, 1957), pp. 54–58; Marçais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*. On broader questions of Fatimid influence beyond palace architecture, see Tronzo, *Cultures of his Kingdom*.

[34] Some were vaulted, for as domed structures gained a funereal association in North Africa, official audience chambers preferred the form of the vaulted *iwan*. Jonathan Bloom, 'The *Qubbat al-Khadra* and the Iconography of Height in Early Islamic Architecture', *Ars orientalis*, 23 (1993), 135–41; Nasser Rabbat, 'Mamluk Throne Halls: *Qubba* or *Iwan*?', *Ars orientalis*, 23 (1993), 201–18.

[35] Ali ibn Muhammad al-Iyadi, court poet to al-Mansur and al-Mu'izz. Jonathan Bloom, 'The Origins of Fatimid Art', *Muqarnas*, 3 (1985), 20–38 (p. 29).

Ayyubid and Mamluk constructions in Cairo continued this tradition of open audience chambers well into the fourteenth century.[36]

The patently ceremonial function of these Islamic monuments hints at the political role of similar structures in southern Italy. Although the communal movements associated with early Humanism did not dominate political life in the *Regno*, governing bodies known as *sedili* or *seggi* provided liaisons between the royal administration and local affairs.[37] During the years of Hohenstaufen and Angevin rule, *seggi* convened in Amalfi and Scala, and finally under Charles I, in Ravello. Seggio meetings often occurred in central places affiliated with pre-existing authority: in Ravello, near the cathedral complex; in Maiori, similarly, in a vineyard belonging to the bishop. Specialized buildings that housed such activities, also called *seggi*, came to define a distinct building type, with a standardized plan and elevation. One surviving Campanian structure that has been identified as a seggio is the fifteenth-century Dominova in Sorrento. A larger version of the Rufolo pavilion, it is an open, square edifice with pointed arches and a prominent dome.

Most structures in the Rufolo complex are narrow and elongated, including the towers, courtyard, and bathing chamber. The pavilion, in contrast, is wide and low. Its square form differentiates it visually and may link it to the iconographic conventions of seggio design. It is plausible that the pavilion was the site of the Ravellese seggio, particularly in the early years of the organization in the late 1260s and 70s.[38] If it was, then this official function was but one of the pavilion's many purposes. It defined a flexible place that, among other things, provided a formal backdrop for the Rufolos to express their prestige and greet their guests, as sixteenth-century sources suggest.[39]

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[36] Rabbat, 'Mamluk Throne Halls'; and idem, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*, Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

[37] First limited to the nobility, the *seggi* later multiplied to include many social classes, including artisans, merchants, and the *popolo*. By the fifteenth century, two *seggi* formed the Amalfi town council, the *magnus* and *parvus*, the latter of which shared its facilities with the governing bodies of outlying towns. Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche*, II, 278–79. Also Giuseppe Gargano, *La città davanti al mare: Aree urbane e storie sommerse di Amalfi nel Medioevo* (Amalfi: Centro di Cultura e storia amalfitana, 1992), pp. 80–83.

[38] The seggio of the Ravellese nobility reportedly congregated as early as the reign of Charles I (1266–85) in the episcopal quarter. The Rufolo family was among its members. Only forty metres separate the Bishop's Palace from the pavilion. Could the Rufolo pavilion have served as this official seggio? The remains of a grand arched portal in the walls near the pavilion provided direct access to the pavilion area from the south side of the cathedral. It helps support my hypothesis that the Rufolo pavilion was occasionally used for official purposes. On the Ravellese seggio under Charles I, see Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche*, II, 351.

[39] For example, Giovanni Battista Bolvito, 'Registri', Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo San Martino MS 101, p. 269; Marino Freccia, *De subfeudis Baronum et Investituris Feudorum* (Venice: De Botti, 1579), p. 78.

Byzantine imperial, Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk pavilions appeared in palaces where residential space was the site of public gatherings or audiences. Similarly, the Rufolo pavilion was not constructed for family use only; it was a site of conviviality and displays of prestige and power. It could be construed as the Mediterranean equivalent of a Hall, though it is significantly smaller in scale.

The Rufolos were likely familiar with monuments like those in Tunis or al-Mahdiyya, the first capital of the Fatimids, through their sustained business connections along the coasts of present-day Tunisia and Sicily. Chancery documents from Naples testify to the presence in North Africa and Sicily of the Rufolos and other merchants and administrators from Ravello and Amalfi.[40] Communities of Muslims living in the south, meanwhile, perhaps supplied masons to help construct the house. But since the complex utilized local materials and followed local building techniques, the workshop that was responsible for its construction was likely dominated by Christian men from the coastal area.[41]

The baths and pavilion demonstrate that the Rufolo house contained features indebted to various architectural idioms of the Mediterranean basin. These structures were standardized and recognizable building types, constructed to support specific activities — bathing, greeting and entertaining guests, and possibly holding meetings. These rooms were born of, and shaped, social interaction. They also functioned to establish the elite status of the owners.

Specialized Texts

The complex architectural forms of the Rufolo house and their diversified functions were not exceptional in coastal Campania, as medieval texts and surviving house fragments reveal. Many houses consisted of disparate structures with varying degrees of autonomy. In deeds of sale, wills, exchanges of property, and so on, houses are often described in terms of their parts.[42] For instance, in 1222, a residence in Ravello was dissected into constituent pieces, including a small paved area, warm room (with a fireplace), portico, kitchen, stairs, a first floor, roof, room on a second floor, cellar, cistern, dressing room, bath, and courtyard.[43] The plots of land on which the houses were located are also described, including various cultivated sections, types of trees, and so on. For both architecture and landscape, the level of descriptive specificity increased markedly in the 1200s, but is present in manuscripts that date from the tenth and eleventh centuries.[44] This increase designates a greater focus on domestic space and the sophistication thereof in notarial culture, and possibly the development of increasingly complex housing in Amalfi.

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[40] Iacopo Rufolo, for example, oversaw shipments of grain to Bougie in 1275, as did Matteo in 1279. *Testi e documenti di storia napoletana: La Cancelleria angioina*, ed. by Riccardo Filangieri, Jole Mazzoleni, and others, 45 vols to date (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana,1950–), XIII, 91; XXIII, 310.

[41] Muslim populations were located in the South in such towns as Cetara, Lucera, and Naples in the High and late Middle Ages. The indirect influences of these and earlier Muslim communities upon urban form and housing in the South remain a matter of debate, as there is no direct evidence of Muslim masons working in the area; the material and artistic remains directly associated with these groups are small in scale, along the lines of ceramics, grave stelae, and the like. Essays in *Presenza araba e islamica in Campania*, ed. by Agostino Cilardo, Atti del convegno sul tema, 1989 (Naples: Istituto orientale, 1992); Enrico Guidoni, ‘La componente urbanistica islamica nella formazione delle città italiane’, in *Gli arabi in Italia*, ed. by Gabrieli and Scerrato, pp. 575–97.

A key to understanding the sophisticated morphologies of Amalfitan houses lies in contemporary language and its grasp of architecture.[45] A striking feature of the local sources is their additive structure: 'and' is the most common link between architectural units. Documents read 'house and bath and first floor and balcony and roof', and so on. *Domus* is but one of many elements. It is as if the word *domus* — onto which we impose many loaded concepts, such as private life, the home, the family line — does not physically or intellectually contain these spaces; it serves as the conceptual node around which named and individuated structures cluster.

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[42] The extensive corpus of Amalfitan documentation includes the following published works: Ulrich Schwarz, 'Regesta amalfitana: Die älteren Urkunden Amalfis in ihrer Überlieferung', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 58 (1978), 1–136, 59 (1979), 1–157, and 60 (1980), 1–156 (hereafter Reg.); *Pergamene degli archivi vescovili di Amalfi e Ravello*, ed. by Jole Mazzoleni (Amalfi: Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana, 1972–79) (hereafter *PAVAR*); *Codice Perris, Cartulario amalfitano, X–XV secolo* ed. by Jole Mazzoleni and Renata Orefice (Amalfi: Centro di Cultura e storia amalfitana, 1985–89) (hereafter *CP*); *Le pergamene amalfitane della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria*, ed. by Stefano Palmieri (Amalfi: Centro di Cultura e storia amalfitana, 1988) (hereafter *SNSP*).

[43] *PAVAR*, V, doc. 2 (1222), pp. 1–3. Comparable detail and elaboration in *PAVAR*, V, doc. 9 (1225, Ravello); *PAVAR*, V, doc. 21 (1236, Ravello); later and slightly less complex, *PAVAR*, VII, doc. 74 (1364, Ravello); *SNSP*, doc. 11 (1378, Lone). This specialized conception of the built environment is unusual on the Italian peninsula. Notarial documents from Pisa, Barletta, Capua, and Siena do not contain the same degree of specificity in similar forms of documentation. They introduce some differentiation between architectural subsets only in the thirteenth century, and then, with a few exceptions, not to the same extent or with the same regularity as the Amalfitan texts. Discussion in my *Merchant Art and Culture*.

[44] For example, *CP*, I, doc. 25 (987, Capri); Reg. II, doc. 60 (1011/1026, Tramonti); Reg. III, doc. 36 (1069, Cetara).

[45] Comparable assessments of medieval terminology of the built environment and its cultural implications in Lindy Grant, 'Naming of Parts: Describing Architecture in the High Middle Ages', in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, ca. 1000–1650*, ed. by Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 46–57; and Daniel Lord Smail, 'The Linguistic Cartography of Property and Power in Late Medieval Marseille', in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. by Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 37–63.

This language corresponds thematically to the additive nature of the region's domestic architecture. Layout was not conceived of as a unified, single design, but as a series of thoughtful interventions that took into account topographical complexities, social function, and concern with public display. Each house could keep on expanding, as the Rufolos' did, providing adjacent properties could be purchased. The size of the house, or rather the number of structures that comprised it, became a visual indication of one's swelling (or shrinking) coffers and ambitions.

This occurrence in a lay, mercantile setting is somewhat surprising, for the diversification of domestic space is traditionally linked to court ceremonial and the increasingly sophisticated rituals of the king, emperor, pontiff, caliph, or sultan. The Great Palace of Constantinople provides an early example of how the choreography of power shaped residential space. Although so much of the palace is lost, its remaining fragments and the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (d. 959) provide strong foundations for reconstructing the spatial practices and prerogatives that fuelled its changing forms.[46] Many medieval Islamic settings also drew upon this composite sensibility steeped in *romanitas*.[47] Piecemeal approaches and multiple building campaigns shaped monuments as varied as the Citadel of Cairo and the Alhambra. These multi-functional complexes coordinated the elaborate religious, military, and diplomatic ceremonial of the Mamluk and Ayyubid caliphs in the case of Cairo, and the Nasrid sultans in Granada.

Such sources and monuments help establish the extent to which the residences of sovereign authorities in the Mediterranean were composite and public sites, where spatial practices emphasized display rather than sheltering what today might be called 'private' activities, those associated with family life.[48] The Rufolos enacted comparable processes. They conceptualized parts of their house as places of artistic workmanship and display that were open to and intended for viewers from outside the family. In other words, their concerns were not merely with sheltering the 'private', but with creating complex environments that accommodated the family and articulated their status to others.

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[46] Different building types within the palace multiplied across this swath of central Constantinople: triclinia, domed chambers, pavilions, painted halls, baths, oratories, bedrooms, and towers were conceived of as suitable backdrops for appearances by the imperial family, its entourage, and various governmental officials. Rather than constituting a self-contained unit, this palace was a series of interrelated structures that interfaced with nearby religious and secular institutions, such as the hippodrome and the church of Hagia Sophia. It could readily expand to accommodate new liturgical or ceremonial practices, which included coronations, marriages, baptisms, processions of icons on feast days, and so on. *Le Livre des cérémonies*, ed. and trans. by Albert Vogt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935); Averil Cameron, 'The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies', in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. by David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 106–36.

[47] Andre Grabar and Oleg Grabar, 'L'essor des arts inspirés par les cours princières à la fin du premier millénaire: princes musulmans et princes chrétiens' (1965), reprinted in André Grabar, *L'Art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, vol. I (Paris: Collège de France, 1968), pp. 121–44. Specific sites: D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Rabbat, *Citadel of Cairo*; Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (London: Allen Lane, 1978).

[48] Efforts to carve out semi-private rooms within a larger public domain drove some aspects of the diversification of residential architecture for Western rulers in the later Middle

It is significant that the specialized architectural forms used in Ravello derived from Byzantine and Islamic building traditions and their attendant cultural practices. As such, the Rufolo house is more than 'fairyland architecture'; it documents the family's abilities to navigate a range of artistic possibilities, and the rich cultural fabric of a region that conceptualized the domestic environment in so sophisticated a way.

Ages, however. The Palace of the Popes in Avignon developed new semi-private chambers for the pontiff. These rooms were contiguous with public chambers but were located inside fortified towers. Similarly, urban palaces of the fourteenth century inserted comparable pockets of private space within larger ceremonial stage-sets. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, 'Ad maiorem Pape gloriam: La fonction des pièces dans le palais des Papes d'Avignon', in *Architecture et vie sociale*, ed. by Guillaume, pp. 25–46; G. Radke, 'Form and Function in Thirteenth-Century Papal Palaces', in *Architecture et vie sociale*, ed. by Guillaume, pp. 11–24; Mary Whiteley, 'Public and Private Space in Royal and Princeley Chateaux in Late Medieval France', in *Palais royaux et princiers*, pp. 71–75.

The Palazzo of the da Varano Family in Camerino (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries): Typology and Evolution of a Central Italian Aristocratic Residence*

FIORELLA PAINO

Introduction

Italy has no shortage of historic buildings which have seen their original role and function alter over the centuries. But few of them can equal the adaptability shown by the *Palazzo* da Varano in Camerino in adjusting to new situations. Its constantly changing purpose in life — over the course of its six centuries of existence it has been the residence of the local *Signori*, a seat of papal authority, and finally home to a prestigious university — has made it almost the perfect symbol of architectural metamorphosis, both reflecting and shaping the urban reality surrounding it. Indeed in this paper I argue that the *domus* cannot be considered apart from the *familia* which built it, the da Varano of Camerino: they grew together, they speak the same language, their spirits are entwined.

Although it represents a fine example of the evolution of aristocratic residences in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the *Palazzo* and the family are, strangely, familiar only to a restricted circle of experts. Archeological and architectural research into the building is at an early stage and there are still many unanswered questions about how the rooms rediscovered during restoration were actually used. Built in several stages over the span of three centuries, restructured many times, the building we see today bears little resemblance to its ancient counterpart and, in fact, has lost most of its original rooms. Overall, there were three main construction phases and

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* My greatest debt is to Prof. Alan Partington who made possible the English version of this study written originally in Italian. I wish to thank him for his patience and kindness.

each of them was linked to the public and private affairs of the family within the wider context of medieval Italy from the time when they first settled in Camerino as feudal lords, through the days of their rise to power, their *presa della piazza*, and finally to when they fell to the most tragic of ends.[1]

At a more abstract level, the first building phase (Gentile's Houses) can be seen as an expression of the family's ambition to rise to power, the second one (the Palace of Venanzio) represents their actual rise to power, while the third and last phase (Giulio Cesare's New Houses) sets the final seal on their achievement of both military and civil power (fig. 1).

In fact although unique in many details, the *Palazzo* has many features in common with other palazzi of the period including the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno, the Palazzi Ducali of Urbino and Gubbio, just to quote the most important in the region, or the well-known Palazzo Ducale di Mantova.

A parallel can be also be made with the House of the Rufolo described in Jill Caskey's study in this volume. Although this residence is older than that of the da Varano in Camerino, they nevertheless share many features. Of particular importance here is that they were both constructed, not as a single unit, but over a considerable period of time. They both started from a central nucleus, then expanded in size and altered in function.

There is too a certain parallelism, though in reverse, between the two families to which they belonged. The Rufolo were a rich family of merchants who acquired noble status through commerce and the various services and favours they rendered to the Crown. The da Varano were feudal nobility but, like other similar powerful families of central Italy, they did not disdain a certain indulgence in trade to extend their power and patrimony.

The da Varano Family and the Historical Background

The da Varano was the most powerful family for over three centuries — from the thirteenth to the sixteenth — in the strategically vital region of the southern Marche, set in the heart of central Italy and at the core of the papal territories.

Their initial rise to power was essentially little different from that of other Italian feudal families who managed to use to their own advantage the upheaval which was the result in Italy of two singular events in European political history — the removal of the papal seat to Avignon (1309–78) and the Great Schism of the Western Church (1378–1449). These families were skilful in attracting favours from both the empire and the Church and once settled in the towns, they created fully fledged oligarchic

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[1] The use in this context of the expression *presa della piazza* is meaningful. In the Middle Ages, town and square were considered as synonyms. The square was meant as town and vice versa. The square, moreover, was the place where every public event took place and so *prendere la piazza* (conquest of the square) means to be in power in a town.

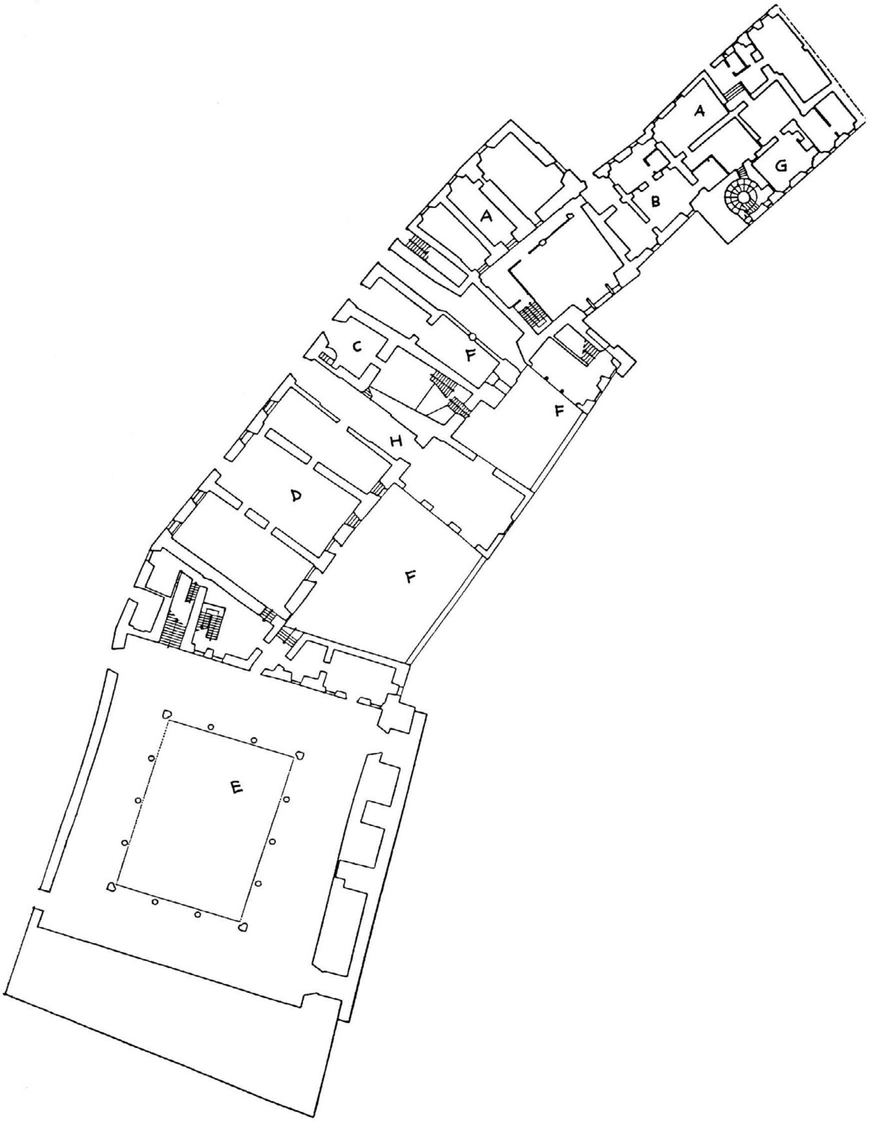

Figure 1. General plan of the da Varano *Palazzo* (made by architect G. Remiddi with the permission of the Dipartimento di Botanica, Università di Camerino)

dominions, later transformed into the *Signorie*. As first-rate politicians, or *condottieri*, in the pay of the papacy, of leagues, or of towns such as Florence, Venice, or Naples, the da Varano were important players, at times as protagonists themselves, at other times as arbiters in many of the historic events of the day. They spent much of their time and energy mastering the arcane ways of the legal system of the period, turning themselves into expert and highly sought-after lawyers, fit for important positions in the town and the church.[2] Rodolfo, Gentile, and their heirs also helped the city increase its power over the neighbouring territories through a policy of subdual.[3] This kind of domination was vital and inevitable not only for defence but also for economy and taxation, and was exercised over rural communities as well as over less powerful towns.

Guelphs in a most Guelph of towns,[4] the da Varano remained faithful through the years to the papal party which brought them considerable benefits and favours, culminating in the second half of the fourteenth century in their acquisition of the *Vicariato*:

> an institution in which the *Signore* (landlord) could impose public authority [. . .] as well as a series of *regalie* (gratuities) on a certain territory ruling in the name of a

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[2] A letter sent in 1224 by Pier delle Vigne, fiduciary of Emperor Friedrich I, to Rodolfo da Varano testifies to this expertise. Rodolfo was in fact asked to teach Civil Law in the new university of Naples recently founded by the emperor. See P. Falaschi, 'Berardo I da Varano signore di Camerino', *Studi Maceratesi*, 18 (1982), 8–76 (p. 16, n. 22); idem, 'Orizzonti di una dinastia: i Varano di Camerino', in *Il Quattrocento a Camerino: Luce e prospettiva nel cuore della Marca*, ed. by A. De Marchi and M. Giannatiempo Lopez (Milano: Motta, 2002), pp. 35–45 (p. 36 and n. 43).

[3] On 27 January 1240, Cardinal Sinibaldo de' Fieschi (the future Pope Innocent IV), rector at that time of the *Marca*, '[. . .] recognises the jurisdiction of Camerino, began a policy of expansion over many of the neighbouring territories some of them already enfeiffed [. . .] Rodolfo (da Varano) was succeeded by Gentile 1st. so called because he was the first with this name to exercise public power': Falaschi, 'Berardo I', p. 17.

[4] Camerino has an ancient history. The town was founded by the people of Umbri. Later it became a Roman municipality. At the dawn of the Middle Ages, the town and its territory were a pre-eminent part of the dukedom of Spoleto (the dukes of Spoleto were also called dukes 'of Camerino'). From the eighth century Camerino was included in the Church estates. As already mentioned, in the tenth century the *Marca di Camerino* made its first appearance as an independent state no longer linked to the dukedom of Spoleto. From the end of the eleventh century to the beginning of the twelfth century, the town chose to be a free *Comune* although under papal supremacy. For a history of the town, among others, see C. Lili, *Dell'Historia di Camerino, 1649–1652*, vol. II, anastatic edn of the 1835 edn (Macerata: Forni, 1991); P. Savini, *Storia della città di Camerino*, 2nd expanded edn with notes by Milziade Santoni Esq. (Camerino: Tip. Savini, 1865); R. Romani, *Guida storico-artistica di Camerino e dintorni* (Terni: Stabilimenti Alterocca, 1927); B. Feliciangeli, *Ricerche sull'origine dei da Varano signori di Camerino: Estratti da L'Arcadia*, Atti dell'Accademia e scritti dei soci (Roma: Tip. Poliglotta Vaticana, 1919).

> higher power [. . .] In order to obtain the *vicariato* the *Signore* is obliged to perform an act of submission and to bind himself to pay a yearly tribute.[5]

They were finally elevated to the status of dukes in 1515 by Pope Leo X Medici (bull of 30 April).

The founder of the family is usually identified as a certain Gentile of unknown lineage, father of Rodolfo.[6] Documents from the first half of the 1200s list him among the representatives of the *Comune*, or town council. He was mayor for a time which is confirmation of the fact that the da Varano had moved residence from their ancient stronghold of the Rocca Varano to within the city and had purchased property there which allowed them to exercise rights as *maiores* (or leaders) of the *Comune*. Rodolfo was succeeded by his son Gentile who passed into history as Gentile I da Varano and was the man who completed the process of the family's urbanization by founding the residence which is the focus of this essay.

The History of the Family and the Three Main Construction Phases

Gentile's Houses

The building of the first phase of the *Palazzo,* located — not by chance — in one of the town's focal points near the cathedral, reflects not only the da Varano family's desire for visibility within the urban context but also of its actual pre-eminence over the other local aristocratic families.

During the so-called Investiture Struggle between the empire and the papacy, the *Comune* of Camerino sided though the years with the papal (or Guelph) party. On the night of 12 August 1259, Count Ranieri de'Baschi, leader of the Camerino Ghibellines' fifth column, opened the eastern gate of the city to the troops of King Manfredi under the command of Percival Doria sent to occupy the central regions of

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[5] P. Falaschi, 'Intorno al Vicariato Apostolico in temporalibus', *Atti e Memorie*, 103 (1998), 157–97 (pp. 164–65); M. T. Guerra Medici, *Famiglia e potere in una signoria dell'Italia Centrale: I Varano di Camerino* (Camerino: Centro Audiovisivi e Stampa, 2002).

[6] The origins of the da Varano remain obscure. Ancient non-documented sources and legends, devised in the main to glorify the house in accordance with a medieval and Renaissance custom, offer little help. The seventeenth-century historian and scholar Camillo Lili in his *Dell'Historia di Camerino* claims it originates in the third century AD with a certain Berardo and Commodo, and even fantasizes about links with the Anglo-Norman house of Surrey Varennes (or Surrey Warren) who were supposed to have found their way to Italy some time in the ninth century. Others have maintained that the family originates from the Varano Castle in the Parma region in the time of Charlemagne. The prefix *de* or *da* to a name usually indicates a place name, a feudal possession, rather than a person. See Lili, *Dell'Historia*; Savini, *Storia della città di Camerino*; Feliciangeli, *Ricerche sull'origine dei da Varano*; Falaschi, 'Berardo I'.

Italy.[7] At the mercy of the Ghibelline and imperial forces, the city was put to the sword and sacked and the houses of the Guelph families largely destroyed. According to the tradition, however, several Guelph families managed to escape the massacre through the San Silvestro Gate and took refuge in one of the surrounding castles. Here, Gentile, with the help of Pope Alexander IV and a number of local Guelph towns, reorganized the exiles and, in 1261, led them in the reconquest of the semi-ruined town and expelled in turn the Ghibelline forces. Gentile was in the forefront of the city's reconstruction and reconquest of its lost territories, but he was never acclaimed *Signore*.[8] The grateful townspeople, however, did confer on him for two years the exalted title of Captain of War.[9]

The houses which had come into da Varano ownership since Rodolfo's days,[10] situated near the Santa Maria Maggiore collegiate church, were rebuilt and restored by Gentile during this period (*c*. 1265), which bears witness to the family's social and financial advancement. To these were added a group of houses which had belonged to the Vicomanni family and which passed into Gentile's hands, as witnessed in a seventeenth-century document.[11]

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[7] This gate, destroyed in the first half of the last century, after the town's reconquest, was named 'of Gentile'. In the fifteenth century, it was renamed 'Giulia's Gate' from Giulio Cesare da Varano. See P. Falaschi, 'Il Palazzo ducale dei Varano di Camerino e i giardini rinascimentali', in *Atti dell'Incontro l'Orto Botanico e il verde a Camerino, 7 maggio 1988* (Camerino: Università degli Studi, 1989), pp. 5–14; G. Remiddi, 'La città ed il Palazzo', in *Documenti sulla fondazione dell'Orto Botanico a Camerino, 29 marzo 1827–28 aprile 1828* (Camerino: Università degli Studi, 1991), pp. 41–68; P. Angeletti and G. Remiddi, 'Le vicende urbane di Camerino nel Quattrocento', in *Il Quattrocento a Camerino*, ed. by De Marchi and Lopez, pp. 92–97.

[8] In 1262, Gentile, on behalf of the town, conquered a number of Ghibelline castles as well as the Stronghold of Sentino, a very important strategically placed outpost. Here on 8 December 1444, Costanza da Varano (daughter of Piergentile and Elisabetta Malatesta) married Alessandro Sforza, Lord of Pesaro and brother of the famous Francesco. In the *Elogia* written by the humanist Varino Favorino in the sixteenth century and commissioned by Giovanni Maria da Varano, Gentile I is celebrated as *Dominus et reconditor Urbis Camerini, Cathedralis Ecclesiae instaurator.* Among others, see Savini, *Storia della città di Camerino*, p. 220; A. A. Bittarelli, 'Varino Favorino e gli Elogia', in *Camerinum*, ed. by A. A. Bittarelli (Camerino: Mierma, 1996), pp. 365–76 (p. 373).

[9] Though the person who holds this position had only a formal jurusdictional power, he could exercise a political and military one. He could, in fact, go to war against all those who menaced the town, its territory or inhabitants; make peace treaties and alliances; pay troops and impose taxes. See Falaschi, 'Intorno al Vicariato', p. 162, n. 19.

[10] Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Codice Vaticano Barber, Lat. 2441c. fol. 30^{v}.

[11] 'was built by Gentile Varano in the houses of the *Signori* Vicomanni given by Rambotto I, *Signore* of Belforte to the said Gentile [. . .] for which the *Signori* Varano gave as recompense the houses in which today still live the family of the Vicomanni': A. Benigni, *Frammenti istoriali della città di Camerino* (Camerino, Biblioteca Valentiniana, MS 157, c. 53^{r})

At the end of the thirteenth century what must have earlier been a fairly haphazard collection of constructions begin to take the shape of a more unified place of residence. These buildings were erected on the highest and narrowest part of the hill, where the original city arose for defence reasons. Of this original construction very little remains apart from a few walls of squared sandstone ashlars which must have originally been outside the wall, some round or oval arch doors, and some internal walls made of composite material. The houses, as witnessed by restoration work past and present, needed to have particularly stringent proportions and followed the line of the ancient, narrow, sloping streets as we can see from the fact that the only two surviving doors are on different levels despite being only yards apart.[12] These streets connected the higher part of the city (the square with the collegiate church) with the road (on the ancient Roman way) leading down to the base of the rock. Two or three of them, which were terraced or stepped, similar to those which are still today visible and in use in the old part of the town, between the top and halfway down the hill, were later absorbed into the building during its enlargement.

In 1239 Gentile married Alteruccia, niece of Suppo d'Altino, who bore him five children — Gentile, Ringarda, Berardo, Rodolfo, and Gualteronda. He was nominated *podestà* (a temporary appointment as governor of the city) for the first time in 1266 and organized his residence no longer as a simple defensive bastion but also as a meeting place for the town's official representatives. In Camerino, as well as in other Italian towns, the *Comune* did not possess a proper official place for meetings or to draw up deeds, so it was in the habit of using the bishop's see, churches, or private houses.[13] Contemporary documents testify that in Gentile's Houses, on 9 December 1266, a contract of purchase for an area for use as a market-place was drawn up. This state of affairs continued into the fourteenth century as attested by a deed dated on 22 October 1328, quoted by Feliciangeli: 'in front of Santa Maria Maggiore church and the Houses of the illustrious *Messer Gentile*'.[14]

The almost complete absence of documentary evidence makes it difficult for us to reconstruct the daily life of this family around the end of the thirteenth century, but the *case* (houses) which Gentile reorganized for the greater comfort of himself and

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[12] The work of restoration, preservation, and functional adaptation, supervised by the architects Angeletti and Remiddi began in the 1970s. (They are also the authors of the Palace plan as shown in fig. 1.) This resulted in the discovery of various locations of architectural merit and made possible the use of the ample space of the ancient palace. See Remiddi, 'La città ed il Palazzo', p. 46; M. A. De Angelis, 'Restauri e nuove acquisizioni nel Palazzo dei Da Varano a Camerino: Contributi alla conoscenza ed al recupero del' Palazzo ducale', in *Atti dell'Incontro l'Orto Botanico*, pp. 17–29, and Angeletti and Remiddi, 'Le vicende urbane', pp. 94–95.

[13] By law, 'it was possible to draw up deeds, everywhere, except the taverns and those places where people gambled': Falaschi, 'Intorno al Vicariato'.

[14] B. Feliciangeli, 'Cenni storici sul Palazzo dei Varano in Camerino', Nota A, in 'L'itinerario di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga attraverso la Marca e l'Umbria nell'aprile 1494', *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche*, 8 (1912), 21–53 (pp. 23–24).

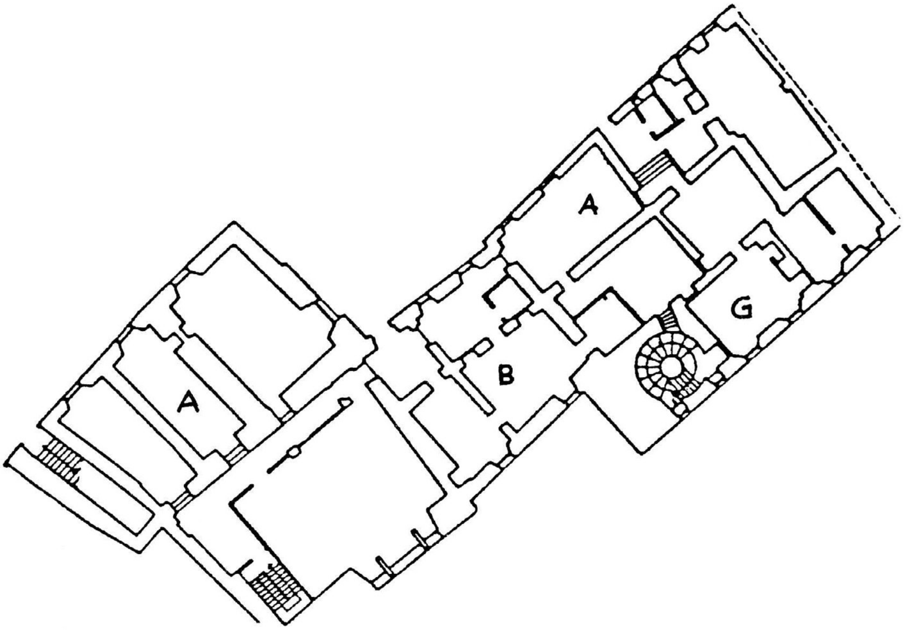

Figure 2. Gentile's Houses plan (detail of fig. 1 above)

his family cannot have been very different from other dwellings which arose at the same time throughout central Italy, many of which can still be seen today. In fact from as early as the twelfth century we find that buildings separated by a courtyard and belonging to the same family tend to be joined together as a single construction, more or less complex. This solution was adopted particularly in urban areas where space was very limited.[15] The internal disposition of rooms was typically as follows: a front area for work or public use and a series of rooms behind or on the upper storey which included a dining room, bedrooms, kitchen, the pantry, and sometimes the toilet and well.

The plans of this part of the construction (fig. 2) indicate an area divided into a number of separate zones and it is difficult to perceive an organized unified design. On the contrary, we are probably looking at the haphazard building expansion typical of the period. On the ground floor the ceilings sometimes have barrel vaults or round arches or lowered cross vaults as was normal practice at the time. The floors are built of bricks. On the upper storeys, the ceilings were probably *a palcho*, that is, composed of beams left open to view, whilst the floors were wooden boards. Given the harsh climate, the bedrooms were probably located near the kitchen to take advantage of the heat. There were also, given the status of the family, plenty of decorations: plaster walls painted with simple geometric designs — like those which can still be seen today at Palazzo Trinci in Foligno — and various ornaments in contrasting colours or painted curtains which on important occasions would become 'real' in the sense that the rooms would be draped, according to the time of year, with wool, linen, silk, or even tapestries.

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[15] The medieval town was usually divided into rectangular lots of nine *braccio* with a frontage of roughly 5.25 m. The houses, on two or more floors (which still exist in Florence, Perugia, and Gubbio), had a *fronte ristretta* (narrow façade), i.e. the narrowest part faced the street.

We are, however, in the world of hypothesis and analogy. Traumatic events and changes of taste have transformed the function and appearance of these rooms out of all recognition. Time has destroyed the decorations and stolen away the furnishing and everyday objects. In 1279 a dreadful earthquake struck the area and a large part of the city suffered grave damage. Many buildings collapsed and many victims were buried under them.[16] We may well conjecture that the family, just like many others, had to reconstruct part or all of their houses. However, the earthquake played into the hands of the family and favoured their ambitions. The emergency drove the town institutions to concentrate power into the hands of a few, not to say one, individual. This decision essentially foreshadowed the *Signoria* which was shortly after set up in the city.

The Palace of Venanzio (Fourteenth Century)

The concession of the *Vicariato* '*in temporalibus*' by the Holy See gave the da Varano the opportunity to extend their urban residence. Conceived not only as a private space, but also as a public one open to town life, the second building phase included some of the pre-existing urban components. The first problem facing the architects (whose identity remains unknown to this today) was dictated by the need to save as much as possible of the pre-existing structures through the creation of others which would link up with the new constructions.[17]

The da Varano lived in Gentile's Houses for more than a century. He was succeeded by his sons Rodolfo and Berardo. The latter started expansion and modernization work to create a palace fit to house a family whose power was steadily growing in both the military and civic spheres and which was accumulating official posts within Camerino, in the surrounding towns, and in important far-flung places such as Pistoia, Lucca, Perugia, and Florence. He himself helped draft documents stipulating fruitful military, political, and commercial alliances both for the town and his own family.[18] The da Varano also adopted a highly judicious matrimonial policy aimed at the consolidation of their power over a large region from the crest of the Apennines to the Adriatic sea, from Camerino to Civitanova. By the fourteenth century this power was definitively consolidated — as many as thirty towns recognized Rodolfo II as their liege. Skilled commander and designated as *vessillifero* (standard-bearer) of the Church by Cardinal Albornoz, he was also the head of the so-called *Lega Maledetta*, a coalition against the papal seat of Avignon, and played a leading role in the events surrounding the Schism of the Western Church.[19] With Rodolfo II, Giovanni *Spaccalferro*, Venanzio *Falcialferro*, and Gentile III, all sons of Berardo II, the main command structure of the state of Camerino coalesced around one extended family whose ramifications reached all units of the state and all sections of the society that mattered. These developments brought the first important addition to Gentile's Houses, the construction of what is referred to, from the name of its patron, as the Palace of Venanzio.

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[16] Among the destroyed buildings were the San Pietro in Muralto convent (where all the nuns died 'except one' according to an old chronicle), the Collegiate Church of San Giacomo, and part of Santa Maria Maggiore.

[17] Very interesting is the discovery confirmed by yard works of a castle, and not only of a tower as previously thought, inside the Palace of Venanzio: Angeletti and Remiddi, 'Le vicende urbane', p. 92.

This second group of residences dates from the second half of the 1300s, almost certainly from the 1370s. The dating coincides with the award of the *Vicariato* and the feudal concession of the cities of Tolentino and San Ginesio by the Holy See. The building, work on which continued after the death of Venanzio in 1377 and did not finish until around 1410 or 1420, acquired a sort of symbolic value — an emblem and expression of the recognition by the Church of the authority of the da Varano over the southern *Marca.*

The new building, next to the old, has typical fourteenth-century characteristics with a shape which follows the form of the underlying rock which it uses as an anchor, with four floors towards the valley and three on the city side overlooking the square, parallel with the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore collegiate church. Its grand structure dominated the square and formed its boundary and gave it an air of authority which soon eclipsed that of the *Comune* as centre of the civil and political life of the city.

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[18] Rodolfo I was *podestà* of San Ginesio (1299) and of Roccacontrada (1301), Commander of Lucca (1294) and Perugia (1304). Berardo was, moreover, Commander of Perugia (1289), Pistoia (1294), and Bologna (1297). See the biographies edited by F. Paino, in *I volti di una dinastia*, ed. by P. Falschi, Exhibition Catalogue (Milano: Motta, 2001), pp. 50–77; Falaschi, 'Orizzonti di una dinastia', pp. 35–45.

[19] The presence of Rodolfo II was crucial in the election of Pope Clement VIII (Cardinal Robert of Geneve) held in Fondi in 1378. A short story (novella XLI) in the *Trecentonovelle* of Franco Sacchetti (*c.* 1334–1400) tells us something about the personality of this extraordinary man. Rodolfo — accused by his son-in law Galeotto Malatesta of having acted against God and his soul because of his support for the Fondi election vs. the papal see of Avignon — answered, 'I have done this because in this way they will be too busy quarrelling with each other to have time to pay attention to our affairs': F. Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*. In effect, the fighting between the two popes benefitted the policy of territorial aquisition from the Church estate pursued by much of the local aristocracy.

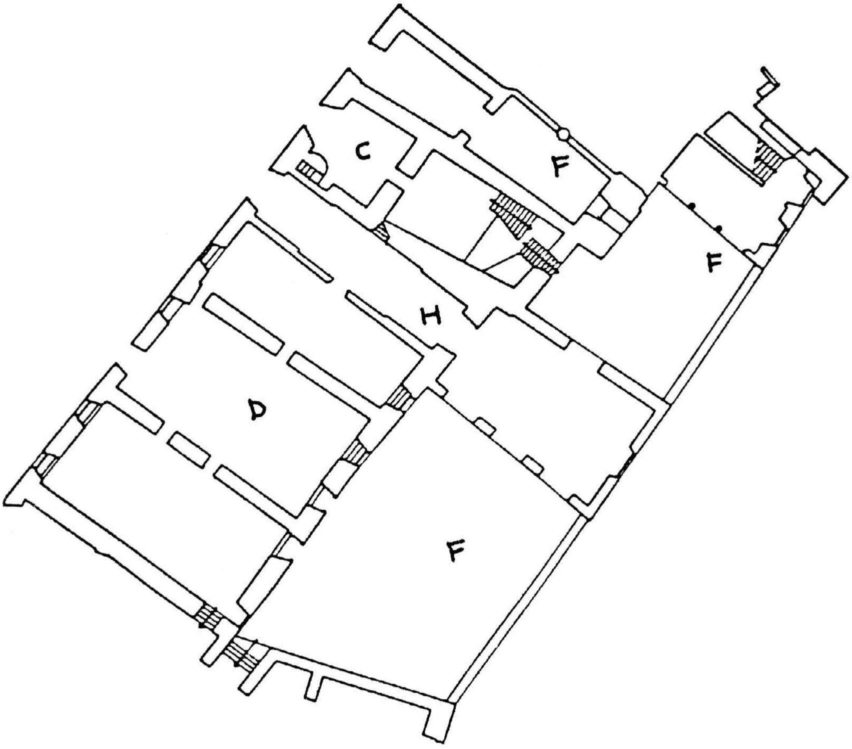

Figure 3. Palace of Venanzio plan (detail of fig. 1 above)

What was noted about Gentile's Houses — that they were built in phases over a long period of time — also applies to the Palace of Venanzio and again in this it differs very little from other aristocratic residences of the time.[20] The plan is very simple with regularly connecting rooms although still of a medieval character (fig. 3). The Palace was in Gothic style. We can deduce this from the surviving narrow one-light three-lobed windows on the valley side and, on the piazza side, from the large oval windows (maybe three-light with columns) which, though they have been long filled in, can still be made out, and also from oval-arched entrances (also filled in) hailing from a later date but erected in the same style of those in Gentile's Houses, presumably in an attempt at artistic continuity. The Palace was taller than today's building: the position of the above-mentioned large oval windows is in fact too close to the present roof. A few traces of string-course mouldings are still visible. These cornices, although present in the fourteenth century, only later became a fairly common architectural element both in private and public buildings. The whole construction is in sandstone with greyish-blue tones and the occasional glassy flake due to the presence of quartz and silicon in the stone. Comparison with surviving decorations from local buildings of the same age suggests that pink (so-called *rosa di Assisi*) and white limestone could well have been used in the decoration of arches and frames and in the stone plaques still to be seen on the outside walls.[21] Still visible on the front of the Palace is a white stone coat of arms with the da Varano weapons, as was fashionable in the fourteenth century when they were often put on the external walls or on the two corners of the façade.

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[20] It is still not possible for us to hazard any guesses as to the name of the builder, and things will stay that way, save some fortuitous discovery in some long-neglected archive.

Next to the pre-existing buildings and connecting them to the first part of the family's house, the Palace of Venanzio also incorporated a watchtower which stood next to Gentile's Houses which, once lowered, was 'used as a strong, full, volumetric element to strengthen the corner'.[22]

The Borgia Inventory, dated 1502 and compiled at the time of Cesare Borgia's subjugation of the city, alludes in its description of the Palace to rooms situated in the old tower, 'a room on the top of the tower with two windows, a *cappucciaro* [. . .], two doors', and also in the tower, 'a room with a coffered ceiling, a fireplace, a window, two doors and furniture'.[23] The Palace also contained another pre-existing urban component, a water cistern which was underneath the ground floor of the innermost room.[24]

In the room next to the 'cistern chamber' remains can still be seen of a staircase which rests directly against the rock and which shows how the various floors were connected internally. All around there are also a number of small rooms whose precise function is still not clear, but some of which at least were presumably servants' quarters. Their closeness to the water cistern suggests that a laundry and dye-house were also situated here. Another interesting detail is the narrow staircase, certainly meant for private use (a contemporary example can be seen in Rocca d'Ajello, another castle in the da Varano estate a few miles from Camerino, as well as in some still conserved in a number of old houses in the town), set by the thick wall and leading to the floor above.[25]

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[21] The use of white and pink limestone is quite typical of architecture and sculpture in other medieval buildings of the town, such as the San Domenico Convent, Sant'Ansovino Tomb, and the intricately carved portals of the San Venanzio, San Francesco, and Sant'Agostino churches as well as in the *loggia* of Beldiletto Castle.

[22] Remiddi, 'La città e il Palazzo', p. 48.

[23] *Ragioni e descrittione del Ducato di Camerino* (Archivio di Stato di Modena, fondo Estense), in S. Corradini, 'Camerino e i Borgia: cronistoria dell'occupazione e inventario del Ducato, luglio 1502-agosto 1503', in *Studi camerti in onore di Giacomo Boccanera,* ed. by G. Tomassini (Camerino: Università degli Studi, 1993), pp. 55–103. See also E. Tagliacollo, *Il Palazzo di Giulio Cesare Varano a Camerino* (Roma: Tesi di Laurea, 2001).

[24] It is interesting to note that this practice was not rare. A century later Francesco di Giorgio Martini, architect, military engineer, and expert in hydraulics, at the wishes of Federico da Montefeltro, also placed a public cistern under the Palazzo Ducale in Gubbio.

Whilst this part of the edifice was opened onto the valley side, the ground floor was composed of further service areas and public spaces, such as offices, 'cancellerie', reception areas, which became necessary whenever a family assumed a position of hegemony in the political life of a town. Half-way public, these spaces looked out both onto the piazza and onto the inside courtyards which led to the *horti*, the gardens which were located in the restricted space between the city walls and the houses which were set a few yards further back.[26]

The second floor housed the private living rooms and the Great Hall described and applauded in numerous contemporary documents: 'two fireplaces, a coffered ceiling, a door and a dresser: eight big and two small windows, 120 feet in length and 44 feet in width, in this room there are sixteen elm-wood benches, twenty bars with iron hooks to hang tapestries.' Another document (1584) repeats and confirms all this: 'On the right at the beginning of the long side there is a fireplace, another one in on the left at the end of the wall, before it there is a dresser.'

The Palace of Venanzio also included the earlier *Ponte di Madonna* (from the end of the thirteenth to the start of the fourteenth century), a bridge — a 'pathway in the air' — thirteen yards long connected to the private chapel dedicated to the patron, which unfortunately no longer exists, situated next to the apse of the collegiate church. Access to the bridge was through a 'half-closed *loggia*' with entrances from two separate rooms.[27] Through this the ladies of the house of da Varano were able to make their way to prayer without having to trudge across the road below.

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[25] Here, in a part where the bare wall is covered by a layer of malta, someone has drawn in charcoal a hand with the finger pointing to a phrase of writing, not all of which has survived: *Die XI februa... ...nunt festina... a...et ...ven bis retulit MCCCC* (Remiddi, 'La città ed il Palazzo', p. 64, n. 23).

[26] The modern appearance of this part of the Palazzo, however, can be traced back to the works carried out in the second half of the fifteenth century, between 1465 and 1480 by Giulio Cesare da Varano. We know this thanks to the vaulted ceilings with lunettes to be found in the three ground floor rooms and which are features of many other buildings of the period. These are also the only rooms in which mural paintings have survived which bear witness to the richness of decoration this Palazzo must once have boasted, as well as giving some indications of the use to which they were put. Research seems to confirm that they were public rooms used as offices or reception areas. See B. Teodori, 'Dipinti murali nella residenza di Giulio Cesare Varano: Recuperi ed ipotesi', in *Atti dell'incontro l'Orto Botanico*, pp. 31–50; F. Paino and M. Paraventi, 'Una rappresentazione cortese: i dipinti murali del Palazzo Ducale di Camerino', in *Studi storici per Angelo Antonio Bittarelli* (Camerino: Università degli Studi, 2001), pp. 175–96; Angeletti and Remiddi, 'Le vicende urbane', p. 97; F. Marcelli, 'Immagini di Signori, Re e Imperatori nella Sala di Giulio Cesare', in *I volti di una dinastia*, ed. by Falaschi, pp. 36–43; F. Marcelli, 'Appunti per una storia della committenza varanesca', in *Il Quattrocento a Camerino*, ed. by De Marchi and Lopez, pp. 68–77.

The *Ponte* must have played a very important part in the private life of the family, as evident from Rodolfo III's will. He succeeded his father, Gentile III, in 1399, and concentrated and consolidated the vast family territories which were gradually assuming the unified characteristics of a *Signoria*. Wishing to be sure of leaving a roof over the heads of his legitimate male heirs and their families, he shared out among them not only his vast territorial possessions but also the family residence so that there would be no fighting over who owned what. He thus divided up the numerous rooms of the great house so that each family nucleus could live in comfort and independence from the others. This is why the ladies had separate access to the bridge from their rooms, whilst stairs and courtyards were shared by all.[28]

The construction of the Palace of Venanzio brought the completion of that part of the building which, along with Gentile's Houses, goes under the title of *case vecchie* ('the old houses'). It continued to be the private residence of the family even after the building of the final wing of the *Palazzo*, the *case nove* (the 'New Houses') with the huge *quadriportico* by Giulio Cesare da Varano to which we now turn our attention.

Giulio Cesare's New Houses (Fifteenth Century)

The final seal of the power exercised by the da Varano over the town and over their other considerable territories is symbolized by the building of the last phase of the *Palazzo*. Designed to assert Giulio Cesare's personal prestige, it is an expression of the new artistic creed which spread from Tuscany all over in Italy. The centripetal and centrifugal heart of the humanistic-Renaissance culture and of the ideological basis of the power of the *Signoria* is represented by the wide *quadriportico* on which stood the new reception halls. With its half-public space, the *loggia* mediates the relationship between the court and the citizens, a kind of symbiosis between the square and the *atrium.*[29]

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[27] A similar edifice, still surviving today, is the one which joins the Palazzo Trinci of the lords of Foligno (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) with the Palazzo delle Canoniche and the Cathedral of San Feliciano.

[28] 'Dicens dictus testator quod facere adibitum retro cameram unicornuorum et ingressum de sala grandi et exire in logiam supra pontem qui est ante et juxta dictam cappellam sibi videbatur actius et commodius quam per alias partes ipsarum domorum': Feliciangeli, 'Cenni storici sul Palazzo dei Varano in Camerino', p. 23. Known as 'the father-in-law of Italy' for his sixty-nine children, Rodolfo III died in 1424 in his best-loved castle of Beldiletto. A most generous lord, he earned the loyalty of the famed *condottiero* Braccio da Montone, who in 1421 married Nicolina, one of his numerous daughters and who was already the widow of Galeotto Malatesta. Despite all his efforts, however, a few years after his death the da Varano were dogged by infighting which led to ten years of republican government in Camerino. See A. Meriggi, *Honorabilibus amicis nostris carissimis: Lettere inedite dei Da Varano di Camerino al Comune di Montecchio, Treia 1381–1426* (Camerino: Centro audiovisivi e Stampa, 1996).

On the death of Rodolfo III (1464), in accordance with the stipulations in his will, the inheritance was divided among his four legitimate sons, Berardo, Gentilpandolfo, Piergentile, and Giovanni. The first half of the fifteenth century saw the application of a policy of strict centralization of power on the part of Pope Eugenius IV, intent on restoring his authority over all the territories of the papal states. In this wider context, ambition mixed with fears over the future division of the family properties induced the elder two brothers to plot against the younger. Using stratagems worthy of Machiavelli at his best (or worst), Berardo and Gentilpandolfo concocted false accusations against Giovanni and Piergentile, managed to have them killed, and appropriated their possessions.[30] Giovanni was murdered by assassins whilst Piergentile was beheaded at Recanati by order of the papal legate in 1433, on 6 September.[31]

This fraternal betrayal provoked a popular uprising which, together with more markedly political and commercial motivations, resulted in 1434 in the massacre of the two older brothers and many other members of their family, including various of their children. These events were, in effect, also proof that the city of Camerino was no longer willing to submit to the family's domination of its affairs.[32] It was left to the women of the house of da Varano who, after the massacre, 'were sent back home'[33] to grasp the reins of a power which was escaping them, to save what was possible, to toil and suffer so that one day their sons might eventually regain their lost authority and prestige. In the meantime, the *Palazzo* became the seat of a republican government which ruled the city for nine years.[34]

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[29] M. Ceriana, 'Note sull'architettura e la scultura nella Camerino di Giulio Cesare da Varano', in *Il Quattrocento a Camerino*, ed. by De Marchi and Lopez, pp. 98–115 (p. 109).

[30] This terrible episode saw the involvment of Arcangelo di Fiordimonte, a servant of the da Varano, who supported the betrayal in the hope of giving back the town its lost freedom.

[31] Piergentile, who married Elisabetta of Galeazzo Malatesta of Pesaro, declared his heir to be Filippo Maria Visconti, the Duke of Milan. In this way, he drew him into the internal events of Camerino. The false accusations of Vitelleschi, Apostolic Legate for the *Marca*, against Piergentile concerned the supposed forgery of papal currency.

[32] The continuous splitting up of the private dominion led, in addition to discontent and fighting, to exorbitant taxation that meant intolerable economic and commercial consequences even for the rich guilds. See P. Falaschi, 'La Signoria di Giulio Cesare da Varano', in *Camilla Battista da Varano e il suo tempo: Atti del convegno di studi sul V centenario del Monastero delle Clarisse di Camerino, 7–9 settembre1984* (Camerino: Diocesi, 1987), pp. 15–38; Guerra Medici, 'Famiglia e potere', pp. 289–321.

[33] Lili, *Dell'Historia*, p. 177.

[34] Much the same occurred in some of the cities around Camerino. Various massacres were politically piloted by Rome which fomented popular sentiment in favour of the restoration of comunal power in order to unseat the local *Signori* and regain possession of its dominions. These included the assassination of the Chiavelli family in Fabriano, and in Foligno that of the Trinci.

Elisabetta Malatesta, wife of Piergentile, with the help of her da Varano sisters-in-law — Tora, wife of Nicolò Trinci of Foligno, and Guglielmina, wife of Battista Chiavelli of Fabriano — managed to rescue her children, Rodolfo, Costanza, and Primavera, and her nephew Giulio Cesare. From her ancestral home in Pesaro, for nine years, Elisabetta Malatesta did all she could to regain possession of the lost *Signoria*; with the aid of of Francesco Sforza and of Federico da Montefeltro, the Visconti of Milan, nominated heirs in Piergentile's testament, they carried their plan to a successful conclusion. Finally, in December 1443, Rodolfo and Giulio, her son and nephew, returned to their rightful home of Camerino, acclaimed as its lords. In accordance with the wishes of Pope Nicholas V, Elisabetta acted as regent until 1449. She was responsible for the marriages that allied the da Varano to some of the greatest families in Italy.[35]

The two cousins shared both the task of government and the proceeds of their military expeditions until 1464, the year in which Rodolfo died.[36] The first work on what later became known as the *Palazzo di Giulio* dates from the years immediately following Rodolfo's demise. Having sent back to the court of Ferrara his sister-in-law and her children — for whom he had obtained confirmation from Pope Paul II of their *Vicariato* over Camerino (together of course with his own children) — Giulio Cesare now had full power in his hands. Captain of the papal armies under Popes Paul II, Sixtus IV, and Innocent VIII, Captain General of the Republic of Venice and of Ferdinand, king of Naples, and Lieutenant of Matthias I Corvinus, king of Hungary, he was a man of ambitious, unscrupulous, and entirely secular spirit. He went on to dedicate much of his energy and finances — with the help of his wife, Giovanna Malatesta 'a princess wise and of great erudition'[37] — to the creation within his court and his city of a cultural climate which aspired to fulfilling the highest humanistic ideals of the Renaissance. Not only did he spare no effort to restructure, extend, and beautify his own residence but he also let himself be guided by the many humanists, artists, and men of letters he welcomed to his court, who without doubt steered his tastes in the right direction.[38]

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[35] Her daughter Costanza to Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro, brother of Francesco (1444); her son Rodolfo to Camilla, daughter of Niccolò d'Este of Ferrara and sister of Lionello (1448); and her nephew Giulio Cesare to Giovanna Malatesta of Rimini (1451).

[36] Rodolfo IV and Giulio Cesare, *capitani di ventura*, were celebrated for their skill as commanders able 'to transform the poor peasants of the *Marca* countryside into merciless mercenary troops': Falaschi, 'La Signoria di Giulio Cesare da Varano', p. 22.

[37] Lili, *Dell'Historia*, p. 218.

[38] The choice of high-flown subjects, Fame, Fortune, mythological characters, and also of contemporary military exploits is a clear indication of how Giulio Cesare was not indifferent to the trappings of glory. The classical names he gave to his children (Annibale, Cesare, Pirro) are also proof of his Renaissance spirit. See L. Allevi, 'Umanisti camerinesi: Il Cantalicio e la corte dei Varano', *Atti e Memorie della Regia Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche*, 3 (1925), 167–95.

His fame grew at the same rate as that of the city where building sites were ever more numerous and busy (including those of the *Ospedale* of Santa Maria della Misericordia, the temple to the Annunziata, waterworks, and even the construction of a Clarissan convent so as to keep his beloved daughter Camilla as close to him as possible).[39] In a codicil in the Vatican Library, we can read: 'he [Giulio Cesare] took great delight in building, and thus raised the Ducal Palace by the Cathedral, which in those days was reputed one of the most sumptuous in Italy, in the year which was, 1490'.[40] This date was nearer the end than the beginning of the work. By that year it must have been near completion if we can trust Benigni's dating to 1498 of an inscription on the portal to the courtyard: *Iulius Caesar Iooannis II filius palatii huius novi et atri fundator. A.D. MCCCCXCVIII.*[41]

This last part of the residence has to be interpreted as a manifestation of the power of a family which boasted links with all the principal noble houses of Italy. Giulio Cesare desired it to be built according to the dictates of the Renaissance with simple, elegant lines but with no lack of both painting and sculptures as decoration. As was the case with the Palazzi of Federico di Montefeltro in Gubbio and Urbino, this edifice did not arise *ex novo* but was the result of the restructuring of other houses belonging to the family which, as we know from the testament of Rodolfo III, were situated close by and had not yet been finished.

To the sixty-nine rooms of the 'old houses', another forty — in a Renaissance style meant for official functions — were added, plus a stable for ninety-four horses: '*Item*: a stable with fountain, a room at the top of this stable for the family and it can hold ninety-four horses.' These included numerous service areas including a *speziería* (something between a grocery and a pharmacy) 'with a door and window [with] some large benches for writing on' and even rooms to house birds (hawks and birds of prey) during the moulting season: '*Item*: two Rooms for housing birds, with no doors, a Room [. . .] and an iron cage to hold large birds [. . .] another Room next door to put birds when moulting', and furthermore 'a room where the Lady kept her birds'.[42] Hunting and falconry were the da Varano's and the court's main hobbies, and doubtless among the collection of volumes in the well-stocked Palazzo library (of which unfortunately nothing remains) there will have been a copy of the famous tract *De arte venandi cum avibus* by Frederick II.

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[39] Well-known and still surviving is the drainage of the Colfiorito marsh. Famous as *botte dei Varano* (Varanos' barrel) it was carried out with the help of a number of Florentine engineers and technicians requested by Giulio Cesare from Lorenzo de Medici as testified in a letter. See A. Massari, 'Regesto delle lettere di Giulio Cesare Varano', *Studi Maceratesi*, 10 (1976), 288–318.

[40] Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS Borgiano Lat. 282.

[41] In another part of his *Frammenti* (c. 224^{r}), Benigni gives another date MCCCCLXXXIX (1489), whilst Lili writes that the courtyard was completed sometime between 1489 and 1492 (*Dell'Historia*, p. 241). Each of the versions of Varino favorino's *Elogia* give different completion dates. The apparent contradictions are resolved if we bear in mind that the architecture, the decoration, and the paintings were all finished at different moments

[42] *Ragioni et descrittione del Ducato di Camerino* (Archivio di Stato di Modena, fondo Estense).

We have more, if only slightly more, documentation from this period, but once again we have no clue as to the identity of the architect who originally planned these new constructions and adjoined them to the old (fig. 4). Some have attributed it to the Florentine architect Baccio Pontelli (1450–95), who was active in the Marche late in life and who we know was in contact with the da Varano, but the lack of any documentary evidence means we cannot be absolutely sure.[43]

We know of the presence on site of Lombard master-builders and Tuscan stone-cutters (from Settignano) who fashioned the sandstone decorations. Among them was a certain Francesco di Matteo Fasini, called Lancino,[44] who declared his readiness to carve the heraldic figures that Giulio himself had designed.

But one of the changes which totally transformed the whole appearance of the building was the extension of the surface areas of the older structure, with the creation of new courtyards including the elegant *quadriportico*, or four-sided portico, the pride and joy of the whole construction. To prepare for this, wide vaults were erected running from the outside walls of Palace of Venanzio and the city walls into the valley below, thus closing off areas which had previously been left open. This meant that urban elements belonging to the thirteenth–fourteenth-century town, including parts of streets, adjoining lanes, and passageways, were now incorporated into a private, internal space. The areas which were thus created have conserved and protected the ancient layout of the Palazzo and we can guess from the traces which are still visible of chimney breasts, ventilation passages, horse ramps, and so on how each zone was originally used.

As already mentioned, the Borgia Inventory comprises records of the size of rooms along with the furniture and decorations they contained. It tells us about pieces of

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[43] The attribution to the Florentine artist is still controversial although recent studies suggest attributing the design to Baccio Pontelli and the realization to local Lombard and Florentine workers. In fact there is no evidence of civil buildings designed by him. As inlayer and military architect he worked in the Marche in the last years of his life (in the strongholds of Jesi, Osimo, Senigallia). In Senigallia he also built the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie which has windows in the style of the Guelph cross. This architectural device, his adherence to the style of Francesco di Giorgio Martini, builder of the Gubbio Palace courtyard, the use of sober and elegant decorative elements, typical of the Florentine style, along with documents in which he appears to be in debt to the da Varanos have strengthened the attribution. See G. Marucci, 'Il Palazzo Ducale di Camerino. Un tesoro ritrovato', *Antiqua*, 25 (1990), 21–24; S. Corradini, 'Il Palazzo di Giulio Cesare Varano e l'architetto Baccio Pontelli', *Studi Maceratesi*, 5 (1969), 186–220; Remiddi, 'La città ed il Palazzo'; Angeletti and Remiddi, 'Le vicende urbane'; F. Benelli, 'Il Palazzo Ducale di Camerino', in *Il Quattrocento a Camerino*, ed. by De Marchi and Lopez, pp. 273–74; Ceriana, 'Note sull'architettura', pp. 109–12.

[44] Feliciangeli, 'Cenni storici sul Palazzo dei Varano in Camerino', p. 40.

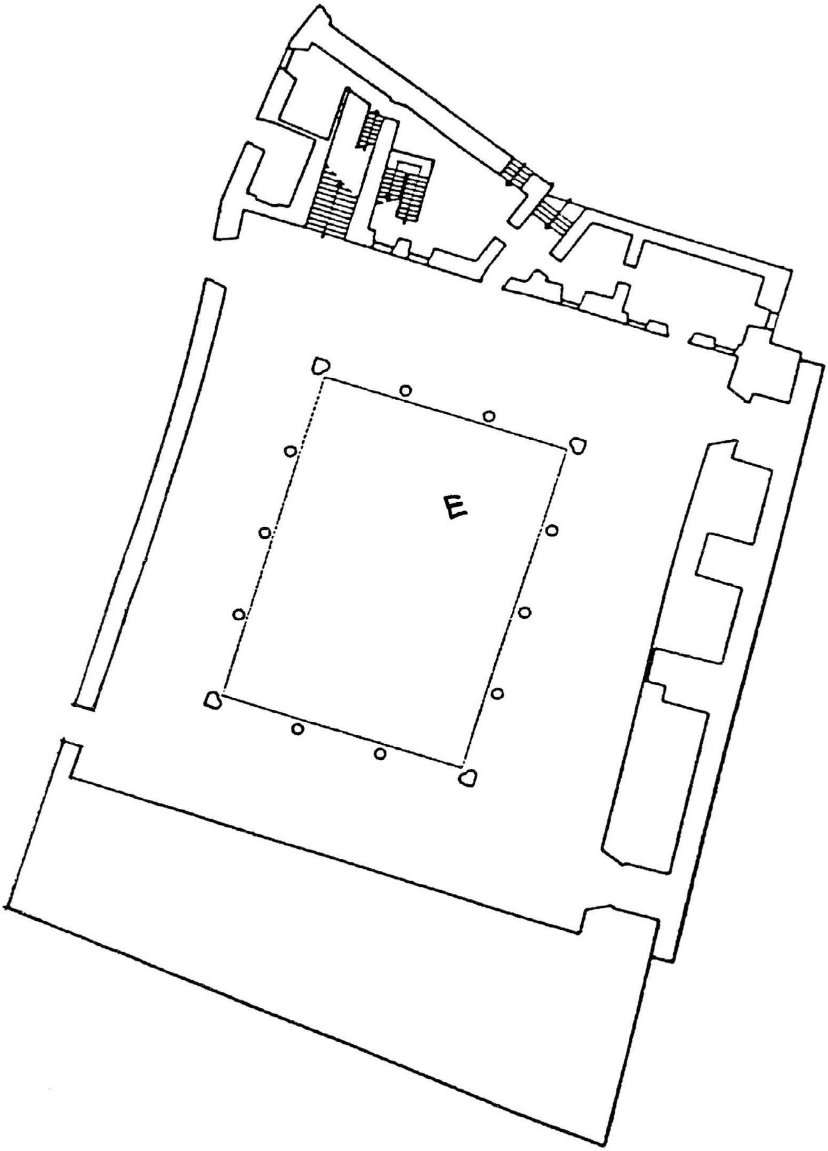

Figure 4. Giulio Cesare’s New Houses plan (detail of fig. 1 above)

furniture such as *lectere et cariole* (a type of folding beds), large cases, some of them *pinctata* (painted), tables, and benches. The upper floors were *suffictate*, that is, with coffered ceilings. A contemporary surviving example of this kind of ceiling is to be found in the Palazzo Ducale in Gubbio. These documents also mention a number of *studioli* (small but comfortable rooms usually used as private studies, the most famous of which is the one used by Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino) and a library. Particularly interesting is the description of a tiny room in the apartment of the *Signore* next to a small study and a private chapel 'again a secret room where the *Signore* slept, fitted with wooden panels, a coffered ceiling, a bed, an ironed, glazed window and a door'. Examples of similar rooms in aristocratic residences in northern and central Italy can still be seen in Urbino, Modena, and Ferrara.

The windows were *ferrate* (ironed) or sometimes even *invitriate* (glazed) although these latter are found only in very special rooms: 'a Room where the Mass was recited' or in 'a secret room where the *Signore* slept'. Glass, imported from Venice, from France, or from Flanders, was very rare and expensive. The many references to looms is indicative of the presence of the rather more ordinary *impannate* (translucent cloth): 'in this room [are kept] all the *impannate* of the new rooms' (the rooms in the New Houses, I suppose).[45] The Inventory also speaks of *usci*, which were heavy wooden shutters which, when used to block off the windows, opened outwards and were often made of several moving slats.[46]

Due to the harsh climate there were a good number of fireplaces. They had architraves with shallow hoods following the fashion of the time which started in Florence and has been attributed to Brunelleschi and his followers. The *cappa a padiglione* (canopy hood) was in fact considered rather out of place since its curving lines disturbed the harmony of the classical style which the new architecture of the age was trying to create for the interiors of private houses.

The room which drew the greatest benefit from the restructuring of the Palazzo was certainly the Great Hall already mentioned above. It was meant for all public meetings and ceremonies and even had room for plays to be performed if we believe the Inventory which talks of 'five wooden trestles on which to build a stage inside the room'. Here was celebrated the marriage between Giulio Cesare and the seven-year-old Giovanna Malatesta in 1451, as was the solemn funeral of the same Giovanna in 1511. It was draped with tapestries for all important occasions or visits, and it would certainly have been so bedecked to receive the Ambassador of Hungary in 1489 and for the visit of Isabella d'Este in 1494. So she wrote in a letter of 10 April sent from Gubbio to her husband Francesco Gonzaga: 'On Saturday, escorted by them [the Lord of Camerino and his sons] I was given lodging in his Palace which is very beautiful and perfectly adorned.'[47]

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[45] Still uncommon during the fourteenth century, the *impannate* were made from wooden frames on which pieces of linen were fastened with tacks. The linen was made waterproof and more transparent by varnishing with turpentine oil mixed with other substances.

[46] Furnishings no longer in existence (decorated doors, coffered ceilings, sculpted fireplaces) must have been in the palace rooms until the eighteenth century, as described in some inventories of that time (from 1736 till 1759), now kept in the Archive of Rome.

The rooms themselves were undoubtedly all fully decorated.[48] From some of their names we can guess the nature of the murals they contained: the room of Fortune, of Lions, of the Peacocks, of Mirrors, of Griffins, of Friendship, of the Nymphs, of the Eagle. These paintings have entirely disappeared — apart from a single set still found in a ground-floor room — which is indeed a great loss.

But the showpiece of the *Palazzo* of Giulio Cesare da Varano is the spacious and ethereal *quadriportico* around which the reception rooms and offices were situated. Beneath was a huge snow cistern. The amount of snow that this could collect ensured an extra supply of water in summer and a place to preserve perishable foodstuffs. The courtyard itself was accessed from the square through an architraved portal in a sober and elegant style supported by two columns over which a bust of Giulio Cesare was mounted.[49] The arch we see today, however, is a replacement of the original, dating from the end of the sixteenth century.

The beauty of this courtyard (fig. 5) rests in the serene harmony of its structural elements which make it one of the finest examples of late-fifteenth-century civil architecture. The planning difficulties faced by the architect in the design of the *quadriportico* were solved in an entirely unique fashion with the axial alignment of the columns with the windows and the top of the arch with the thickness of the wall. It is rectangular with round arches (three on the short sides, four on the long ones) supported on slim columns with Corinthian capitals above which we find a double moulding containing twenty-four coats of arms featuring, alternately, the weapons of the da Varanos and the rose of the Malatesta alongside figures of mermaids *a graffito*. Of many of these, as of the roundels between the arches, very little remains. Feliciangeli wrote of 'crowns or garlands in relief inscribing a central acronym composed of a G and a C: a capitol Y twisted with a C *a graffito*'.[50] Three similar

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[47] B. Feliciangeli, 'Lettere d'Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, marchesa di Mantova', appendix in 'L'Itinerario di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, attraverso la Marca e l'Umbria nell'aprile 1494', pp. 3–20 (pp. 13–19).

[48] 'Marvellous to the eye is the Palace of Giulio with its rooms universally painted with pictures and with portraits of the various *condottieri* of Camerino, with the arms and military machines of that century': Lili, *Dell'Historia*, p. 243. In particular he notes Francesco Sforza and Giacomo Piccinino 'on a chariot drawn by Fame and by Fortune with the three Parcas ahead who weave the threads of their lives'. There is a historical reason for this choice. The da Varanos in fact came back to power with the help of Alessandro Sforza and thanks to the intricate plotting of Elisabetta Malatesta and her cousins Fortebraccio and Francesco Piccinino, both among the most famous *condottieri* of the fifteenth century.

[49] The bust, newly restored, was shown for the first time last year at the exhibition on the da Varano family. See Marcelli, 'Immagini di Signori', p. 60, and Ceriana, 'Note sull'architettura', pp. 264–66.

[50] Feliciangeli, 'Cenni storici sul Palazzo dei Varano in Camerino', p. 33.

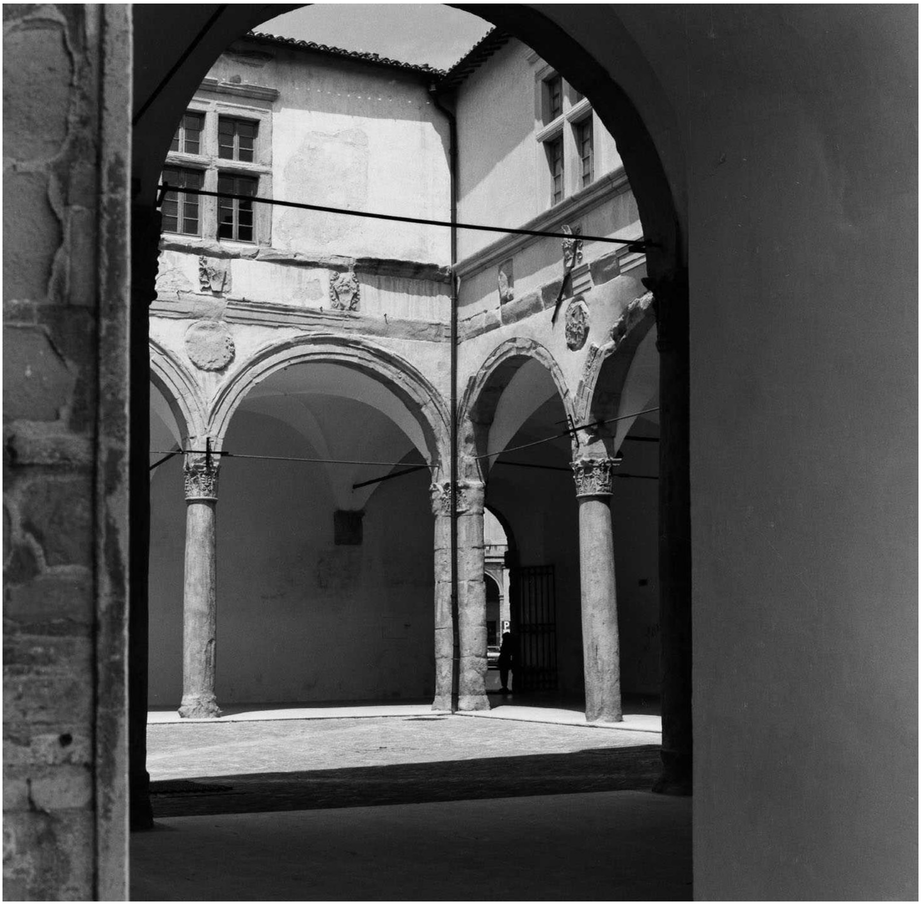

Figure 5. Courtyard of the da Varano *Palazzo*.

painted garlands have been discovered in the three ground-floor rooms of the *Palazzo* we have already mentioned. Coats of arms are inscribed in laurel twisted with ribbon, flowers, and fruits — symbols of glory, prosperity, and fertility — and placed in the middle of the painted ceilings.[51]

Positioned on the axis of the columns — an unusual choice — are windows in the style of the Guelph cross which overlook the courtyard, while on the outside front of the Palazzo towards the square there were arched two-light windows — 'a window towards the main street with a central stone double column'.[52]

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[51] Paino and Paraventi, 'Una rappresentazione cortese', p. 177.

[52] *Ragioni et descrittione del Ducato di Camerino* (Archivio di Stato di Modena, fondo Estense).

In addition, there were paintings in *graffito* technique between the windows, of which little or nothing has survived. Thanks to drawings made in the nineteenth century (in 1889), we have an idea of their subject matter, mythological figures each with their name and attributes: Melpomenes, Venus (the goddess is on a shell and rides dolphins), Apollo (playing the lyre surrounded by Muses), Aurora (on a chariot drawn by doves), Fortune (a wheel in her hands, on a chariot pulled by horses), the three Graces, Mercury, and Minerva. The last band of decoration, placed just under the wide projection, was divided into two superimposed friezes: the lower composed of candlesticks and leaves, the higher of lozenges and circles. The presence of this kind of decoration distinguishes this palace from others built in the Marche and Umbria in the fifteenth century and goes a long way to showing just how welcome the humanistic and Renaissance styles were in Camerino.[53]

Giovanni Maria da Varano and the Decline of the Signoria

But the age of humanism was not an era of humanity, and the family had little chance to enjoy their fine new residence. It was completed in 1498 shortly before the Borgia tempest broke upon the courts of Romagna and the Marche. Cesare Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI, subdued first the duchy of Urbino, then the state of Camerino, by sword and treachery. In 1502 the da Varano family was once again cruelly massacred. Giulio Cesare himself was strangled. His three sons, Annibale, Pirro, and Venanzio, met similarly grisly ends. The *Signoria* was briefly restored in 1503 by Giovanni Maria, the only heir to escape the slaughter. In 1515 he was accorded the title of duke by Pope Leo X. Prefect of Rome, Admiral and Count of Senigallia, in 1520 he married Caterina Cybo, niece of Pope Leo X and daughter of Maddalena de' Medici and Franceschetto Cybo, son of Pope Innocent VIII.

Although there was little further building work, the new owner devised the gardens, the underground corridor connecting the residence with the fortress, and the festive paintings in the Great Hall. In the years between 1515 and 1520, Duke Giovanni Maria had the decorations of this room completed with the personal coats of arms of the lords of the da Varano house with their ladies along with a number of inscriptions (*elogia*) composed by the humanist writer Varino Favorino, according to a fashion popular at the time.[54] Unfortunately this room too no longer exists, having been divided and put to other uses.[55]

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[53] P. Zampetti (*Pittura delle Marche. Dalle origini al primo Rinascimento* (Firenze: Nardini, 1988)) hazards a couple of guesses as to possible painters: Sandro Botticelli or Carlo Crivelli.

[54] 'In front of the entrance, on the wall close to the ceiling, there is a series of paintings with the da Varano and their wives' coats of arms. In each picture da Varano weapons are set on the right and on the left those of the wives, if known': Document of 1584 quoted in Corradini, 'Il Palazzo di Giulio Cesare', p. 211).

[55] Instead there is now the long, wide corridor of the Law Faculty with its adjacent lecture halls. Of these one named 'Aula Scialoja' is noted for its eighteenth-century furniture.

With the death of Giovanni Maria in 1527, the golden age of this remarkable but neglected family and of their little-known residence drew to a close, together with most of the other Italian *Signorie.* Times were changing, there would be other trials and tribulations, but that is another story.

An important example of civil architecture, a mixture of the public and private so characteristic in the Italy of the *Signorie*, the Palace of the da Varano has met a certain critical fortune only in the last few decades. A local version of a national language nearer in spirit to Roman and Adriatic examples (see Palazzo Riario and the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino) than Florentine ones, its greatest claim to fame lies in the formal solutions given by the *quadriportico*, whose unique design was never seen before or again in the architecture of the fifteenth-century Italian *logge* (porticos).

This short essay, in which I have tried to illustrate how the building phases went hand in hand with historical events, will I hope inspire further research which, through the identification of the different living spaces, will provide a more detailed picture above all of the private life of this family.

Urban Vernacular Housing in Medieval Northern Portugal and the Usefulness of Typologies[*]

MARIA DA CONCEIÇÃO FALCÃO FERREIRA AND JANE GRENVILLE

Introduction

This essay considers the range of urban building types of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in northern Portugal, focusing in particular on the city of Guimarães, but drawing also on examples from Braga and Barcelos. It will outline the construction techniques and materials in use at the time, and go on to consider the various plan forms and their relationship to the street and the degree to which plan form is functionally or culturally determined. Readers should be aware that the work represents a three-way collaboration: it is based on a longer paper by Maria da Conceição Falcão Ferreira (Departamento di História, Universidade do Minho, Braga), translated by Karen Goncalves (University of York Library Services), and finally edited and placed in a broader theoretical context by Jane Grenville (Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York).

Several years ago, when Falcão Ferreira embarked on a detailed study of urban medieval housing in Guimarães, Braga, and Barcelos, it was with very few resources and, in Portugal at least, in something of an intellectual vacuum. Apart from the 'Islamic' south in the studies of Silvio Conde, and brief mentions in urban history books, the appearance of the medieval townscape in Portugal was almost completely ignored. The material collected was presented at a session of the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 2001, and the idea conceived there to place it in the anglophone public domain and to consider its implications more broadly in a joint paper.

Research in cognate areas includes that of the anthropologists William Kavanagh on the village of Nava in Spain, Jose Luis Acin Fanlo on the popular architecture of

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[*] All photos were taken by M. C. Falcão Ferreira in 2002.

Aragon, and Gonzalez Rodriguez on the built heritage of the Baixa Estremadura.[1] Equally important are the ethnographic and anthropological contributions of Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira and Fernando Galhano, amongst others, and the contributions of architects such as Tavora, Pimentel, and Meneres, and, earlier in the twentieth century, Lino.[2] It is no surprise that an article about the types of houses on the Iberian Peninsula was published in a Spanish publication called 'Dialectology and Popular Tradition', for this topic, essentially, crosses the boundaries of many fields of knowledge.[3] Alternative models for study may be found in British scholarship in the typological approaches pursued by Pantin and Schofield in terms of plan form and use of space and of J. T. Smith and Cecil Hewett in respect of constructional details and their chronological development.[4] Grenville has discussed this work elsewhere.[5] This essay will review the breadth of evidence available for northern Portugal from documentary sources combined with preliminary observations of surviving buildings. It will conclude by considering different explanatory models.

It is worth noting at the outset that notwithstanding Portugal's Roman past, most of its towns and cities owe little to a classical tradition. Most Portuguese historic urban centres were founded in the Middle Ages.[6] Those which existed prior to this — and the city of Braga is a good example — were profoundly altered, or were completely deserted. As a result, the present urban network dates from the regeneration of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries and, in some areas, of the conquest of the 'Moors'.

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[1] W. Kavanagh, 'La memoria colectiva como condicionatante de la arqitectura popular', in *Arquitectura popular en Espaňa*, ed. by Antonio Cea Gutiérrez, Matilde Fernández Montes, and Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), pp. 55–60, in which the author studies the *actuais* constructions of *aldeia* of Nava, to the north of the Sierra de Gredos; J. L. Acin Fanlo 'Arquitectura popular en Aragon', in ibid., pp. 489–97; Gonzalez Rodriguez 'El "habitat" en la Baja Extramadura: Nucleos y construcciones', in ibid., pp. 107–26.

[2] Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira and others, *Costruções primitives em Portugal* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de Ethnologia and Centro de Estudos de Anthropologia Cultural, 1969); Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira and Fernando Galhano, 'Arquitectura', in *A Arte popular em Portugal*, vol. I (Lisboa: Editorial Verbo, 1959), pp. 15–137; Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira and Fernando Galhano, *Aquitectura tradicional portuguesa* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1992); Fernando Tavora, Rui Pimentel, and Antonio Meneres, 'Zona 1 – Minho', in *Arquitectura popular em Portugal*, 2nd edn (Lisboa: Edição dos Aquitectos Portugueses, 1980), pp. 1–112; Raul Lino, *A Casa portuguesa* (Lisboa: Escola Tipográfica da Imprensa Nacional, 1929).

[3] W. Giese, 'Los tipos de casa de la Península Ibérica', in *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, vol VII (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), pp. 553–601.

[4] W. A. Pantin, 'Medieval English Townhouse Plans', *Medieval Archaeology*, 6–7 (1962–63), 202–39; J. Schofield and A. Vince, *Medieval Towns* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994); J. T. Smith, 'Medieval Roofs: A Classification', *Archaeological Journal*, 115 (1958), 111–49; J. T. Smith, 'The Reliability of Typological Dating of Medieval English Roofs', in *Scientific Methods in Medieval Archaeology*, ed. by R. Berger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 239–69; C. A. Hewett, *English Historic Carpentry* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1980).

[5] Jane Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997).

Problems of Definition

A major difficulty in understanding the documentary evidence presented by the Portuguese material is the interchangeable use of the singular and plural for the word 'house' — *casa* or *casas*. Additionally, and amongst a wide variety of terms too extensive to review in full here, we find the usage *morada de casas* and *casa de morada*, where *morada* implies a sense of residence or domestic dwelling. The imprecision of the categories, the scarcity of adequate sources, and the variety of building make it very difficult to be specific with terms. For many documents, we have applied the argument of André Bazzana[7] that *casas* (houses) is used for the integrated elements of a multicellular household. But there is an abundance of exceptions to this interpretation, and the variety and irregularity of the forms of usage in documents is as enormous as the differences between the properties themselves. In source material for Guimarães, Braga, and Barcelos during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we were constantly confronted with examples that seemed to show no differentiation in the use of the singular or plural. Furthermore, expressions such as 'duas casas terreiras que são duas moradas' ('two ground-level houses which formed two dwellings'), 'forno com suas casas' ('an oven with its houses'), 'meias casas ora lançadas em uma morada' ('half-houses made into one dwelling'), 'três ou duas moradas (1 família)' ('three or two houses (one family)'), all raise tantalizing hints of multiple occupancy of single structures, the sharing of central facilities by several households or single households, spreading out to inhabit a series of buildings.

Additionally, we are concerned with the housing of the lower echelons of society, those who did not employ architects or named master craftsmen and who built according to the local traditions of their area. In Portuguese there are many expressions for such buildings, ranging from *construção ou casa corrente* to *construção comum* and *habitação corrente* ('common housing', 'public housing', and 'common building'). In the face of the threat to the survival of such building stock from modern development, Beatriz Arizaga Bolumburu preferred to speak of *património menor* ('minor heritage'), thus drawing attention to its historic and cultural value.[8] The most commonly used term in English is ‘vernacular architecture’, and this will be used as a translation of *património menor* in this paper.

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[6] Félix Martin Benito, *La formación de la cuidad medieval: La red urbana en Castilla y León* (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publiciones e Intercambio Editorial, 2000), pp. 57–92.

[7] André Bazzano, *Maisons d'al-Andaluz: Habitat médiéval et structures du peuplement dans l'Espagne Orientale*, vol. I (Madrid: Casa Velásquez, 1992), p. 161.

[8] Beatriz Arizaga Bolumburu, 'La recuperacion del paisaje urbano medieval: propuesta metodologica', in *La Cuidad medieval: Aspectos de las vida urbana en la Castilla*

Building Materials and Resources

It is often presumed in vernacular architecture studies that the materials and resources for building are entirely determined by the immediate environment. To quote the esteemed Portuguese scholar, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira: ‘Of course, in a very general way, where there was stone, they built in stone, and where there was none they built with earth, adobe or brick, or in timber.’[9] We would argue, in common with Pierre Garrigou Grandchamp,[10] that in the building process, cultural and economic phenomena proved greater determinants than natural conditions. Empirical support for this view is given by the widespread use of timber as a building material in the north of Portugal, notwithstanding the plentiful local supplies of stone. In a similar situation in Normandy, Garrigou Grandchamp has suggested that while stone is essential for the foundations of a house, the use of timber for the superstructure is culturally determined, timber being seen as a higher status material.[11] Similarly, notwithstanding the generalization that stone is more readily available in the northern regions of Iberia facing the Atlantic than in the Mediterranean south, the predominant materials in urban construction in late medieval northern Portugal were, without doubt, timber and clay. Further north still, in Provence, Philippe Bernardi detected that large amounts of timber and stone were imported, which reinforces the theory embraced here that local origin of building materials is far from being the rule.[12]

In the following section, we detail the use of materials in northern Portugal in the later Middle Ages. It must be noted that the evidence provided by the archival material is problematical in terms of ‘reconstructing’ the medieval house: much of it is fragmentary and such illustrations as exist are generally later and of doubtful authenticity. To support our hypotheses, we ventured into the buildings themselves, in the town of Guimarães, and here we found that the surviving fabric provided the most

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bajomedieval, ed. by Juan Antonio Bonachía Hernando (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico, Universidad de Valladolid, 1996), pp. 13–33 (p. 18).

[9] Veiga de Oliveira and Galhano, *Arquitectura tradicional portuguesa*, p. 15.

[10] Pierre Garrigou Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales: Coeur de la Cité*, 2nd edn (Paris: REMPART, 1994), p. 15.

[11] Pierre Garrigou Grandchamp, ‘L’aménagement de l’espace et l’architecture civile’, in *Art et société en France au XV siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve Larousse, 1999), pp. 59–91 (p. 64).

[12] Philippe Bernardi, *Métiers du bâtiment et techniques de construction à Aix-en-Provence à la fin de l’époque gothique (1400–1550)* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1995), p. 123; ‘Les Bois utilisées dans le bâtiment au Moyen Âge: L’Exemple de Aix’, in *Artisanat et matériaux: La place des matériaux dans l’histoire des techniques*, ed. by M.-C. Amouretti and G. Gomet (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1998), pp. 49–59.

useful evidence for our attempt to understand the appearance of the medieval house. No detailed recording work on this medieval fabric has yet taken place, but the results of this pilot project expose the huge potential of this unstudied building stock.

Construction Materials and Techniques

Construction materials fall into two main categories, natural materials (stone, timber, clay, and earth or cob) and man-made materials (brick, adobe (sun-dried mudbrick), metals, and plaster), and building techniques varied according to their use. There is plentiful surviving documentary evidence for the construction techniques in the three towns in this study (Guimarães, Braga, and Barcelos), but it must be remembered that written records are the product of many factors: the purpose for which the record was originally made, the recording habits of the notaries, the varying degrees of detail (and understanding on the part of the notary) about building techniques and structural alterations and improvements, as well as local and wider political and economic circumstances. Confidence in the interpretation of such sources can be raised by an acquaintance with the buildings themselves, as the photographs illustrating this paper demonstrate.

In high-status architecture, stone certainly dominated as a prestige material. All large high-status buildings, whether religious or secular, were built in stone, and there was a thriving secondhand trade and black market: a document of 1482 from Braga records a fraud that had been committed ten years previously by a scout (*escudeiro*), who had taken the stone of seven or eight dilapidated properties belonging to the cathedral chapter and used it to build the walls of his own house, amongst others.[13]

In vernacular building, by contrast, stone seems to be less ubiquitous. Certainly it was used for the ground floor of two- and three-storeyed constructions, to support the superstructure above. Two documents from Guimarães reinforce the point: a contract for houses of two storeys, with stone up to the first floor, large quantities of timber, and some tile, and an agreement with tenants that the owner would provide the timber, boards, and pegs to build a second storey (1479), implying that the ground floor did not need such materials, presumably being built of stone.[14] However, the position regarding single-storey structures is less clear. A document of 1501 illustrates the fact that one-storey vernacular buildings were unlikely to be in stone throughout: citing a dilapidated property in the city, the cathedral chapter of Braga promised that if 'a multi-storeyed house should be made of the said ruin, and the Cathedral

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[13] Arquivo Distrital de Braga (hereafter ADB), *Gaveta 2.a das Propriedades do Cabido*, no 80 (suburb of Chãos, 1482).

[14] Instituto Nacional de Arquivos – Torre do Tombo (hereafter TT), *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.66, n.24 (Guimarães); TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.59, n.3 (Guimarães, s/r).

Chapter will donate the necessary stone. The stone will not be given, however, for a single-storey house.'[15] Figure 1 illustrates surviving buildings with stone at ground-floor level in the central property, but throughout in the flanking buildings.

Most building stone in the north is granite, as the large size of blocks seen in figure 1 demonstrates. It is clear from the relatively low numbers of stonemasons recorded that it was used only selectively. Our observations lead us fairly firmly to the view that its use was restricted to the ground floor of domestic buildings, although it was more widely used in prestigious public structures such as churches. Furthermore, records suggest that stone was extensively reused, probably reflecting both its expense and the difficulty of working such a hard material. Nevertheless, the documents consulted for this project suggest its widespread, if somewhat limited, use in dwellings of widely differing social status.

In the cases studied in Guimarães, Braga, and Barcelos, both through documentary sources and in the surviving buildings, timber was the dominant material used in conjunction with clay and earth/mud. In this respect the towns differ little from their counterparts in neighbouring Spain, in Italy, in France, and in western Europe in general. The universality of timber as a building material in our three towns is well attested in the documentary evidence, with the richest information sources dating from the fifteenth century, and illustrating the value, both new and reused, of the material as the main structural element and in the form of internal subdivisions and flooring. Examples from Guimarães include the sale of some houses, with their grounds, timber, tile, and stone (1334); the repair in a dilapidated building of all the timber in the presence of two approved carpenters (1443); acceptance of the deeds on condition that the contractor give a dozen floorboards/planks, door-rings, and locks, which was most important (1479).[16] The emphasis on locks suggests a particular concern with the security of property and its contents (and presumably a significant level of house-breaking, although it may be that fear of crime outweighed the real risks). In Barcelos, the pattern of a stone ground floor with timber superstructure is repeated. In a series of examples from records dating to 1498–09, we find a house with a second storey raised in timber and divided up on the first floor by wooden laths (*grades de pau*). Another multi-storeyed house was divided in the basement by stone, and above, into two, by wooden planks or boards (*tabuado*) as shown in figure 2 and further discussed below. In a third, a room at the front was divided by timber and a chamber at the back by stone (*paredes*).[17]

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[15] ADB, *Livro 4 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 69.

[16] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.27, n.28 (Guimarães, rua Sapateira); TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.50, n.25 (Guimarães, rua Nova do Muro); TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.61, n.24 (Guimarães, no street given).

[17] Arquivo da Misericórdia de Barcelos (hereafter AMB), *Copea Autentica*, fol. 185; AMB, *Copea Autentica*, fol. 188^{v}; AMB, *Copea Autentica*, fol. 189^{v}; AMB, *Copea Autentica*, fol. 190^{v}.

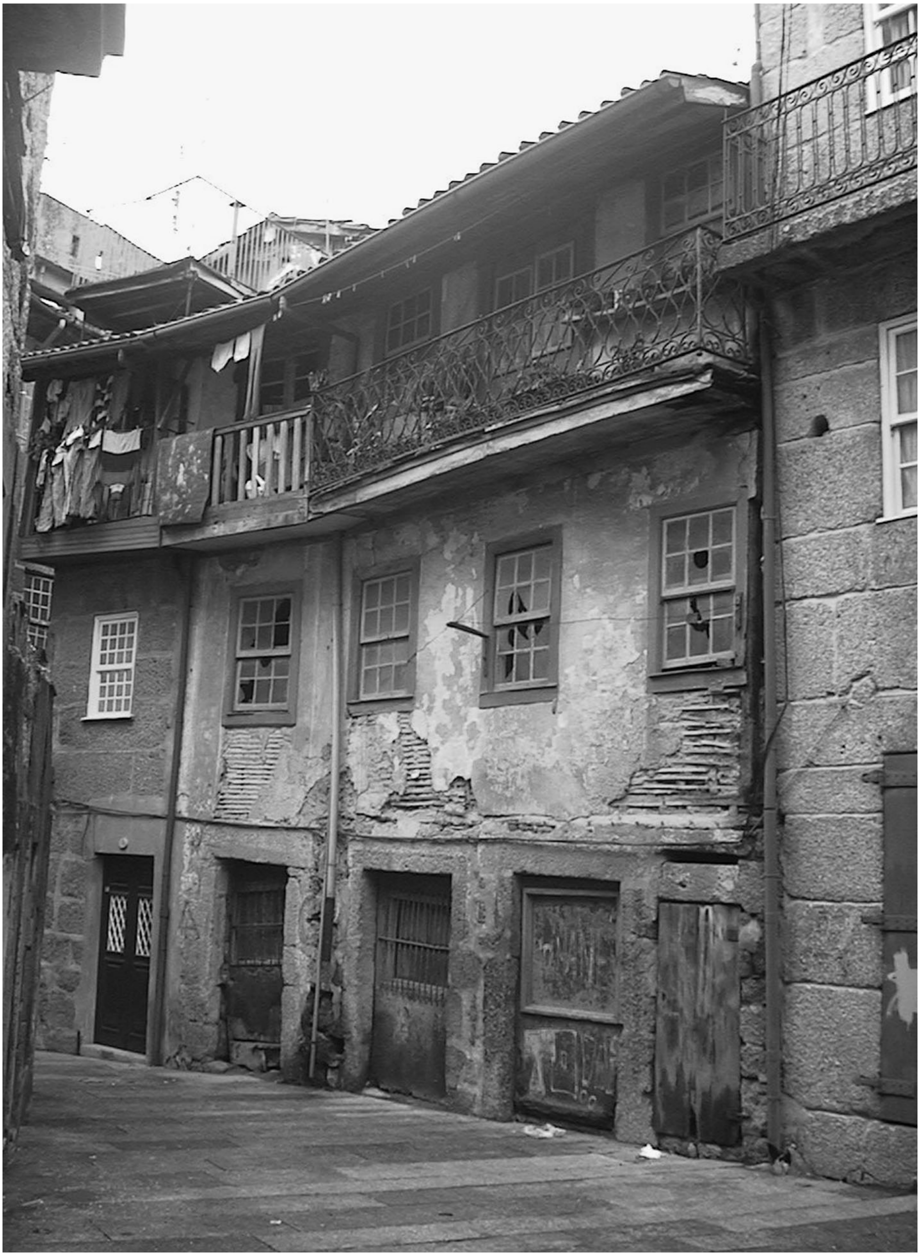
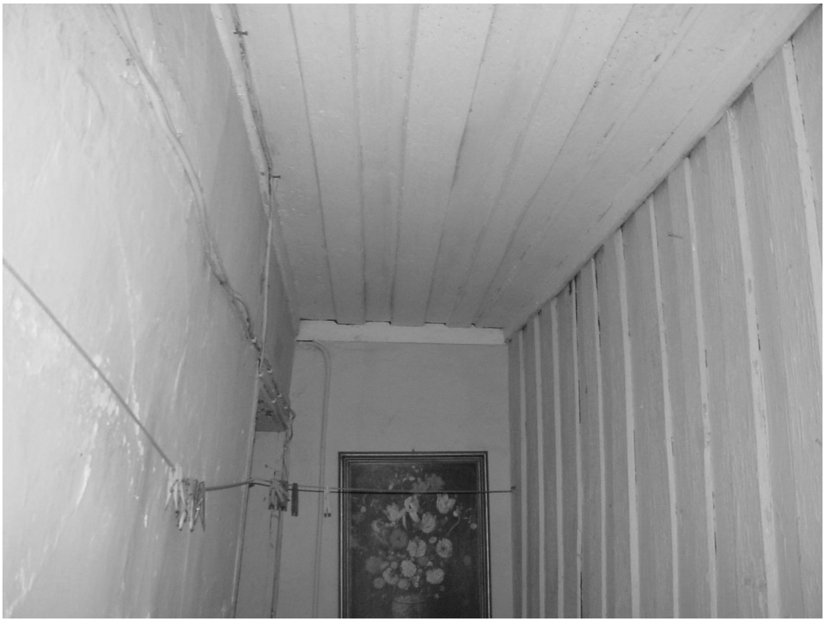
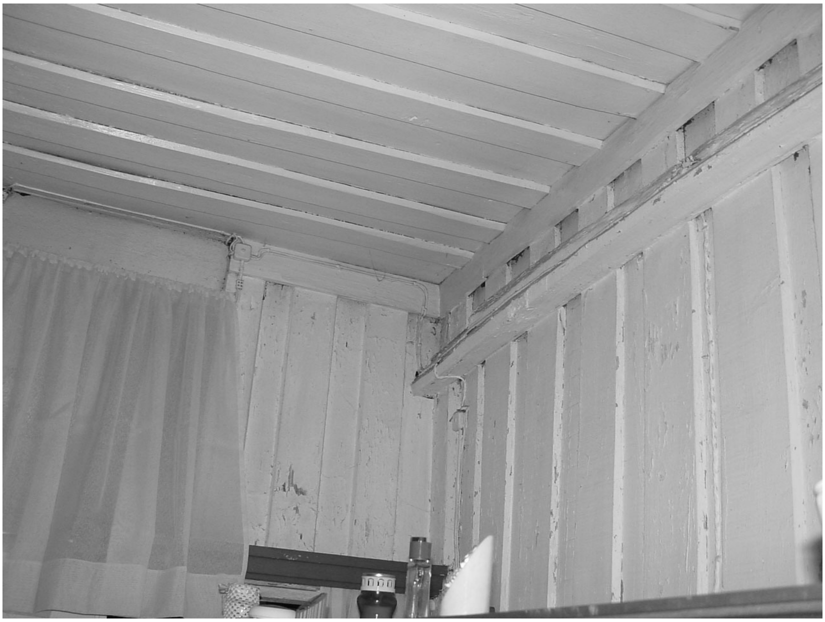


Figure 1. House in Guimarães, showing stone ground floor with lath and plaster laid on a timber frame above.





Figures 2a (above) and 2b (below). Internal partitions of wooden planks or boards (*tabuado*), Guimarães.

Evidence from Braga supports this general impression of mixed use of materials, with timber predominating, limited use of stone, and a concern for the refurbishment of dilapidated stock as much as for new building. We find documents that refer to repairing the stone, roof, timber, storeys, fascias, and other things (1470); remaking the façade and the walls, the floors of the upper storeys, timber, and the roof (also 1470); repairing the walls, floorboards, façades, and roof; removing floors, stairs, fascias, partitions, and roofs (1478); and finally building a single-storey house, using the timber that is already there (1481).[18] Figure 3, which shows dwellings in Guimarães, illustrates these mixed material houses with stone ground floors, although clearly the timber work above is of later date, probably replacing medieval fabric.

Clearly, then, we can conclude that timber, as a resource, was used in any type of building, in differing quantities, and in a variety of ways: in the building of additional storeys, in room partitions, within the roof frame. It was also used for doors, windows, interior staircases, and lintels. The documentary sources suggest that while pine was used to a certain extent, the commonest timbers for construction were oak, chestnut, and cherry tree. The various ways in which it was used will now be examined.

A centrally important aspect of medieval Portuguese construction technique is that known by the hard-to-translate term *taipa*. The word can refer to the material (adobe or clay mortar), but its more common use signifies construction technique. Fernandes defines it as a method of shuttering: 'Taipa is the system for moulding thick walls (45–70 cm) with a mixture of sand, small stones and clay (*argila*), within a space formed by two wooden *taipais* (2m x 0.5m), which are framed and dismantled as the wall grows.'[19] However, in this study, two radically different forms were identified: *taipa de fasquaio* and *taipa de rodizio,* neither of which conforms precisely with Fernandes's shuttering or formwork method.

Taipa de fasquaio is a common technique in late medieval construction in Guimarães and many other northern towns, both within and outside the city walls. It is used for the outer walls of the first and second storey of townhouses, above a stone ground floor. The technique is characterized by the retention of thin laths (*fasquaio*, deriving from the Latin root *fascis,* a bundle of rods) nailed to vertical risers which in turn sit on sillbeams (see fig. 4). The result is akin to a lath and plaster technique in Britain, but with the laths clearly *external* and containing the plaster/adobe, rather than *internal* and forming a framework on to which plaster might be applied. Once the *taipa de fasquaio* is completed, the façade may be plastered over to form a smooth appearance. It is the dilapidation of such façades that allow us so clearly to observe the method (see fig. 5).

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[18] ADB, *Livro 3 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 35; ADB, *Livro 1 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 43; ADB, *Livro 1 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 44^{v}; ADB, *Livro 3 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 53^{v}; ADB, *Livro 3 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 44^{v}.

[19] José Manuel Fernandes, 'Alentejo and Algarve', in *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. by P. Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1520–21 (p. 1521).

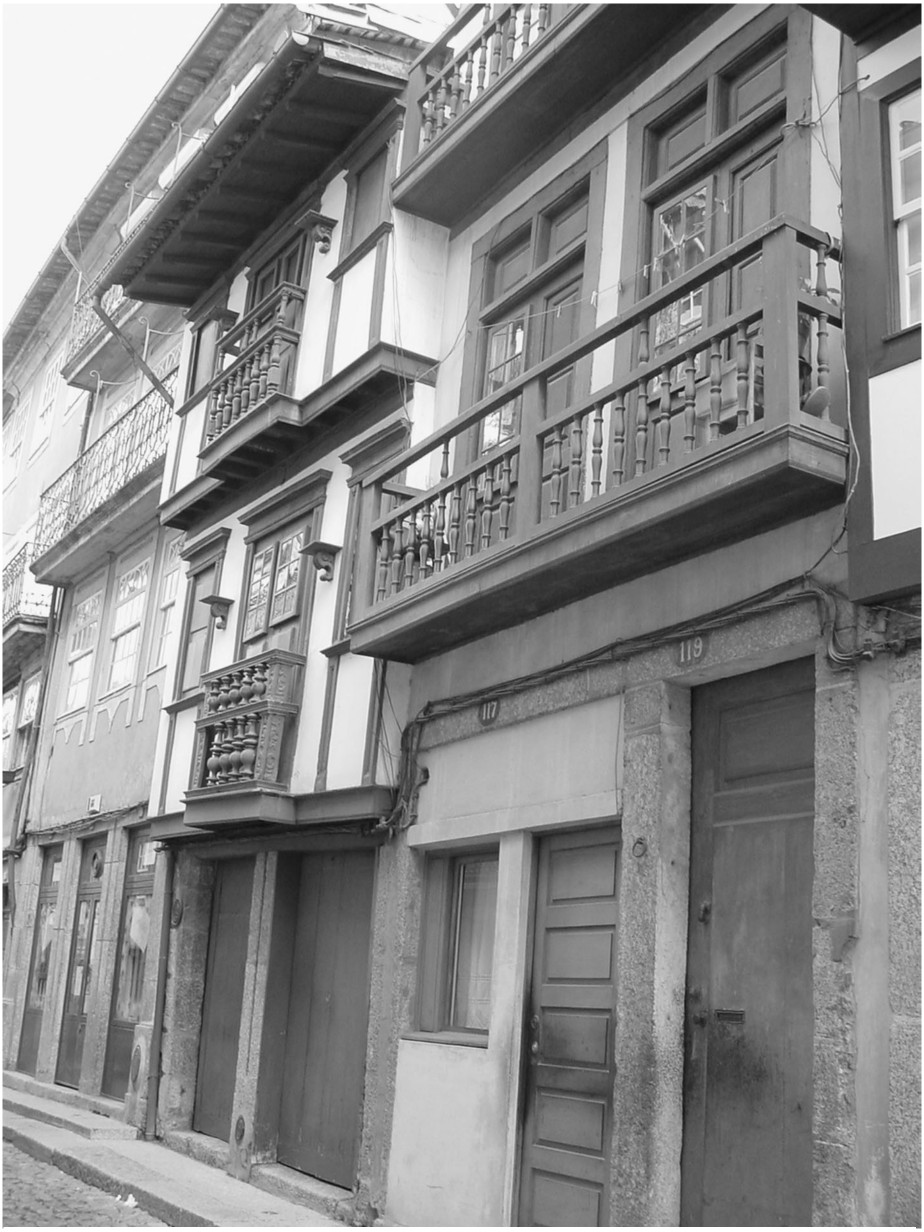
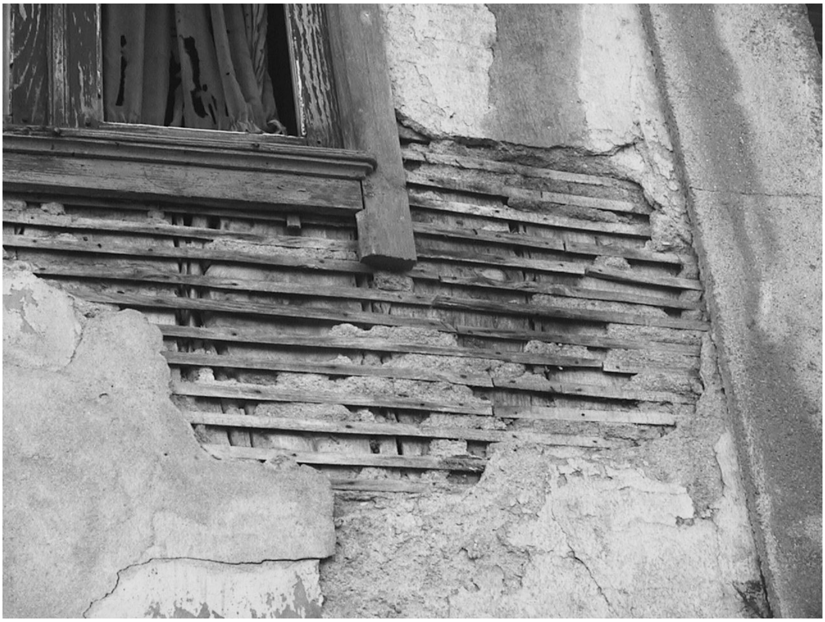
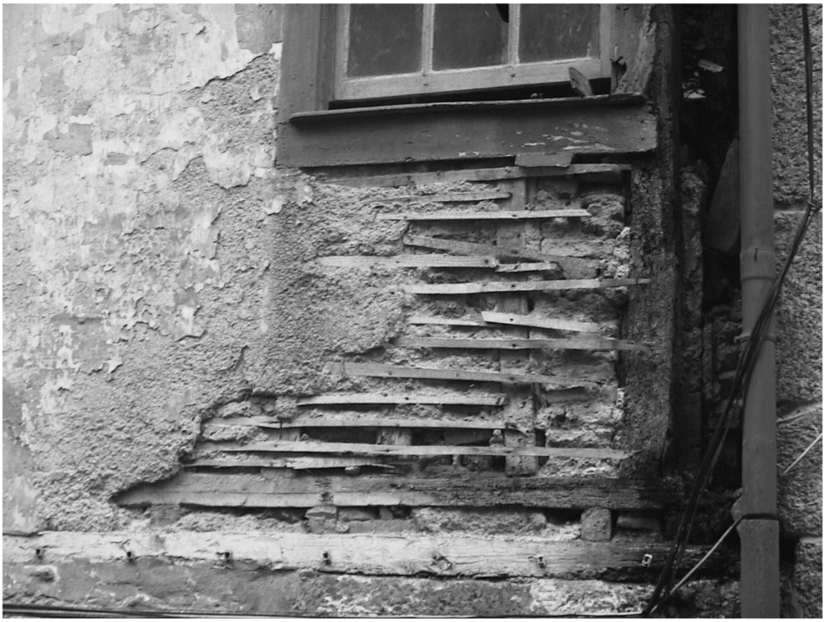


Figure 3. Stone ground floors with later timber façades above, Guimarães.





Figures 4a (above) and 4b (below). *Taipa de fasquio*: examples of this lath and plaster technique from houses in Braga (a) and Guimarães (b).

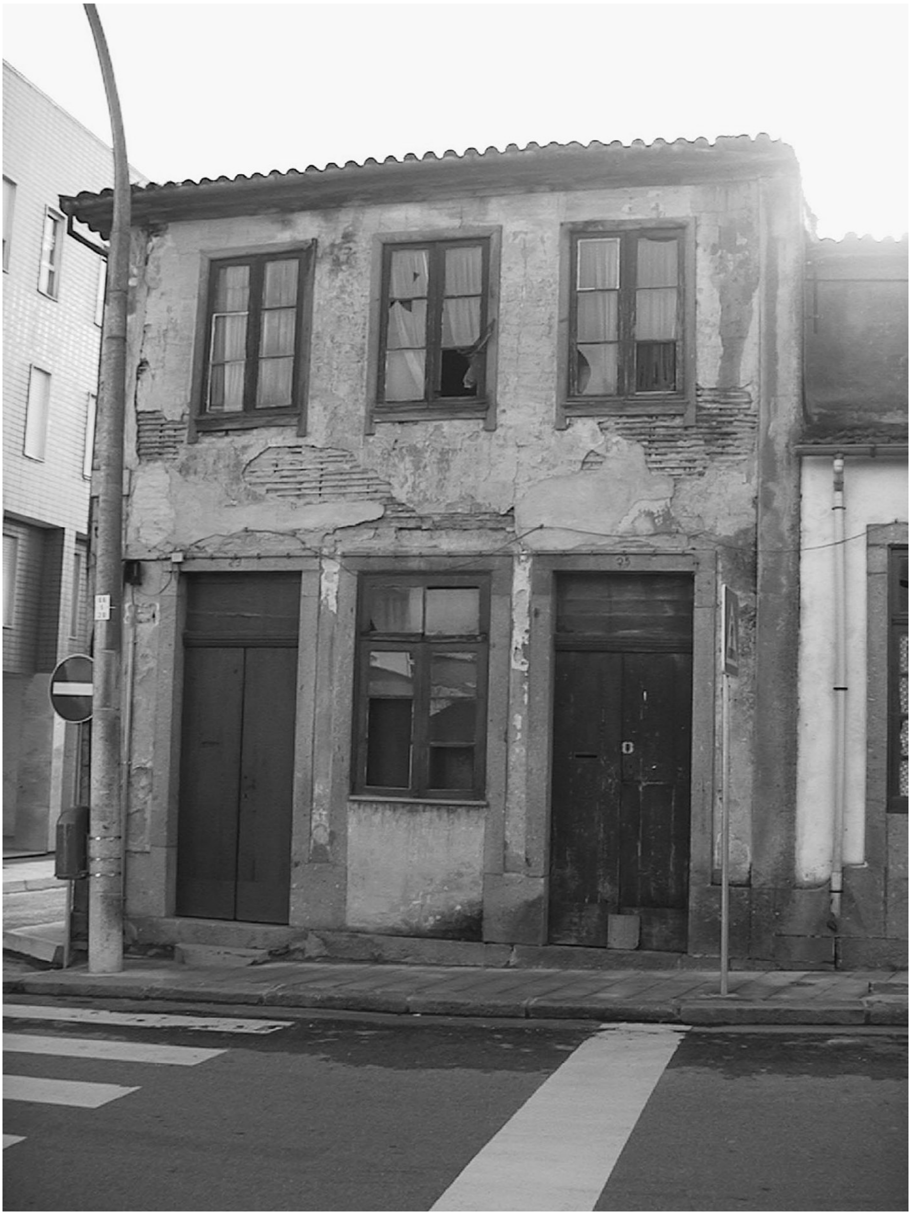


Figure 5. Decaying plasterwork on a house in Braga
reveals the *taipa de fasquaio* below.

Taipa de rodizio is a method that conforms more nearly to timber framing as one might observe it in northern Europe. Frames are prefabricated and the wall space divided up into smaller panels to take adobe or plaster infill. Figure 6 shows clearly that this framing was not meant to be seen, despite its somewhat elaborate and profligate use of timber to create small decorative panels. Clearly these were plastered over to present a smooth-rendered façade as the illustration clearly shows. Again, this is a common construction type, used for upper storeys above a stone ground floor. What is not yet clear, but further research on the buildings themselves may well yield an answer to this, is what factors conditioned the choice of the owner or craftsman between the two methods. Is this a chronological divide, an economic one, or a more subtle matter of cultural choice relating to the status of a building or its owner or to the identity of the occupants?

This multiplicity of meanings of the word *taipa* can cause great confusion when trying to interpret the documentary sources. Although it seems likely that the word (which also appears in the form *tapia* in western regions of Portugal) derives from the Hispanic transcription of the Berber word *tabiya*, meaning adobe, it seems that its use generally refers to the mode of construction, rather than to the material, and it always seems to imply the use of timber to frame the adobe wall.[20] Not all walls, however, were constructed with adobe as can be seen in the case of internal partitions known as *tabuados* (see fig. 2). Here a system akin to the British 'plank and muntin' may be observed, with grooved studs (or muntins) having planks fitted into them to create a solid wall of upright members. Further uses of timber included the construction of roof trusses and its use for doors, windows, and lintels, all of which are noted in the documentary examples given above and all of which have been observed, if not recorded in detail, in the surviving buildings inspected during the course of the pilot project.

Finally, roof construction was relatively simple. Tie beams supported wall plates (the opposite of the usual configuration in English medieval carpentry), and these in turn carried common rafters which were reinforced laterally by collars near the apex and longitudinally by purlins in the slope of the roof (figs 7 and 8). This is a form of roof construction that is well suited to buildings of solid wall or *taipa* construction.

Stone, timber, and unfired clay, then, form the basis of late medieval house construction in northern Portugal, but other materials are also present. By the end of the period, the documents record the use of tiles for roofing materials. For instance in Guimarães in 1455 we read of instructions regarding 'restuaro de umas casas com boa madeira, calibre, ripa e telha' (the restoration of some houses with good wood, rafters, lath, and tile) and in 1465 of an order to 'fazer casas, todas de madeira, com repartimentos e telhadas de caibros, ripa e telha' (make houses, all of timber, with divisions and roofs of rafters, laths, and tiles).[21] In Braga, another later fifteenth-century (1469) contract also documents the use of tile: 'refazer a parede, madeira,

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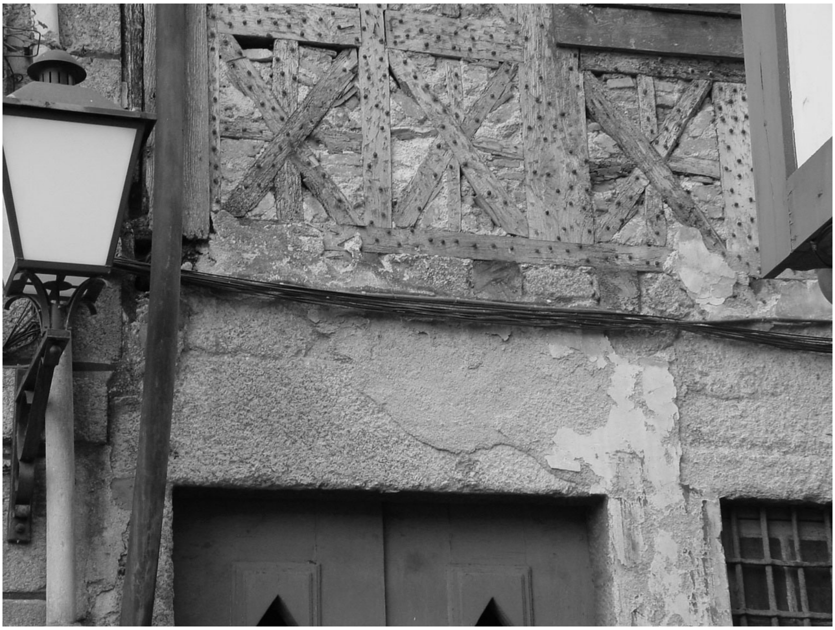
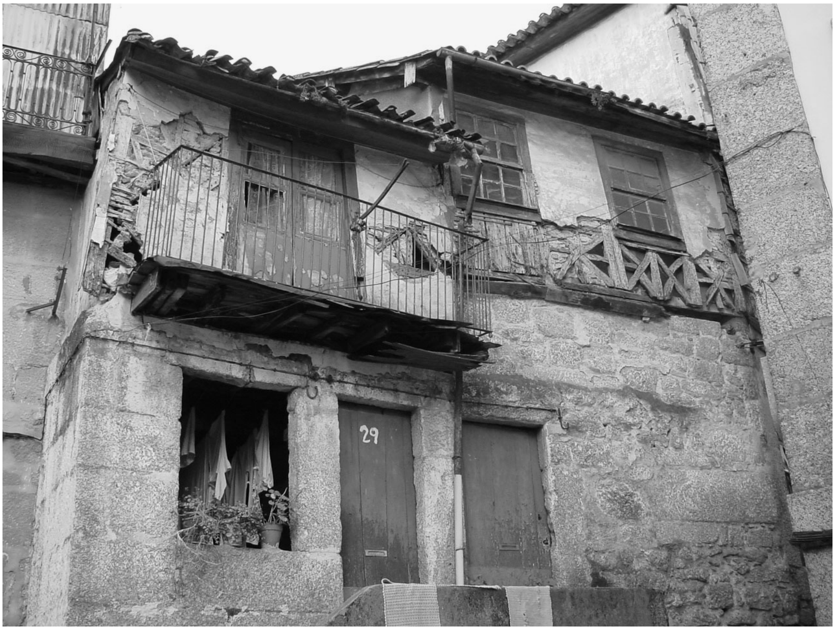
[20] Bazzano, *Maisons d'al-Andaluz*, I, 77.

[21] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs Part.*, m.53, n.37 (Guimarães, no street given); TT, *Col. Guim., Docs Part.*, m.58, n.12 and 13 (Guimarães, no street given).





Figures 6a (above) and 6b (below). *Taipa de rodizio*: elaborate timber framing concealed behind plaster (now decaying to show the underlying frame), Guimarães.

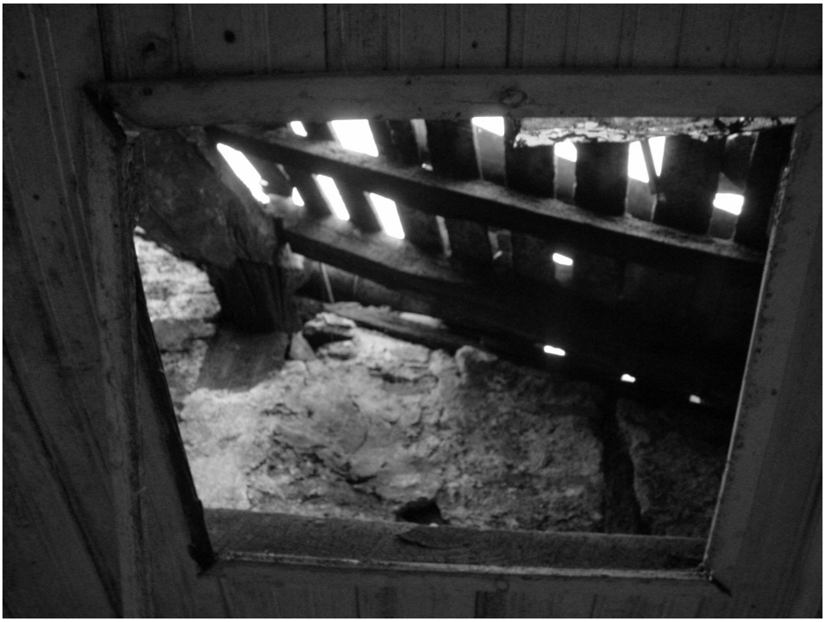


Figure 7. The arrangement of rafters and purlins in a roof in Guimarães.

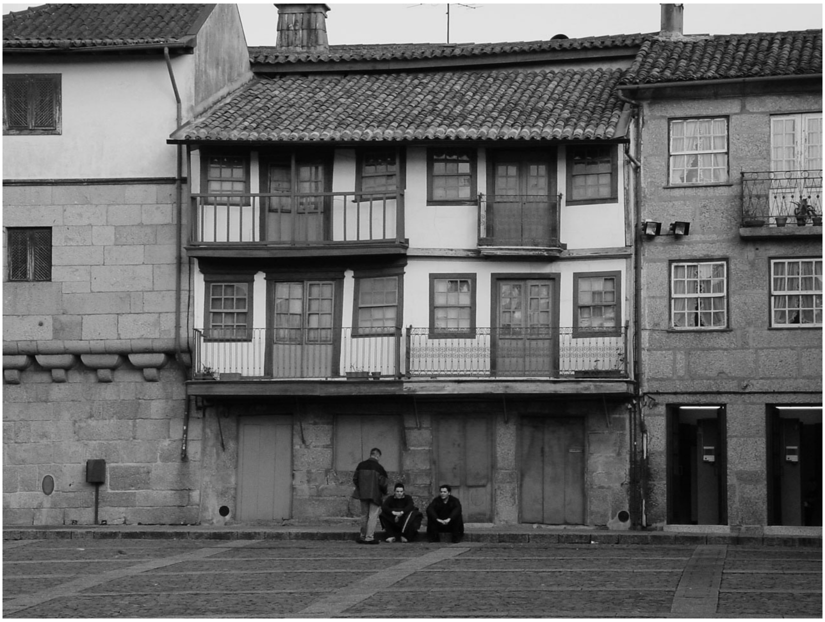


Figure 8. The external appearance of the typical roof, showing its shallow pitch, Guimarães.

telha e portas' (rebuild the stone, timber, tile, and doors).[22] From that city also comes the one reference we have so far located to the use of brick: 'fazer um frontal de brehlo ou de taipa caiada' (make a façade of *brehlo* (pieces of brick) or of whitewashed *taipa*).[23] This is one of the latest documents we have consulted, dating from 1508. The emerging pattern suggests that fired clay did not come into use before the second half of the fifteenth century, when it seems to have become widespread through both towns and their suburbs. An earlier document from Guimarães, dating to 1313, refers to thatch as a roofing material and it may well prove to be the fact that many roofs that are now tile-covered were originally thatched.[24] This is an issue that would repay careful archaeological observation coupled with a further detailed trawl of the available documents.

One last material to be considered is iron. The use of iron was mainly linked to security and consisted largely of door-rings, keys (with a reference to a key as early as 1390), locks, and chains.[25] Within the surviving buildings themselves, there is evidence of the use of hinges and nails, but in the absence of clear documentary references to such items, it may well be that these represent later repairs. Archaeological observation would be the only way to resolve this question.

Form and Function: The Northern Portuguese Townhouse in the Later Middle Ages

We would argue that a clear understanding of the buildings, their function and form, is best prefaced by a consideration of their topographical context. Street layouts, in terms of their dimensions and intersections, are critical to an understanding of the social space of the medieval town, and the relationship of individual houses and groups of houses to the street frontage has been a subject of considerable interest in urban studies across Europe.[26] Françoise Bourdon, proposing new methodologies, has noted: 'the plot is the main element of urban structure, and the smallest common denominator of human settlement.'[27] Formal plot analysis is a well-developed methodology, as work in Beziers, Dijon, or Paris and in the Britain has shown.[28] It has long been recognized that subdivision into long narrow plots maximized access to the commercial frontage while at the same time ensuring a sufficient area of backland to allow the effective operation of the household.[29] Certainly in England, the disposition of the house to the street forms the basis of the most widely accepted typology for medieval town-houses, with a broad subdivision between houses built gable end to the street and those which controlled wider plots and were built parallel to the street.[30] Plots range in size between 2 and 4 m, and often there is no space between the buildings of one plot and the next. The disposition of the house to the plot will very often have a direct effect on its internal arrangements as well as external appearance, and this is seen in our Portuguese examples.

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[22] ADB, *Livro 1 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 31^{v}, and *Livro 3*, fol. 25 (Braga, no street given).

[23] ADB, *Livro 5 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 93^{r}–93^{v} (Braga, no street given).

[24] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs Part.*, m.20, n.38 (Guimarães, no street given).

[25] TT, *Col. Barcelos*, m.1, n.26 (Barcelos, no street given); AMB, C*opea Autentica*, fol. 184^{v} and 185 (1498/1499).

[26] See, for example, Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales*, p. 20; K. Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages: 1000–1450* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

[27] Cited by Yves Esquieu, 'La maison médiévale en France: État de la recherche', *Bulletin Monumental*, 153 (1995), 109–42 (p. 126).

Observations in Guimarães and Barcelos show that, almost invariably, houses were arranged with their roofs parallel to the street rather than at right angles to it. Length to width ratio is generally between 3:2 and 5:2, but often properties are sub-divided to form more that one dwelling (see fig. 8). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, single-storey houses (known as *terreas* or *terreiras*) were evidently being raised to second and third storeys to produce the multi-storey structures common elsewhere in Europe.[31] The general trend appears to have been not only towards the upwards extension of single-storey buildings, but also towards uniformity of appearance. The question remains whether this was a purely functional and rational response to the problems of overcrowding in the city, or whether there was a social and cultural imperative that drove the process. Certainly, as the following examples show, it was not uncommon in the fourteenth century.

In 1315, there was reference to 'em casas erguidas em obrado, com uma parte por erguer' (unfinished houses erected, with one part still to be added) for which the fee was payable by the tenant.[32] A 1322 contract required the tenants to build 'casas sobradadas quer contra a rua como contra o muro, e de bom sobrado' (houses of more than one storey, whether against the street, or against the wall, with well-constructed storeys).[33] Also in 1322, appointees were obliged to 'sobradar umas casas' (add storeys to houses) which had been destroyed by fire (during the civil war of 1319–24).[34] From the same year again we hear of a cleric who was obliged to

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[28] Esquieu, 'La maison médiévale', p. 128; T. R. Slater 'The Analysis of Burgage Plots in Medieval Towns', *Area*, 13 (1981), 211–16.

[29] W. A. Pantin 'The Development of Domestic Architecture in Oxford', *Antiquaries Journal*, 27 (1947), 120–50.

[30] Pantin, 'Medieval English Townhouse Plans'; Schofield and Vince, *Medieval Towns*; Grenville, *Medieval Housing*.

[31] Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales*, p. 21.

[32] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.21, n.15 (Guimarães, rua de Santa Maria).

[33] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.22, n.33 (Guimarães, rua Forja).

[34] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.22, n.28 (Guimarães, no canto da rua de Donais).

'erguer uma das casas tal qual a outra, de forma que fiquem ambas iguais na beira e na telha' (build one of the houses just like the other, so that they are the same from edge to tile).[35] A building which burnt down in 1404 was made into 'casas de um sobrado' (houses with one upper storey).[36] Finally, amongst these documentary examples, we hear of a case in 1438, where the tenants were told to 'alce a casa de um sobrado mais, do que já tinha' (raise the house by one more storey than that which it already has).[37] So the practice of raising additional storeys seems to have been common, although it is not clear from the documents whether these upper storeys covered the whole footprint of the ground floor.

As for the main façades, specifications for foundations are never found in the documents, and it may be that, like the earlier Islamic houses, these later medieval buildings simply did not possess them, but rather were built directly on to the ground surface. In the absence of excavations, our observations are of the house from the ground level up. Surviving examples in Guimarães demonstrate a ground-storey height ranging between 2.3 and 2.5 m to the top of the stone lintel above the door, which marked the separation between the ground and first floors. The doorway is invariably to one side of the façade. Timber upper floors were often jettied (see fig. 9) as may be seen in many European urban centres.[38] This technique protected the building from the frequent rains, and also extended the floor space over the street. Another strategy for this was the construction of balconies which could project out over the street the length of 'uma vara' (old Portuguese measurement = 1.10 m). Eaves, too, were prominent, to protect the vulnerable timber façades against the rains. Façades, as has already been noted, were of stone at ground-floor level and whitewashed *taipa* above.

A particular and somewhat unusual characteristic of these northern Portuguese houses are their *passadicos*, or bridges across the street at first-floor level, conjoining opposite properties (figs 10, 11, 12). Like the jetties and balconies, these provided additional space, as well as giving the medieval street one of its most characteristic features. Clearly the legal difficulties involved, just as with flying freeholds in modern cities, were formidable. In order to build such extensions, legislation demanded, in the case of *passadicos*, possession of the house opposite, and even in the case of a straightforward balcony, ownership of the air space, which, just like the soil, was the property of the council unless otherwise proven. The same can be said for the proliferation of *alpendres* (colonnaded walkways at ground-floor level; see fig. 13). These structures, which were built of timber, sitting on timber or stone supports, were situated either on the façade of the ground floor or at the rear of the

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[35] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.25, n.31 (Guimarães, rua de Trespão).

[36] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.21, n.15 (Guimarães, rua de Santa Maria).

[37] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.40, n.33 (Guimarães, rua Excura).

[38] Beatriz Arizaga Bolumburu, 'Formation et évolution du tissu urbain dans le Pays basque: l'exemple du Guipuzcoa', in *La Ville au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Noel Coulet and Olivier Guyot-jeannin (Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1998), pp. 46–47.

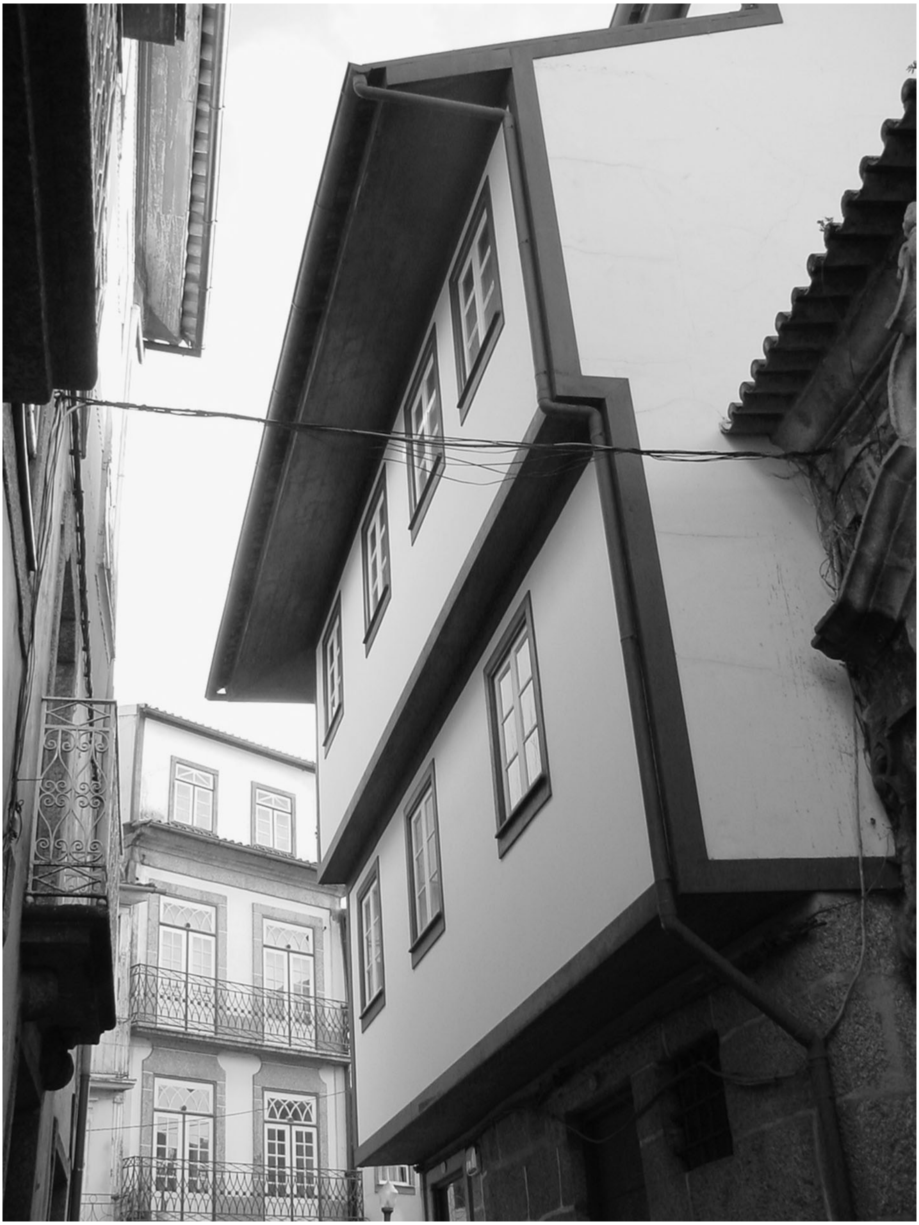

Figure 9a. Jettied upper floors on a building in Guimarães.

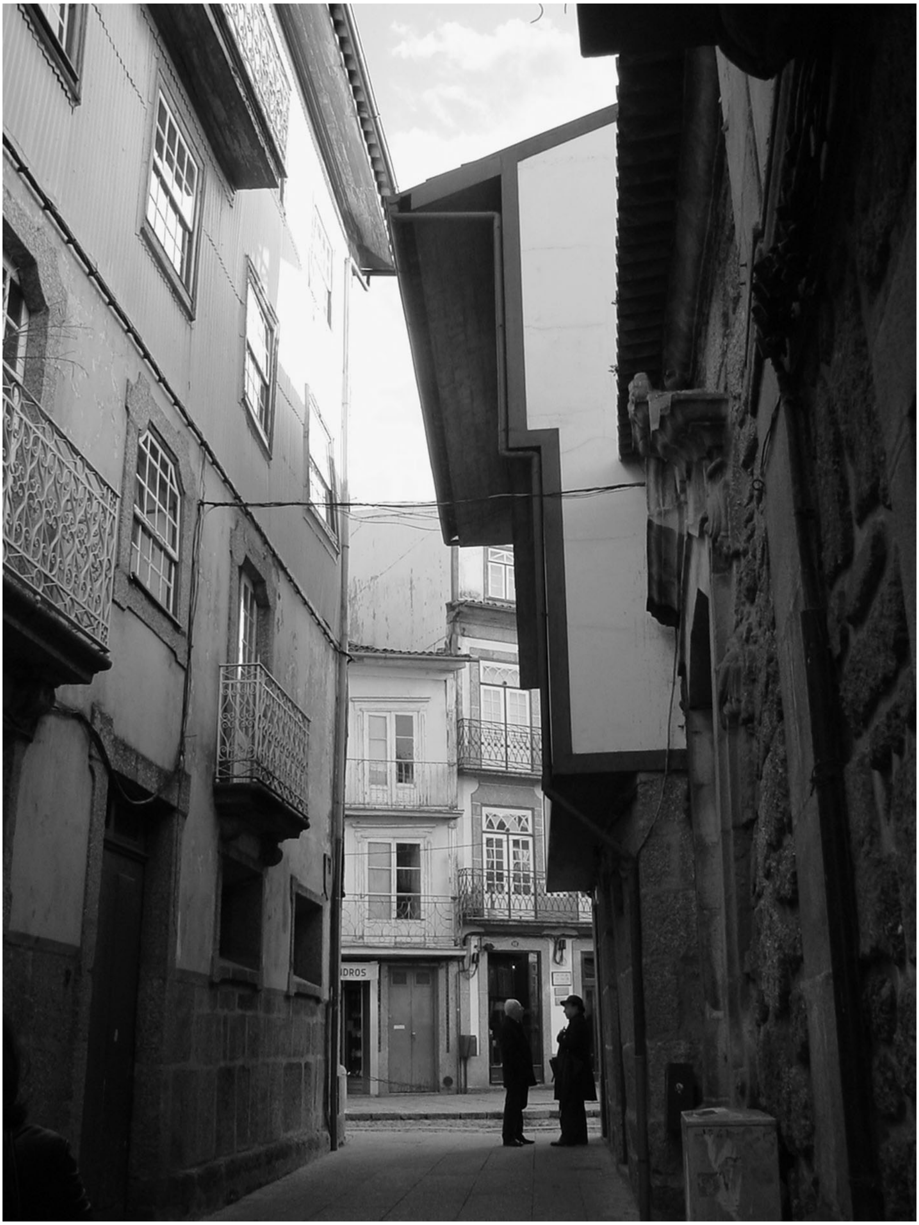

Figure 9b. The same building to show its proximity with its neighbours.

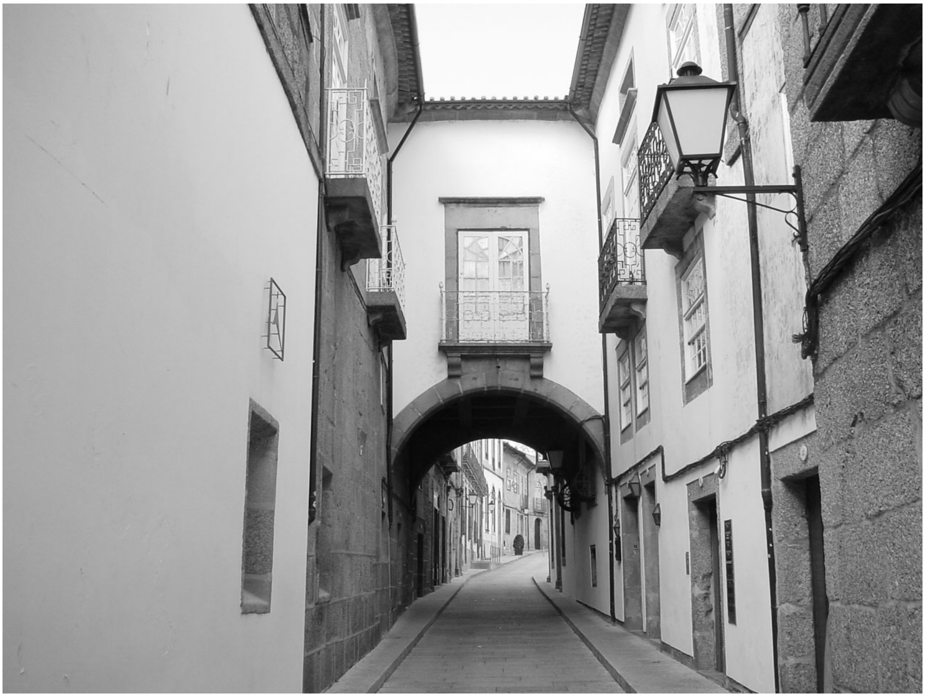

Figure 10. *Passadico* or bridge across a street in Guimarães with barrel vault below.

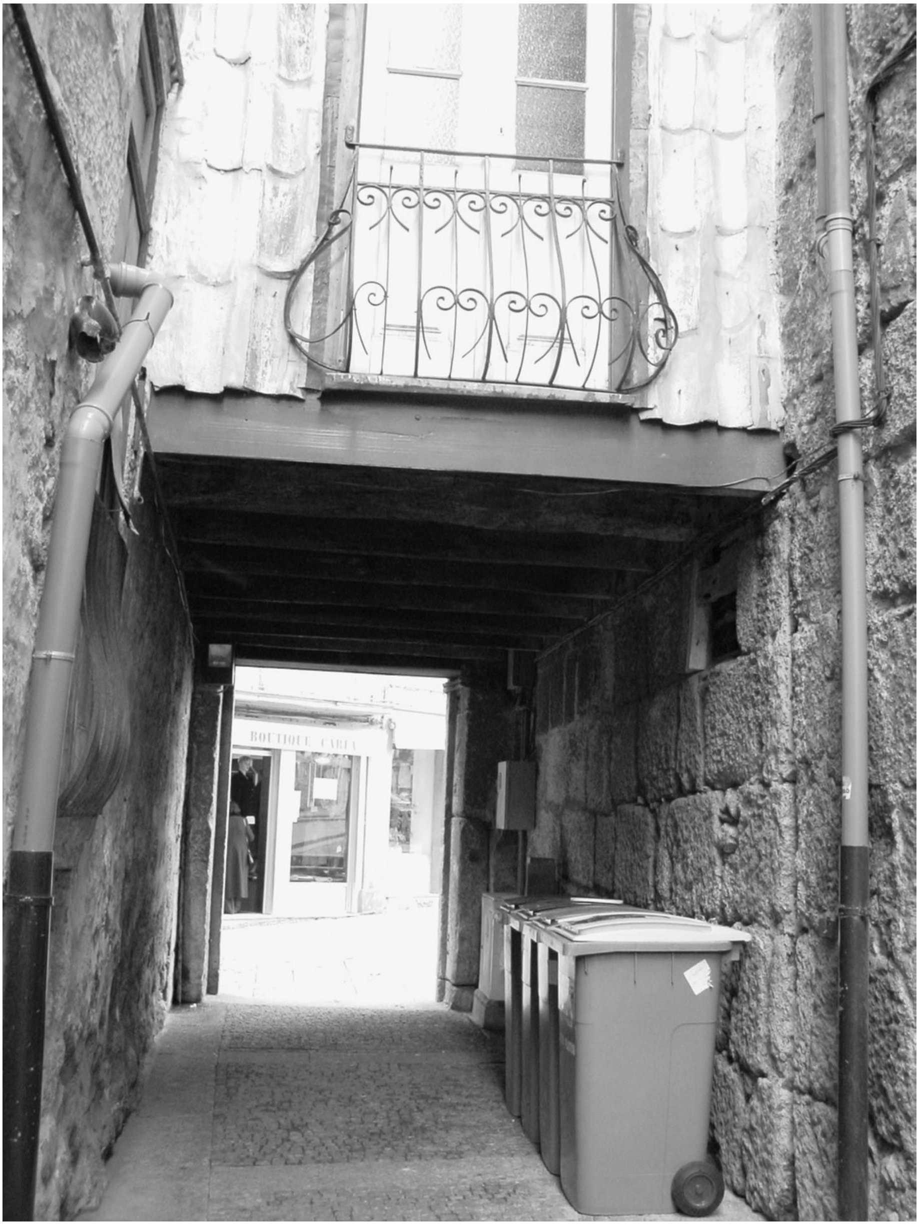

Figure 11. A *passadico* or bridge carried on simple joists across an alleyway in Guimarães.

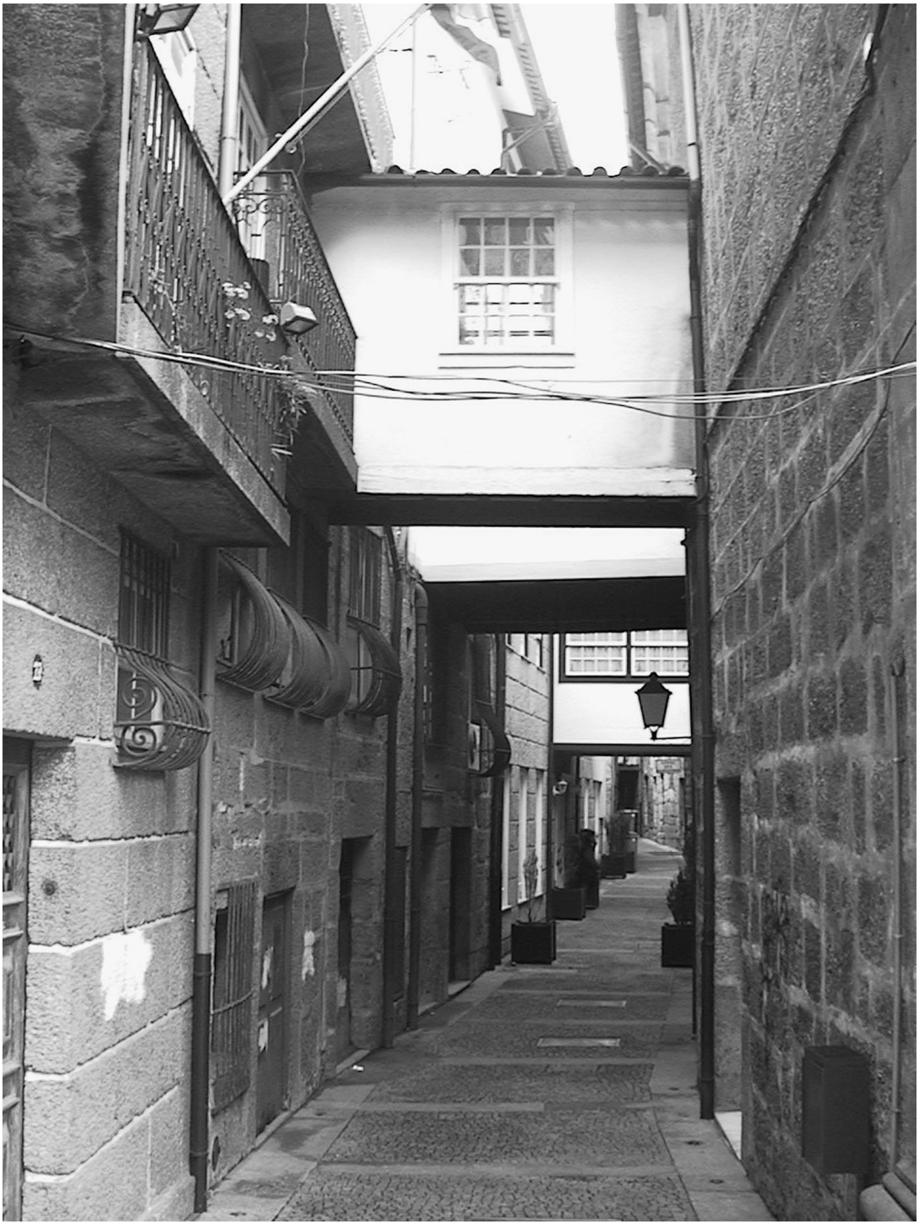

Figure 12. A series of *passadicos* in Guimarães.

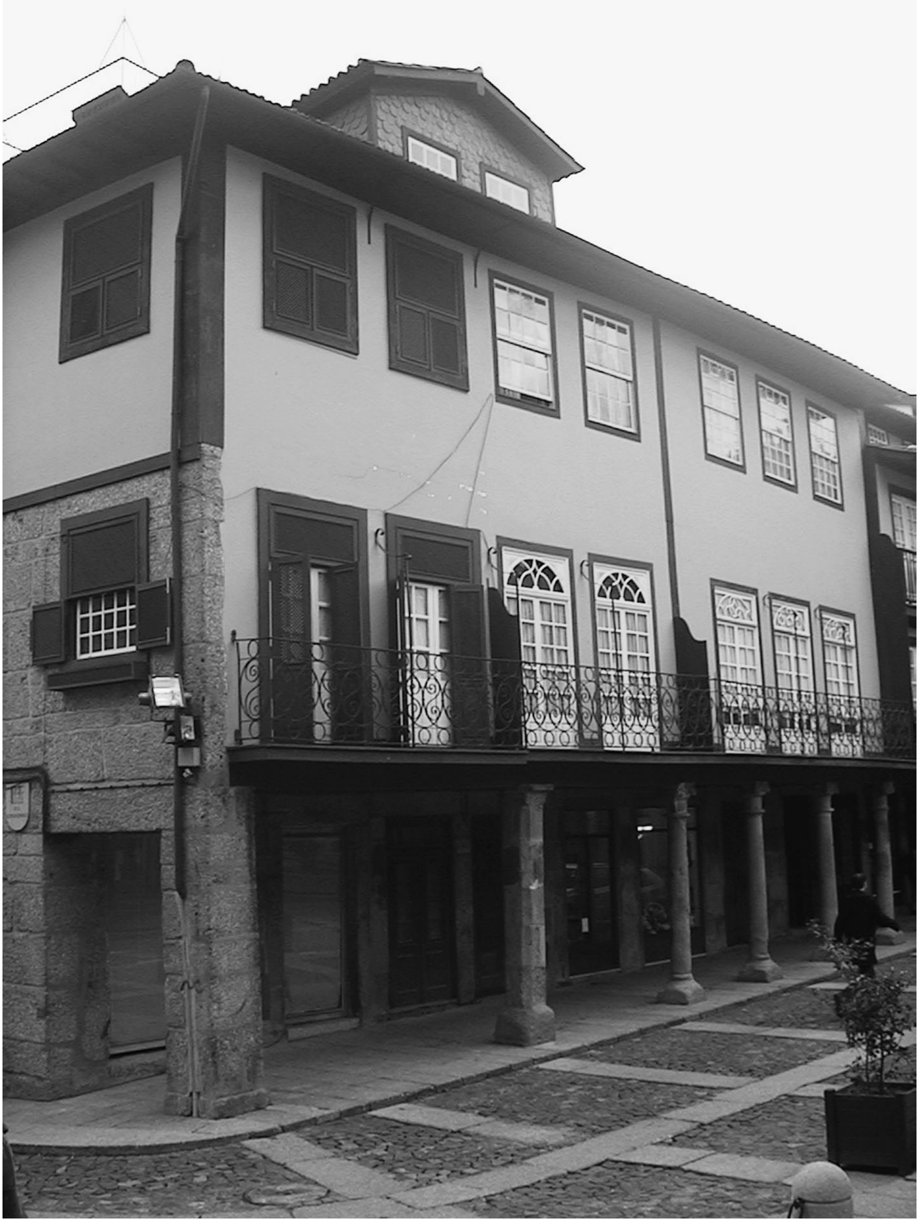

Figure 13. An *alpendre* or colonnaded walkway in Guimarães.

property. They served as commercial space, or if away from a street or back lane, were used for other purposes that such a sheltered space permitted. The earliest recorded date for such a structure is 1278.[39] In a dispute of 1499 between the attorney of the council of Guimarães and the cathedral chapter, the former wished to construct additional storeys above an existing *alpendre* and to build a *passadico* across the street to a house belonging to the latter.[40] Issues to be settled included the problem of damage to the walls of the existing structures and loss of light for the cathedral chapter house, as well as obstruction to their main entrance. The situation was resolved by the insistence of the cathedral chapter that the attorney rented their building in perpetuity and became entirely responsible for its upkeep and maintenance. Clearly the problems of overdevelopment of property and its impact on the amenity of neighbours were as central to the concerns of an overcrowded city centre then as now.

As far as interiors are concerned, very little is known. Documentary sources become systematically available only from the sixteenth century. Earlier information has survived only very sporadically and may not be representative of the norm. Once again it is the documents of a contractual nature which provide the most useful clues, although the vast majority provide no more than very general references, for instance to 'casas com seu exido entradas e saídas' (houses with their grounds, entrances, and exits); 'casas com seu exido e poço' (houses with their grounds and well); 'casa, exido e conchousso' (a house, grounds, and water pump/tank); 'casa e adega, forno e casas' (house and cellar, oven and [out]houses). None of these shed much light on the interior of the house and how it was divided up, but a few examples are indicative of the functions and contents of popular housing of northern Portugal.

In the contract for some houses in the *rua Nova do Muro*, belonging to a canon from Guimarães, we read that a basement cellar was to be divided by a wall and *taipa*, and completely independently accessed via its own doors. Its purpose was the storage of bread and wine, and it could be locked with a key. It was to occupy the whole length of the house. A barn, also the length of the house, was to be constructed against the alley, in which to keep cattle, pigs, firewood, and other things. But it was also ruled that the barn should occupy a third of the basement, the other two thirds remaining for the cellar.[41] As we know, houses often served the purpose of both living and working space: some houses in the skin and hides quarter were contracted with an *aloque* (tank for tanning).[42] However, despite the fact that in Guimarães, there are documents of great interest, it is not until the first decades of the sixteenth century, after the period we are concerned with here, that information is given about the way in which the house was organized internally.

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[39] TT, *Chanc. D Alfonso III*, 1.1, fol. 159^{v}.

[40] Arquivo Municipal Alfredo Pimenta (Guimarães), *Nota Antiga,* 1.7, no 723, fols 10^{v} and 11.

[41] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.59, n.3.

[42] TT, *Col. Guim., Docs. Part.*, m.62, n.10 (Guimarães, rua de Couros).

For such material, we have had to turn to Barcelos, where fifteenth-century documents give us some insights into the disposition of interiors, with *lojas e sótãos* (stores and undercrofts always on the ground floor), *cozinhas* (kitchens, either on the ground floor or that above), and a *câmara* or chamber. For example, a document of 1390 tells us of a newly built property in the *rua da Santa Maria* comprising a three-storey house with its yard, with trees, all enclosed and covered. On the ground floor, there was a division which was boarded, plus an area which still had an earthen floor. Above was a wooden-floored chamber which it was possible to lock from inside, with an iron latch. On the ground floor, the exit to the grounds was also protected by an iron latch.[43] This is a building in which the kitchen was certainly on the ground floor and the single room on the first floor was multi-purpose. A split inheritance from 1398 allows us to observe a building subject to apportionment. Situated in the important *rua de Cima de Vila,* this was a multi-storey dwelling.[44] After the death of the owner, the inheritors resorted to dividing up the property in the following way: one party kept one half, with a basement store and an upper storey, apart from a section of the store, which was separated by a wall and had a door leading into the adjoining house; the other inheritor retained the remaining portion of the house with its own basement, upper floors, and chamber, plus the stated section of store. The will also stated that, should either party wish to extend their property by adding more floors or walls, they could do so without permission from the other party, provided that they took care that their neighbour's walls would not be damaged by rain.

Further evidence from later in the fifteenth century comes from the Barcelo *Tombo do Hospital* (hospital archives, including inventories of properties owned by the hospital), the most fruitful source for this topic. It is possible to highlight only selected examples in this essay. A useful starting point is a two-storey house in the *rua de Santa Maria* with one upper storey.[45] Walls are mentioned, and, on the upper storey, there was a timber partition. Behind this house, and in front of the hospital, there was a ruin which had been a house, divided in the basement into two sections. On the upper floor, it was again divided in two by timber partitions. A second ruin comprised a three-storey house with one large room on the ground floor and the upper storeys divided into a main chamber at the front and another to the rear. The door gave on to the street.[46]

In the *rua de Cima de Vila*, an extended house of one upper storey was divided on the ground floor into three dwellings. Above, on the first floor, there was a *casa dianteira* (principal chamber), kitchen, and chamber (*câmara*) divided by *taipas*. The main door and façade were facing the street, and behind a door gave on to the property's boundary wall.[47] Another house, of one upper storey, sited in front of the *forno* (large outdoor oven), had its store (*loja*), subdivided into two. Above, it was divided into three: a room (*sala*), kitchen (*cozinho*), and chamber (*câmara*), divided by *taipas*. It had an exit onto the public street to the rear.[48]

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[43] TT, *Col. Barcelos*, m.1, n.26.

[44] TT, *Col. Barcelos*, m.1, n.30, and ADB, *Gaveta dos Prazos do Cabido*, n. 98.

[45] AMB, *Copea Autentica*, fol. 190.

[46] AMB, *Copea Autentica*, fol. 189^{v}/fol. 190.

Braga documents provided further evidence, of which constraints of space allow only a small selection to be discussed. Again, houses with cellars appear to be fairly common and it seems that many plots had several houses on them, or large houses subdivided into multiple occupancy.[49] One contract in particular describes the construction, for a single woman, of 'umas casas térreas mais outras pequenas junta a elas' (some ground-level houses, plus other small ones, next to them).[50] Another notes some houses rented to a canon, near to the council steps, who lived at the rear of the property, having sub-let the houses at the front.[51] Use of townhouses for commercial as well as domestic purposes is well attested in Braga. In the Jewish quarter of the town, there were two pharmacies, both with their houses; and one could also find some multi-storey houses and another pharmacy which shared the entrance with one of these houses.[52] In the *Triparias*, or *rua da Triparia*, we learn of some multi-storeyed houses, plus two ground-level ones, for a butcher or meat seller.[53] Generally speaking, residential space was to be found in houses of more than one storey, with commercial space below, but in the sixteenth century, there is evidence for domestic use at ground level in the example of some dwellings which were rented to a canon. He was obliged to raise the houses at his own cost, making them multi-storeyed, with a good façade of whitewashed *taipa*.[54] Much of the non-domestic activity seems to have been concerned with small-scale urban agricultural practices, as the keeping of cattle in town and, in one case, the record of a haystack in a backyard testify.[55] Amongst other things, a mill is also registered, with its house (or houses), belonging to a cobbler, inside the city.[56]

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[47] AMB, *Copea Autentica*, fol. 78^{v}.

[48] AMB, *Copea Autentica*, fol. 79^{v}.

[49] ADB, *Tombo 2.ºdo Cabido*, fols 122^{v} and 129.

[50] ADB, *Tombo 2.ºdo Cabido*, fol. 130.

[51] ADB, *Livro 2 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 92 (1482).

[52] ADB, *Livro 1 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fols 42^{v}/43 (1470); ADB, *Livro 1 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 44 (1471), and *Livro 3 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 57^{v}.

[53] ADB, *Livro 1 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 102 (1474) and *Livro 3 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fols 45^{v}/46.

[54] ADB, *Livro 5 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 66 (1507–08).

[55] ADB, *Livro 3 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 6^{v} (1466).

[56] ADB, *Livro 1 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 104 (1474), and *Livro 3 dos Prazos do Cabido*, fol. 46.

In a short essay, it has been possible to mention only very few of the documents which we have studied. Yet even with a greater volume of information than we have been able to mention here, it has proved difficult to identify clear patterns within the evidence. We are left to conclude that use of space within the properties is principally marked by diversity, as the cases we have cited show. However, we can conclude, in general terms, when considering subdivision of properties, that in houses of only one storey, the interior space, whether a single room or several, served commercial and domestic functions simultaneously. In the case of a house with upper storeys, two different arrangements are found: first, in which the ground floor has a section devoted to domestic use and other section(s) are devoted to non-domestic activities, while the upper floor is a chamber or chambers; or second, where the whole of the ground floor is devoted to commercial or industrial activities — store, workshop, cellar — while the living quarters are all on the upper storeys. The upper floors typically were subdivided in two: the front part containing the *sala* or main reception room and the rear the kitchen. Sometimes a private chamber would be added to this arrangement and sometimes such rooms would be found on the top floor of a three-storey building. Nevertheless, we should be alert to the fact that these buildings are more characterized by diversity than by similarity, even within the relatively small study area of the three neighbouring towns of Guimarães, Barcelos, and Braga. Even so, there are distinctive similarities with the architecture of neighbouring regions, perhaps most obviously from Galicia to the west, but also from other parts of Europe at the time.

Conclusion: Some Theoretical Reflections

A principal concern of Falcão Ferreira in the conclusion to the original, longer, Portuguese version of this paper was the extent to which the urban houses discussed here could or should be assigned to a typology, and if so, whether that classification should be based upon the building materials used or on the plan form. The attempt to impose some formalized order on the apparent chaos of the objects of study, be they archaeological artefacts, animals, plants, or rocks, might be seen as an essential first step in the birth of Western intellectual disciplines, and the study of vernacular architecture is no exception to this rule.[57] In an English context, concerns about the theoretical positioning of vernacular architecture studies have been explicitly aired over the last twenty years and have led to a questioning of the usefulness of purely typological approaches.[58] Johnson notes the utility of typologies as 'local descriptions and classifications of house types, building materials and techniques, and decorative styles [which] aim to establish controls over dating and regional variation' but goes on to point out that a strictly typological approach can easily detach itself from the broader questions one might pose about the society which inhabited the buildings and become an exercise in identifying changes to buildings and their construction techniques without tying them back to arguments about societies and the way in which they use buildings.[59] In Britain, discussions concerning the social use of space have emerged alongside the more conventional consideration of the formal attributes of construction and dimensional space that one might routinely find in the pages of the main journal devoted to the subject, *Vernacular Architecture*. The principal question to emerge is how far the disposition of domestic, work, and commercial space, of higher- and lower-status space, and of public and private space can be understood to reflect and to structure social identity.[60]

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[57] B. Trigger *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[58] R. Lawrence 'Interpretation in Vernacular Architecture', *Vernacular Architecture*, 14 (1983), 19–28; M. Johnson, *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape* (London: University College Press, 1993), pp. 7–16 and 28–43; J. Grenville 'Houses and Households in Late Medieval England: An Archaeological Perspective', in *Medieval*

A review of work in the Iberian peninsula suggests that similar concerns arise, although they are less explicitly expressed. The work of Bazzana, Giese, Rossi, and García Grinda serve to illustrate this. André Bazzana's studies of Islamic architecture are well known.[61] Within a vast body of data, he has identified just two very simple types, the monocellular and the multicellular house, which shared a similar pattern in terms of arrangement of space, although the multicellular building is seen to be capable of more subtle subdivision of space, both horizontally and vertically, particularly in the case of Islamic-style houses built around a central patio.[62] He argues that the house is, in effect, for the family, constructed in proportion to its needs and way of life, and with an infinity of specific conditions which make it impossible to talk about types. To some extent, then, he appears to conform to Johnson's ideal of a study of vernacular housing that takes social use of space as its starting point, but his reluctance to generalize must limit the value of his work to those seeking comparative studies.

In his article 'Los tipos de casa de la Peninsula Iberica', Giese proposes a chronological typology which proposes a development from the rectangular one-storey house to that of two storeys, again based on the distribution and respective use of space. He identifies as his earliest type those houses with the cattle-shed at the side of the kitchen (a room used for eating and sleeping as well as cooking), and refers us to examples from Galicia and the north of Portugal. He goes on to argue that the

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Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essay for Felicity Riddy, ed. by J. Wogan-Browne and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 309–28.

[59] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, p. 8.

[60] Grenville, 'Houses and Households'; K. Giles *An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York c. 1350–1630*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 315 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000).

[61] Bazzana, *Maisons d'al Andaluz*, I, 161–86.

[62] Ibid., p. 161.

practice of dividing the interior using timber boards, for example in the Alto Minho region, attests to the subdivision of this multi-purpose kitchen space which he identifies as a sign of progress and thus a secondary and later type.[63] Finally, he argues that in the North Peninsula further developments of this subdivision of space resulted in the adoption of two-storey houses.[64]

Aldo Rossi's method of classification highlights the difficulty of trying to create a system that is comprehensive yet also allows for multiple specifications, whether in regard to form or functions.[65] He classifies properties in terms of 'single house-units', 'conjoined house-units', and 'patio-houses', using descriptive spatial and topographical analysis. Using the criterion of social space, he adds the category of public/private use and combining these elements proposes a flexible diversity of classifications for urban buildings.

The architect Garcia Grinda, writing in 1990, urges us to reflect on the notion of 'type' applied to traditional construction — specifically in the Castile-León area, especially the region of Burgos.[66] He understands that, because of the influence of Vitruvius, we attempt to explain architecture with three relevant types: in accordance either with function, or with materials, or finally, with appearance. He comments on the work of the eighteenth-century architect, Francesco Milizia, and points to his broad classification of architecture into private and public construction. That division, he notes, fails to define the concept of 'type', though an implicit definition is offered in a discussion of local materials and style, form and spatial layout. García Grinda comments on the attempts of theoreticians of the nineteenth century to seek more precise definitions of 'type' in order to distinguish it from 'model'. For instance, in 1832 Quatremere de Quincy defined a 'model' as an inflexible prototype which 'must be repeated such as it is'. A 'type' permits architects/designers to 'conceive works that do not resemble one another at all' so that 'everything is precise and given in the model; everything is more or less vague in the type'.[67]

All of these writers recognize the importance of introducing order to the incoherent accumulation of disparate pieces of evidence. At issue is the basis for that order. In Britain there has been a tendency, attacked by Johnson, to take the formalist route of identifying specific plan types and construction methods and considering these in isolation from the social forces at play. Iberian scholars may have avoided this, but in so doing they find themselves paralysed by the sheer variation that confronts them. In the original version of this paper, Falcão Ferreira was unable to find sufficient homogeneity to propose a clear typology of buildings in late medieval northern Portugal, either within plan types or in the use of materials.

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[63] Giese, 'Los tipos de casa', p. 572.

[64] Ibid., p. 575.

[65] Aldo Rossi, *La arquitectura de la ciudad*, 8th edn (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1982), p. 87.

[66] José Luis García Grinda, 'L'aplicación y el concepto del tipo en la arquitectura popular: evolución *versus* permanencia en el territorio castellano-leonés', in *Arquitectura popular en España*, ed. by Gutiérrez, Fernández Montes, and Sánchez Gómez, pp. 430–47.

[67] M. Quatremere de Quincy, *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture* (Paris, 1832), cited by García Grinda, 'L'aplicación y el concepto del tipo', n. 85.

A possible solution to the problem is to abandon the search for very specific types and to accept instead that within flexible parameters, variation is inevitable. Rather than trying to establish a clear and almost certainly oversimplified progression, such as that proposed by Giese, or a scheme so complex as to be hard to define, as Rossi's, or to anguish over the semantics of models and types, as does García Grinda, we could analyse the variation in the use of space in medieval urban housing to understand more about the structure of family and commercial life. By recording in detail a sizeable sample of the many surviving buildings, we could begin to identify the specialized spaces that are referred to in the many documents that our Portuguese colleagues have studied, but also to understand the variation between those households with and without such defined functional areas. Are these differences topographical? Do we see clear 'quarters' separating rich and poor citizens, or are their dwellings cheek by jowl? The latter would not necessarily indicate a level of integration between members of different social strata: as Mark Girouard has convincingly demonstrated in his study of social relations in the English country house in the medieval period, high visibility can accentuate rather than blur social boundaries.[68] Absolute precision of detail regarding numbers and sizes of rooms is unnecessary to such an exercise, and a broad, even overlapping, band of categories can deliver interesting answers. Questions about household size and complexity and about chronological change are similarly amenable to solution through careful examination of the fabric and plan form of individual houses or of groups of houses, without necessarily having to provide a clear metrical typology of the sample.[69] Issues raised in this paper over the reliability of economic and environmental factors in explaining choices in the selection of building materials may be looked at once a clear understanding of the surviving fabric has been calibrated with the semantic complexities of the documents. The possibilities raised by an interdisciplinary study of the surviving buildings, of documents pertaining to them, and of guild records can ably demonstrate the degree to which local political power, as vested in the guild, could affect the appearance of the town. In short, the serious study of medieval domestic buildings need not be hamstrung by anxieties over the creation of firm typologies arising out of observed patterning of attributes. Such patterns are unlikely to emerge, or if they do, are unlikely to be easy to interpret, from random observation. Rather, by careful framing of our research questions in advance of fieldwork, we may be better equipped to understand the riches that the study of the material past, both in terms of archaeological and historical evidence, has to offer.

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[68] M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

[69] Grenville, 'Houses and Households'.

Some Differences in the Cultural Production of Household Consumption in Three North Kent Communities, *c.* 1450–1550[*]

ELISABETH ELLEN SALTER

In the absence of personal accounts, correspondences, and inventories there is no surviving evidence which directly describes daily life as experienced by the majority of England's population before 1600. Details of the possessions owned and spaces occupied are, however, recoverable from testamentary evidence. The purpose of this study is to reconstruct the changing lifestyles of peasants and townspeople using descriptions of their domestic goods and household spaces. In this essay, the nature and diversity of household consumption in the period 1450–1550 is investigated using last will and testament evidence drawn from three towns in Kent, examining the significance of the differences between individual households and communities.

The three towns under investigation are Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding. Although all situated in north Kent, these places have different customs, traditions, and economies. The evidence from the three communities shows that there are marked regional diversities in domestic living space and the ownership of domestic goods. The chronology of changing consumption patterns for these three towns also varies across the period 1450–1550. This essay gives a glimpse of the types and varieties of domestic spaces occupied by the inhabitants of these towns, the variety and quality of goods that filled these spaces, and the styles and materials of their apparel. The essay begins with a consideration of method, a description of the three towns, and a discussion of the implications of evidence for the wealth and occupational structure of these towns. There follow three sections which each use detailed evidence to discuss a category of bequest. The first discusses domestic space; the second section is concerned with the material goods kept in these spaces; and the third describes the clothing worn by the people inhabiting the spaces.

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[*] I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Board during my present time as a doctoral research student and to thank the volume editors for their advice. Special thanks go to Andrew Butcher for his comments and discussion during our preparation of the conference session and in my subsequent writing of this paper.

Method

In this essay, most of the evidence about lifestyle in Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding is drawn from the last will and testament of individuals living in these towns between 1450 and 1550.[1] The large number of wills contributing to this study — some six hundred — represents almost all of the surviving testamentary evidence for these communities. Nevertheless, the analysis of this material is not quantitative because the particularity of the individual testaments does not lend itself to statistical analysis. More valuable for this kind of study is an analysis based on qualitative concepts such as variety and quality. Such qualitative evidence is recoverable from the extensive detailed descriptions given to particular goods in the bequest literature. As with any literature, the last will and testament is subject to certain generic constraints. This is a document produced in very particular circumstances, by individuals considering their death. The will is a record of a person's specific intentions for the post-mortem replication of household and family identity, at a practical and symbolic level.[2] The approach adopted here reflects recent, detailed research, which has preferred to focus on ways that the formulaic will document, as written by the scribe, is mediated by interventions of individualized description, taste, and perception.[3] At such a significant moment in the life cycle, these interventions carry symbolic weight. The goods and property bequeathed carry with them significant aspects of an individual's identity; the individualized description given to an object confers on it a 'biographical' status.[4] It is for this reason that the attitudes to material culture revealed in this essay are considered to be *cultural productions*, that is, representations, of household consumption.[5]

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[1] The testaments are in volumes of registers: CKS, DRb Pwr/1–12; PRO, PROB 11, 1–40

[2] As a source, the last will and testament provides valuable partial glimpses, but does not reveal the extent of the property and wealth enjoyed and transmitted by individuals during their lifetimes.

[3] Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 55–56; Robert G. A. Lutton, 'Heterodox and Orthodox Piety in Tenterden *c.* 1420–*c.* 1540' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1997), p. 9. But also see Clive Burgess, '"For the Increase of Divine Service": Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 46–65 (pp. 46–47).

[4] Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 7–9.

[5] This phrase is intended to convey the particular intentionality of a testator's descriptions of material culture. Far from being hampered by generic constraints therefore, the peculiar

Together with the two other papers on Kent in this volume, this essay seeks to provide a new perspective on the chronology and dynamics of changing medieval consumption and commodification by focusing on locality. The interdisciplinary drive of the three Kent papers in this volume encompasses considerations of the relationship between the material evidence of architecture and the documentary evidence concerned with this material culture.[6] This approach is influenced by recent interpretative work on architectural history as well as theoretically based accounts of archaeological methods.[7] Ian Hodder, for example, argues that the meanings of material culture are continually being reconstituted and reread.[8] Such meanings are not fixed but are fluid, varying according to context. Echoing these approaches, some recent studies focus on transitions in the production and reception of particular types of goods in medieval society, such as jewelry and ceramics.[9] This archaeological interest in detailed contextualization is related to current preoccupations with local process in the broader field of cultural studies.[10] And with the renewed attention to local customs and regional dynamics has come a recognition of the implications of microstudy and its tendency to deconstruct the grand narratives of culture and society.[11] It is in line with these developments that the three Kent papers examine the regional diversities in domestic living space and ownership of domestic goods within one county.

By adopting a more localized focus on the production of household consumption, this particular evidence adds colour to general hypotheses about changing patterns of

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circumstances of will production may be used to enhance the significance of qualitative descriptions of material culture and domestic space.

[6] At the Leeds International Medieval Congress, this paper was delivered alongside two others, forming an interdisciplinary perspective on the medieval household. See in this volume Sarah Pearson, 'Houses, Shops, and Storage: Building Evidence from Two Kentish Ports'; Catherine Richardson, 'Household Objects and Domestic Ties'.

[7] See, for instance, Sarah Pearson, *The Medieval Houses of Kent: An Historical Analysis* (London: HMSO, 1994); Jane Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997); Ian Hodder, *Theory and Practice in Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1992; repr. 1996 and 1998)

[8] Hodder, *Theory and Practice*, p. 85.

[9] *The Age of Transition*, ed. by David Gaimster and Paul Stamper, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, 15, Oxbow Monograph, 98 (Exeter: Oxbow, 1997)

[10] For cultural historians, there is a current impetus towards detailed reconstruction at the level of locality and community. See, for instance, Catherine Richardson, 'The Meanings of Space in Society and Drama: Perceptions of Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy *c.* 1550–1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1999); Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); *Strategies of Inheritance*, ed. by Andrew Butcher, Cultural Networks Series (Bern: Peter Lang, forthcoming).

[11] Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things that I Know about It', trans. by John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (1993), 10–35.

consumption in the period 1200–1500. These include Christopher Dyer's study of consumption, commodification, and rising standards of living in medieval England and Lisa Jardine's study of the influence of international trade on the spread, throughout Europe, of desirable consumer goods and magnificence.[12] The evidence suggests that for the ordinary individuals of north Kent, 'consumer' choices about lifestyle and its representation were not uniformly dependent on the international imperatives of trade.[13] Rather, the acquisition, display, and transmission of exotic material goods appear to be mediated by a complex range of local factors such as proximity to a port, the extent of urbanization, and the cosmopolitan population. These findings tend to suggest that there are circumstances inherent in local society that generate significantly changing attitudes to the cultural production of lifestyle. This hypothesis is formulated using a detailed examination of evidence for particular communities over a chronological period often considered to be transitional.

The Location and Prosperity of the Three Towns

The three towns studied in this paper are markedly different in their geographical location and structure. Situated on the periphery of London, medieval East Greenwich was a cosmopolitan place.[14] The prosperous port on the Thames River brought in merchants and traders from all over Europe; the moveable royal household was often resident in the fashionable Greenwich palace; and there were significant communities of migrant settlers particularly from northern France and the Low Countries.[15] Gravesend was also a port located on the Thames with ferries connecting Kent to Essex via Tilbury and, from 1401, a special grant for ferrying passengers to London.[16] In this essay, evidence from Gravesend and its satellite village Milton-Next-

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[12] Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200–1520*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 274–76 and passim; Lisa Jardine, *Wordly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1996), p. 77. Jardine proposes that from the mid-fifteenth century, conditions of 'consumer demand, commercial ferment and the urge to expand markets', were the driving forces for the development of consumer choice.

[13] Jardine, *Wordly Goods*, p. 90.

[14] 'East' Greenwich which was distinct from medieval 'West' Greenwich will hereafter be referred to as 'Greenwich'.

[15] See, for instance, Olive Hamilton and Nigel Hamilton, *Royal Greenwich: A Guide and History to London's Most Historic Borough* (London: Greenwich Bookshop, 1969). For evidence of the migrant community see PRO, E 179/125/127 and PRO, E 179/125/27; see also David Ormrod, *The Dutch in London: The Influence of an Immigrant Community 1550–1800* (London: HMSO, 1973). For a recent study of the royal household, see Alison Weir, *Henry VIII: King and Court* (London: Cape, 2001).

[16] PRO, E 122/193/22; Alex J. Philip, *A History of Gravesend and its Surroundings from Prehistoric Times* (Wraysbury: the author, 1910; repr. 1954); Paul Lee, 'Orthodox Parish

Gravesend are considered together. This is because there appears to be one population centre, despite differences in jurisdiction and separate personal allegiances.[17] This probably indicates the rapid expansion of the town, which benefited from trading contacts with London and its position on the route from east Kent to the capital.[18] The number of inns in the town attests to Gravesend's role as a resting place for merchants and other travellers.[19] Yalding, by contrast, was a small market town bordered to the west by the river Medway and surrounded by rural communities farming the arable lands and grass pastures of this region.[20] Court roll and charter evidence suggests that this was an occupationally diverse community with a significant immigrant population and an active land and property market that included the sale of shops (*shopa*).[21] The differences between these three communities are numerous. However, despite the geographical distances between Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding, evidence from property transactions alone suggests that there were numerous social connections between these towns as well as between other places in this locality, including London.[22]

It is traditional, when describing the structure, population, and economy of a medieval town, to refer to the valuable evidence provided by taxation material because it provides an approximate guide to individual prosperity and a partial picture of the wealth profile for a particular community.[23] These taxes, measured as assessments of goods, wages, or land, may be used comparatively with similar lists from other communities. The results of comparing taxation evidences from Yalding, Gravesend, and Greenwich are striking because the similarities in wealth structure between these communities indicate that factors other than wealth were influencing the distinct patterns of household consumption displayed in the testamentary evidence. The evidence used here is taken from the 1524/5 taxation for Yalding, the 1523/4 taxation for Gravesend,

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Religion and Chapels of Ease in Late Mediaeval England: The Case of St. George's Chapel in Gravesend', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 119 (1999), 55–70 (p. 56).

[17] Robert Pocock, *The HISTORY of the incorporated town and parishes of GRAVESEND and MILTON in the County of Kent selected with accuracy from topographical writers and enriched from manuscripts hitherto un-noticed* [. . .] (London: the author, 1797).

[18] See, for instance, PRO, IR 10/50–53; G. M. Arnold, 'Gravesend in Days of Old', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 11 (1877), 42–55; Lee, 'Orthodox Parish Religion', p. 56.

[19] See, for instance, CKS, U713/T32/307; CKS, U713/T33/22.

[20] Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of KENT*, 2nd edn, 12 vols (Canterbury: Bristow, 1797–1801; repr. Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1972), v, 154–73.

[21] See, for instance, PRO SC 2/183/6 fols 1r and 8r; PRO, E 179/124/107; CKS, U47/11/T536 and 551.

[22] See, for instance, CKS, U713/T33/10, 22 and 307; CKS U281/T20; PRO, IR 10/49; PRO E 211/696/B.

[23] See, for instance, W. G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder: The England of Henry VIII 1500–1547* (London: Longman, 1976), pp. 22–24, 46.

and the 1544/5 taxation for Greenwich.[24] The comparable level of the highest taxation assessments in Gravesend and Greenwich indicates that the wealth of the richest members of these communities is similar.[25] Also significant is the relatively large number of individuals in Yalding belonging to a moderately wealthy group.[26]

Given the similarities in the wealth profiles of these towns, it is interesting to compare the occupational structure of these communities to see if there are distinctions in the types of trade and craft that may have had an influence on choices about household consumption. For Yalding, there are occasional references to occupations such as butchers, bow makers, and husbandmen as well as some classifications of status such as gentleman and yeoman.[27] Court roll evidence reveals the presence, in this town, of a number of white bread bakers as well as several tailors in the early fifteenth century, and a similar situation is presented for Gravesend.[28] These occupations are also represented in the charter evidences, which also contain frequent references to yeomen.[29] The 1525–26 taxation for Yalding does not reveal many occupations, although it is striking that a high percentage of the taxable wealth is assessed in goods rather than by land as might be expected in a semi-rural economy.[30] In the taxation of the same date in Gravesend, several occupations are mentioned, such as joiner, baker, and barber, and a number of individuals are given the title of either yeoman or gentleman.[31] Other evidences concerned with the workings of Gravesend port, together with the wills for 1450–1550, show some different types of occupation such as the 'watchers' presumably employed to oversee port traffic and the 'watermen' who used their barges on the Thames.[32]

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[24] PRO, E 179/124/187 and 193; PRO, E 179/125/271. These assessments are based on 80 taxpayers from Gravesend, 90 from Yalding, and 180 from Greenwich.

[25] For the purposes of analysis, the taxation assessments were divided into £5 bands, between £0 and £200. There are several individuals in each town assessed at between £100 and £200. Over three quarters of the taxable values for both Gravesend and Yalding occur in the lowest wealth bracket of up to £5 and, as expected, the percentages decrease sharply after that. Most of the taxable values for Greenwich are in the bracket of up to £10. Although the lowest wealth bracket is strongly represented in Greenwich, in general this is a slightly more prosperous community.

[26] The differential between the poorest and the wealthiest in Yalding is less sharply defined than for Gravesend: close examination of the bracket up to and including £10 shows that Yalding actually has a greater proportion of individuals taxed at between £3 and £6 than are found in Gravesend.

[27] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–12.

[28] PRO, SC 2/183/6 fol. 1^r, PRO, SC 2/183/7 fol. 1^v.

[29] CKS, U47/11/T531–551

[30] PRO, E 179/124/193. In this Yalding taxation of 1524/5, for example, only a tenth of the assessments were made on land, whereas over four-fifths of the assessments were made in goods and most of the remainder was calculated from wages.

[31] PRO, E 179/124/187. In this evidence, just over half of the assessments were made on goods, with about a third being made on wages, the remainder being taxed on land.

Resident in Greenwich were many citizens of London who had particular occupational titles. References to tailors, grocers, butchers, drapers, and salters are frequent, and there are also representatives of other more specialized occupations, such as silversmith and pewterer. Perhaps it is because of its proximity to London that Greenwich is, in general, a more occupationally diverse community than Gravesend or Yalding.[33]

This initial examination of taxation evidence shows that, in the early sixteenth century, there were individuals of similar wealth resident in Yalding, Gravesend, and Greenwich. The evidence concerning occupations shows that a diverse range of occupational groups was resident in each community and that these people took titles denoting varying status groups. These findings have important implications for the following investigation of the household consumption of material culture by ordinary individuals. Because the wealth profiles of Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding show marked similarities, any differences in the conspicuous consumption taking place in these towns can not be solely attributed to fundamental differences of wealth between these communities. It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that the qualitative evidence provided by testamentary material provides access to personal and local perceptions of household consumption and lifestyle; these qualitative distinctions are not provided by taxation evidence. The distinctions and variations in these representations of household production clearly show that wealth, as indicated by taxation material, is just one of many factors that influenced personal choices about lifestyle. The remainder of the essay provides a detailed examination of the evidence for qualitative testamentary descriptions of household spaces, material goods, and clothing.

Household Spaces

This discussion of household spaces shows the variety of property mentioned and described in the testamentary evidence from the three towns. These distinctive and qualitative descriptions indicate the differing extents of urbanization in Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding and give an impression of the everyday experience of living and working in these places. It is possible, therefore, to use these testamentary descriptions of property for the imaginative reconstruction of these individuals' varying experiences and perceptions of household space.

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[32] PRO, E 101/690/10; CKS, DRb Pwr/1–12 and, for example, DRb Pwr/10/86

[33] It is worth noting that the relative proportions of each assessment category in the 1546 taxation show that more individuals were being taxed on land in Greenwich than in Gravesend. This perhaps hints at a lifestyle choice made by London merchants who moved to Greenwich. The proportion of assessments made on goods in Greenwich was actually less than for Yalding. See F. R. H. Du Boulay, *An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Nelson, 1970), p. 52.

Evidence from pre-mortem property transactions suggests some variance in the everyday living spaces occupied by the inhabitants of Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding.[34] In the post-mortem property descriptions from individuals resident in Gravesend and Greenwich, a high proportion of the bequests refer to buildings, including houses, tenements, inns, and outbuildings. These appear to have been very varied in their structure and in their use of space. Several types of chamber are described, for example, with different names such as 'swan chamber', 'blue chamber', and 'press chamber'.[35] These are situated at various levels in the house, including 'low' and 'high'.[36] Other kinds of dwelling place in Gravesend include 'shop houses' such as that bequeathed by William Munden in 1541.[37] Yet another kind of dwelling is described, in 1544, in the will of Richard Stacey, a smith from Milton. He lived in a tenement with a forge that also had a furnished hall.[38] The multifunctionality of such properties is a feature also found in the material and documentary evidence for Sandwich and Faversham.[39]

The descriptions of property for both Gravesend and Greenwich give the impression of a community of closely built-up streets with a variety of dwelling places, shops, and workshops. The uses for these properties varied according to the occupation of their inhabitants and their locations, with sometimes complex testamentary descriptions. For instance, in the bequest of 1487 made by Gilbert of Greenwich to his daughters, tenements are identified by a range of details such as the name of the present or previous tenant or his occupation or its location relative to others. The first tenement in this bequest is identified by its position next to a brewhouse in which one John Purser lives; the second property is identified as the bakehouse which was previously rented by a baker called Sanders; the third tenement was currently held by a brewer called Thomas. The two following properties were rented by men with distinctive occupational surnames, Henry Cutler and Thomas Bocher. The remaining two tenements in this list were identified by their locations; one was 'in the lane' and the other 'leading down to the waterside'.[40] Occasional evidence about plot measurements adds to this impression of tightly built urban space. A bequest by a wealthy Gravesend widow, Alice Herd, provides clues about the size of a wharf as well as the extent to which these distinctive urban spaces were enclosed by other buildings. She leaves a tenement occupied by Robert Baker together with a wharf, which is 'vii fote' west from the wall of a tenement owned by John Bere.[41] This evidence suggests strong similarities in the density of urban space and the diversity of properties in Greenwich and Gravesend. The detailed descriptions play a practical role in the identification of property. They may also signal the testator's perceptions and experiences of living space and its uses.

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[34] See, for instance, CKS, U713/T33/10–22 and 307; CKS, U281/T20; PRO, SC 2/181/10; PRO, SC 12/9/27 and 28.

[35] PRO, PROB 11, 16/40/318; CKS, DRb Pwr/11/7.

[36] CKS, DRb Pwr/12/120.

[37] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/344.

[38] CKS, DRb Pwr/11/256.

[39] Pearson, 'Houses, Shops, and Storage', and Richardson, 'Household Objects', in this volume.

[40] PRO, PROB 11, 8/11/90.

While there are marked similarities in the property descriptions for Gravesend and Greenwich, there are also some significant differences. A high proportion of the property bequests made by Gravesend residents, for example, contain references to wharfs and barns. These types of property are mentioned relatively infrequently in Greenwich wills. The descriptions of wharfs show that these structures are themselves variable in their uses as well as their size and structure. Some wharfs are also sites for buildings such as the 'garret' that Robert Stokmede of Gravesend had built onto his wharf at the 'town end'.[42] This may have been a storage structure. Barns were probably also used for storage, but they appear to be more often associated with agricultural uses. In 1540, Thomas Swaynsland bequeathed to his wife a barn situated at the 'town end' together with several tenements and all the arable and heath land there, except for a new barn and a croft next to it.[43] Such references to the agricultural land in Gravesend act as a reminder about the extent of building in urban space such as this. It is likely that Gravesend was less packed with houses and tenements than Greenwich, although sixteenth-century rental evidence suggests that in this suburb of London there was still agricultural land on offer: in Greenwich, closes, orchards, and 'uplands' of over one acre were all being rented as late as 1546.[44]

Yalding is named as both a town and a parish in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[45] The property bequests in the Yalding wills, however, give the impression that this town had a much more rural environment than Gravesend or Greenwich. Houses are generally associated with various types of land as in the bequest of John Herbelot in 1512.[46] This consisted of one chamber next to the garden door in his 'mansion place' and various small units of land that included three 'parcels' containing six acres, some purchased meadow, five acres of land, a croft, and two other meadows. This 'mansion' may have been quite grand, like the two-storeyed dwellings recorded by other Yalding residents such as Nicholas Moyse, a scythe smith. In 1554, he bequeathed his principal messuage that contained a parlour and a chamber above the hall.[47] The property also came with a hemp plot which was accessed by the 'ploughwright way' and an apple orchard. Describing another variation was John Nash, who in 1498 bequeathed a house consisting of a hall, a kitchen, and a chamber to the south with a well chamber under the same and next to a 'hanging' door.[48] Charter evidence from the early fifteenth century also reveals the complex arrangements of halls, solars, and chambers available to Yalding residents at this date.[49] Other types of property include the rented gardens and yards bequeathed by John Dawson in 1548. Together with a house, garden, and barn, he left to his wife some yards that were rented at 21*s*., to be paid annually at the feast of the Purification.[50] This small selection of evidence reveals the range of domestic spaces, storage buildings, and land types described by the inhabitants of Yalding. Despite its relatively rural environment, there were plenty of houses with complex structures in this community. The bequest descriptions suggest that the inhabitants of this town were interested by the architectural spaces that they occupied, and that they, too, were accustomed to a range of multifunctional buildings.

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[41] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/79.

[42] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/173.

[43] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/313.

[44] PRO, SC 12/9/28.

[45] See, for instance, PRO, E 179/123/53; CKS, U282/T20–22; U47/11/T531.

[46] CKS, DRb Pwr/6/327.

[47] CKS, DRb Pwr/11/314.

The detail of these property descriptions and the different terminologies commonly used in each town clearly indicate that there were important differences between the urban spaces experienced by individuals in Yalding, Gravesend, and Greenwich. Despite these distinctions, it is clear that all three towns were undergoing change throughout the period 1450–1550. In Gravesend and Greenwich, there were certainly building works taking place at the end of the fifteenth and in the early sixteenth centuries. In 1514, for example, Robert Stybbing, a barber, bequeathed to his wife two new shops 'lately builded set and edified in Grenewich by the water side which ground I hold lease hold of John Dune of London, grocer'.[51] Robert Stokmede of Gravesend left 'three mesuages and a garden and one barn and appurtenances builded of one piece of land purchased and late rented'.[52] However built up these towns already were, there still seems to have been space for more properties, like the 'void ground' at the backside of a wharf in Gravesend mentioned by Alice Herd in 1533.[53] The extent of continued building work is less clear from the Yalding evidence although house annexes are mentioned by Gilbert Ippinbury in 1460 and by Joan Pakk in 1464.[54] There are also some other clues about house building in this evidence, such as the 20*s*. worth of land bequeathed by Thomas Herbelot in 1531 'to make a dwelling'.[55] Other Yalding inhabitants seem to have been involved with building projects elsewhere. By the time of his death in 1554, Thomas Barworth had built a new property in Tonbridge, Kent.[56] The construction of new buildings, the rebuilding and embellishment of existing buildings, as well as changes in usage all occur in these communities between 1450 and 1550 but at different rates and with perhaps different priorities. The detailed descriptions of these buildings show that the residents of these towns were keenly aware of the construction and use of space in their living and working environments.

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[48] CKS, DRb Pwr/5/337.

[49] CKS, U282/T21.

[50] CKS, DRb Pwr/11/54.

[51] CKS, DRb Pwr/7/14.

[52] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/173.

[53] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/79.

[54] CKS, DRb Pwr/2/224; CKS, DRb Pwr/2/324.

[55] CKS, DRb Pwr/5/207.

Material Goods

The material goods recorded in the wills of individuals resident in Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding fall into a number of general categories. These include beds (feather, flock, and truckle), plate (brass, pewter, and silver), books, jewellery (gold and silver rings; amber and coral beads), and a variety of clothing. The descriptions of these goods are often very detailed, providing evidence for their quality and variety. The use of detailed description suggests two possible situations: firstly, that description is necessary for identification of an object, indicating that the testator owns a number of similar items; secondly, that the detail is an important feature of the object, indicating that it is perceived by the testator in comparative and quailtative terms.[57] For this paper, three examples of material goods are used to compare the lifestyle choices adopted in the three towns: furniture, furnishings, and clothing.

Furniture

Individuals in all the communities bequeath furniture in the sub-categories of chest, table, cupboard, and chair. In Yalding, there are generally fewer furniture bequests, and in the period 1425–1530 these goods tend to be described simply with the generic term.[58] There are, of course, a few exceptions where more detailed descriptions are given. Thomas Codde of Yalding, for example, bequeaths a 'folding table' that stands in the hall.[59] For Gravesend and Greenwich in the same period, a much wider variety of furniture is bequeathed. Tables are described variously with words such as 'spruce', 'tressle', 'green', and 'counter'; they may be kept in the hall or parlour.[60] And there are other more detailed descriptions such as William Morris's 'table painted green which stands in the new chamber'.[61] Also between 1425 and 1530, chests and strongboxes are described variously as 'spruce wood', 'joined', and 'great'.[62] Sometimes a description of the position and use of these items is provided, like William Morris's two 'flat chests' with double locks that were kept next to each other and his 'ship chest' kept in the chamber.[63]

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[56] CKS, DRb Pwr/11/288.

[57] As the earlier discussion of testamentary evidence suggests, the particularity of the moment at which a will is produced renders these descriptions of goods particularly significant.

[58] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–8.

[59] CKS, DRb Pwr/7/262.

[60] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–8; PRO, PROB 11, 1–24.

In the wills made between 1530 and 1550, the evidence suggests that there is altogether a greater variety of these goods available to these individuals.[64] Or, at least, whether or not they have previously been available, the goods have become suitable items to use as heirlooms and testamentary gifts.[65] However, it appears that the variety in Yalding does not match that of the other towns. In Yalding, there are four main varieties of chest being described; these are 'little', 'long', 'best', and 'great', some of which have a lock and key.[66] In Gravesend and Greenwich, by contrast, there are fourteen different kinds of descriptions for chests and coffers; these include 'bound with iron', 'little', 'carved', and 'joined'.[67] The details sometimes specify their precise position and contents, such as the ship chest of Robert Stokmede of Gravesend, which was under the window in the inner chamber. It contained nine pairs of sheets, four tablecloths, two napkins, and eight towels.[68] This explosion in the variety of descriptions also applies to tables and chairs. Representations of tables by Yalding residents include the words 'trestle' and 'round', with this furniture generally being placed in the kitchen, hall, or chamber.[69] Greenwich or Gravesend tables appear in at least seven different varieties, including examples of 'frame tables', 'joined tables', 'counter tables', and even a 'little writing desk'.[70] The pattern is similar for chairs. While in Yalding no description is given to the two chair bequests, in Gravesend and Greenwich descriptions include a 'twined chair of cane for a chamber' as well as one with three seats, numbers of 'joined stools', and at least one 'long settle'.[71]

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[61] PRO, PROB 11, 16/40/318.

[62] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–8; PRO, PROB 11, 1–24.

[63] PRO, PROB 11, 16/40/318.

[64] CKS, DRb Pwr/8–12; PRO, PROB 11, 25–40.

[65] For a consideration of heirlooms, see Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-while-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 10–12, 36–38, and passim.

[66] CKS, DRb Pwr/8–12.

[67] CKS, DRb Pwr/8–12; PRO, PROB 11, 25–40.

[68] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/173.

[69] CKS, DRb Pwr/8–12.

[70] CKS, DRb Pwr/8–12; PRO, PROB 11, 25–40. For the writing desk, see PRO, PROB 11, 30/11/80.

[71] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/115; CKS, DRb Pwr/6/79; CKS, DRb Pwr/12/20.

Furnishings

In all three towns, furnishings are bequeathed in the categories of cover (for a bed), towel, napkin, tablecloth, hanging, curtain, and cushion. Most of these goods are frequently bequeathed using just the generic term to describe them. However, there are some detailed ‘quality’ descriptions, and these appear to follow similar patterns to that found for furniture. Between 1425 and 1530, the descriptions in the Yalding wills are generally restricted to colour, with occasional references to tapestry work.[72] At a later date, there are instances of detailed descriptions, such as the pair of sheets bequeathed by Agnes Payne of Yalding in 1559.[73] She described the design of her sheets as having sections of black and white colour. In Gravesend and Greenwich, the detailed descriptions show bequest choices based on a much greater variety of colours, materials, and styles. However, there seem to be some differences between the two towns, with Greenwich individuals using a greater range of furnishings in their wills than the people of Gravesend. Between 1425 and 1530 for example, Gravesend wills have bequests of diaper towels, napkins and tablecloths, red and green curtains, yellow covers, and curtains of ‘diverse’ colours.[74] In the Greenwich evidence, however, even before 1500, there are covers of blue and green silk and white ‘bury work’, hangings of red worsted, and cloths of gold.[75] Cushions, which hardly figure at all in evidence from other communities in Kent at this date, are bequeathed in a range of styles and materials such as carpet work, ‘verdure’, and dornex. In 1515, Alice Newman bequeathed cushions with a flower pattern, and in 1522, Andrew Fosse bequeathed a round bed, curtains, and ten cushions of yellow silk.[76] Greenwich individuals also sometimes give very detailed descriptions of their bed covers. In 1535, Thomas Somers, otherwise known as Thomas Hall, bequeathed a cover of tapestry work with trees on it and one of ‘Arass work’ with a lion crouching under a tree.[77]

Clothing

As with furnishings, the bequests of clothing are frequent in Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding. Again, however, there are clear distinctions in the quality of the descriptions used. The most common garment to be bequeathed is the gown, but others such as petticoats, kirtles, coats, and doublets are also common. In Yalding, bequests of clothing are predominantly in three colours: red, black, and russet. Occasional references to white and violet garments also exist. The materials, when mentioned, are mainly worsted, linen, wool, and russet, as well as leather and hemp.[78] Yalding clothing bequests are not all drab, however, although the more exciting descriptions tend to appear after 1520. In 1545, for example, Peter Bold left a cloak 'graved' with velvet.[79] But these occasional references present a marked contrast to the numerous exotic bequests made in Gravesend and Greenwich. These wills give an impression of towns full of people wearing and displaying sumptuous varieties of texture and colour.[80] Fabrics include velvet, satin, and damask, with linings of cotton and satin. Colours include crimson, scarlet 'crow', blue, violet, green, 'rat', and yellow with descriptive details about welts, laces, and fur borders. In 1501, Richard Acton of Gravesend left a best tawny gown lined with black linen; in 1531, Nicholas Codd of Gravesend left a blue gown furred with black lamb and a doublet of damask with black velvet foresleeves; and in 1541, Myles Thistlewood of Greenwich left one doublet of russet satin with black foresleeves that he kept in a chest.[81]

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[72] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–8.

[73] CKS, DRb Pwr/12/318.

[74] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–8; PRO, PROB 11, 1–24.

[75] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–5; PRO, PROB 11, 1–11.

[76] CKS, DRb Pwr/7/249; CKS, DRb, Pwr/9/191.

[77] CKS, DRb Pwr/9/191.

Although not all the wills contain such details, there does not appear to be a clear correlation between the very wealthy or privileged and the use of sumptuous description. Some of this fine clothing is passed down by artisans such as John Edmond, a flesher from Greenwich. In 1529, he made detailed descriptions of his occupational tools — shavers, planes, and saws — as well as several items of clothing including a gown of musterdevillers furred with black and white lamb and an old violet gown.[82] However, it is clear that the most sumptuous bequests are made by the inhabitants of Greenwich. The most grand of these gifts tend to be after 1525, such as the wide range of garments left by Roger Ellis in 1540.[83] Ellis's bequests include the following: one doublet of russet satin in white and yellow; one doublet of black, fringed with gold at the hand and breast; a gown of marble furred with white fox; a cloak of 'freeshade', 'gauded' with velvet and laced about the skirt; one russet coat, newly dressed and lined; one new shirt with a white band made with white thread; and one damask jacket 'gauded' with an embroidered yard of black velvet with a border beneath it. Quite how many of these items Roger Ellis actually wore at one time is left to the imagination.

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[78] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–12.

[79] CKS, DRb Pwr/10/131.

[80] CKS, DRb Pwr/1–12; PRO, PROB 11, 1–40.

[81] CKS, DRb Pwr/5/393; CKS, DRb Pwr/9/370; CKS, DRb Pwr/8/300.

[82] CKS, DRb Pwr/8/210.

[83] PRO, PROB 11, 28/7/50.

Conclusion

The detail and quality in testamentary descriptions of domestic space, material culture, and apparel provides a glimpse into the everyday world and lifestyle of medieval peasants and townspeople. The material has two sets of implications of immediate relevance to the study of changing medieval consumption and commodification. The first is that the presence of detailed qualitative description hints at the choices these individuals made about their lifestyles and at the chronology of their changing choices. The second is that the regional diversity and chronology of these descriptions raises questions about the factors influencing the cultural production of these lifestyle choices.

The choices glimpsed through this evidence involve decisions about the quality, type, and style of material goods, both in consumption and bequest. These were decisions that covered a range of goods from kitchenware to jewellery and included luxury items. Choices needed to be made about where in the living space to place objects for comfort, display, and convenience and when to use them. The evidence in this essay suggests that during the period 1450–1550 there were changing possibilities for the consumption and display of material goods. For these townspeople, such changes required different decisions about the use and placement of these luxury goods in their homes. The chronology of change reflects shifting experiences of the use and enjoyment of domestic spaces between 1450 and 1550.

When considering the provision of goods at the time of death, an individual would wish to ensure that the named beneficiary received the specifically intended object. The complex and precise distinctions made in the bequest literature indicate the range of choices open to those testators whose lifestyles were influenced by owning and using a variety of material goods. Only three broad categories of such goods are discussed in this paper, although the evidence from these towns provides details about the extensive range of objects owned by their inhabitants. A single bequest by one woman, Agnes Harding of Greenwich, indicates this range.[84] In 1501, Agnes bequeathed to her daughter, Matilda, various items of furniture including a cupboard in the parlour, a chair with three seats, a spruce chest, and a green table with a trestle. The metalware she left included two basins of latten, half a garnish of pewter vessels, a brass pot, a chafing dish, and various racks and trivets plus several candlesticks and a little mazer. Her bequests of bedding included one feather bed with various accessories including curtains of white, as well as various other soft furnishings including three cushions. Amongst other apparel, she also left Matilda a ring of gold and diamond, her best gown, a girdle, and a pair of white amber beads.

During her lifetime, Agnes Harding was accustomed to using and enjoying this range of material goods, each fulfilling a specific role or function and occupying a particular position in her home. In just this one bequest, there appear to be non-essential items to place in every room of Agnes's house. The specific nature of this domestic culture is expressed in the precise identification of relationships between particular spaces and particular objects: in 1506, Thomasina Sheky of Greenwich bequeathed all of her hall, 'as it is garnished with tables, bankers, cushions, chairs, stools and cupboards'.[85] Similarly, in 1511, Agnes Newark of Greenwich bequeathed to her daughter all of her great chamber or the parlour and all its apparel 'as it stands'.[86] Not only the lifestyle choices of the testator are reflected in the bequest literatures. These individuals were perhaps intending to influence the choices of their beneficiaries, the next generation of consumers.

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[84] CKS, DRb Pwr/6/79.

Apart from family traditions and testamentary instructions, what other factors might have been influencing these choices about the cultural production of lifestyle? The testamentary evidence shows clear diachronic differences between the bequest patterns in Greenwich, Gravesend, and Yalding. The initial examination of the taxation evidence suggests that the diversity of goods accumulated and the changing patterns of consumption are not the simple product of per capita wealth. Some testators from Yalding are as prosperous as those from Gravesend and Greenwich. So why do Yalding residents appear not to value the ownership of material goods while their contemporaries in Gravesend and Greenwich enjoy displaying these items?[87]

Clearly, there is a direct correlation between the geographical proximity to London and the extent to which material goods are described in detail. Certainly, owning specifically 'London' goods appears to be important for some individuals in Greenwich and Gravesend. Gowns of 'London russet' or 'London blue' are bequeathed by men and women from these towns in the 1530s. Thomas Marshall of Greenwich, for example, gave one gown of London russet furred with coney and one gown of London blue welted with tawny velvet.[88] Joanna Botman of Gravesend gave a gown of London russet to her sister living in London.[89] The influence of the capital is perhaps unsurprising. What is highly significant for the study of lifestyle is the regional diversity of the nature and the timing of responses to such local influences.

The cultural hub of London, the cosmopolitan mix of a busy port, and the relative stability of an agricultural community are all local factors which may influence the chronology of changing medieval consumption and commodification. Whether it is one of these factors or a conjunction of many different influences, the evidence in this essay shows the importance of considering local variation. The testamentary evidence from these three towns suggests that a simple model for cultural dissemination is not appropriate because the diffusion through the London hinterland of changing patterns of consumption is not uniform. Similar studies based on different regions might indicate other local variations; this would add a valuable comparative dimension to the proposed model for cultural dissemination. When thinking about changing standards of living, the representation of that change involves complex processes influenced by ethnicity, custom, tradition, and occupation. These factors, together with the emulation of metropolitan lifestyles, affected the cultural production of household consumption at the level of locality.

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[85] CKS, DRb Pwr/6/191.

[86] CKS, DRb Pwr/6/91.

[87] The situation in Yalding is similar to the model proposed for Sandwich by Richardson, 'Household Objects', in this volume.

[88] PRO, PROB 11, 25/24/173.

[89] CKS, DRb Pwr/10/117.

Houses, Shops, and Storage: Building Evidence from Two Kentish Ports[*]

SARAH PEARSON

Introduction

Medieval town buildings in England are still only poorly understood. While thousands of rural houses have been recorded and analysed, and the results published, the number of urban examples can be counted in hundreds, or even in dozens. There are several reasons for this. In the first place medieval buildings in successful cities or towns, notably London but also other centres such as Bristol, Norwich, or Newcastle-upon-Tyne, seldom survive. Even when the buildings of a major port like Southampton have been explored, the number available for study is often small in comparison to the size of the medieval town. Secondly, the ground floors of surviving town centre buildings have often been wholly refurbished on numerous occasions, leaving little evidence of the layout before the twentieth century. In fact, the best evidence is usually found in the roof, where structural details may allow a building to be dated and its overall form recovered, but this leaves many questions about the original layout and function of its lower storeys unresolved. Finally, urban buildings are often difficult to examine in practice since they may be tenanted rather than owner-occupied, different floors may be in separate occupations, and much of the structure can be obscured by goods and modern fittings.

To overcome these difficulties it is essential not only to look at as many buildings in as many towns as possible, but also to use both documentary and below-ground archaeology to help to fill the gaps in our understanding. In this and the other two Kent papers in this volume, buildings and testamentary evidence have been used to consider the lives of the medieval inhabitants in a selection of Kentish towns. Unfortunately, no medieval buildings remain in Greenwich or Gravesend, the towns considered by Elisabeth Salter, since later prosperity ensured that they were replaced from the seventeenth century onwards. But in Sandwich, where the silting of the waterways led to the decline of a flourishing medieval port, the survival of early buildings is on a level perhaps equalled only in King's Lynn, where a similar process of decline allowed much of the medieval fabric to remain untouched. The comparison of building evidence in Sandwich with the testamentary evidence discussed by Catherine Richardson is interesting, for ostensibly the two sources tell rather different stories which must be reconciled. The wills, particularly when compared with those from the north-west Kent towns studied by Salter, suggest that by the second half of the fifteenth century the inhabitants of what had formerly been a flourishing port had little surplus income to spend on luxuries. Nonetheless, many of them continued to build or rebuild their properties, for the majority of surviving medieval buildings were erected between the mid-fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries.

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[*] I am grateful to Allan T. Adams for drawing the illustrations for me, and to Andrew Butcher, Catherine Richardson, and Elisabeth Salter for stimulating and constructive discussions about the contributions to this session at Leeds.

In this essay, building evidence is examined from Sandwich, which was one of the original five 'head' ports in the confederation of the Cinque Ports, and also from Faversham, a later and less important 'member', affiliated to the head port of Dover.[1] Sandwich lies on the river Stour, which here formed part of the Wantsum Channel, a wide waterway that cut inland of the island of Thanet and allowed shipping or goods from the continent or the south coast to reach London without braving the open sea round the North Foreland.[2] Established by the seventh century, the town had at least 383 houses at Domesday. It was among the twenty most important towns in the country at that time, and second in size to Canterbury among the towns of Kent.[3] Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries it was prominent as an entrepot for overseas trade, and in 1300 a suggested population of 5000 may mean there were over 1000 houses before the Black Death.[4] Although Sandwich trade remained buoyant into the early fifteenth century, the population no doubt diminished in the second half of the fourteenth century,[5] and in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries London's increasing domination of overseas trade, together with the silting of the Wantsum Channel, certainly led to the port's decline.[6] In 1513 the mayor, fifty one jurats and common councillors, and around 390 'households' were recorded in six of the town's eight wards, suggesting there could have been about 550 households at the time, but by 1560 only 291 households were recorded.[7]

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[1] K. M. E. Murray, *The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935). While survey work in Faversham is more or less complete, fieldwork in Sandwich is still progressing, and little documentary research specifically related to the buildings has yet been undertaken.

[2] For the early history of Sandwich, see T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Towns of Kent', in *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, ed. by J. Haslam (London: Phillimore, 1984), pp. 1–36, esp. pp. 16–21.

[3] R. Eales, 'An Introduction to the Kent Domesday', in *The Kent Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 1992), pp. 1–77 (p. 32, fol. 3^{v}). Alan Dyer, 'Ranking Lists of English Medieval Towns', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. I, *600–1540*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 752–53 (p. 752), gives a figure of 415, or possibly even 445 households.

[4] As a Cinque Port, Sandwich enjoyed special privileges with regard to taxation, and taxation and population figures from many later records, such as the lay subsidies of 1334 and 1524–25, and the poll tax of 1377, are not available. It is therefore extremely difficult to estimate the number of houses in the town in the period under discussion. Christopher Dyer,

Faversham lay on a tidal inlet off the Swale, which separates the island of Sheppey from the North Sea, and like Sandwich it provided a safe haven for coastal shipping. In Anglo-Saxon times it had formed a royal demesne, and by the time of Domesday a market had been established.[8] In the thirteenth century it was one of the most important suppliers of grain from arable east Kent to London,[9] but it was a smaller place than Sandwich, at least before the sixteenth century. Ultimately its harbour also silted up, but this only reached critical proportions after the Middle Ages, and although its sixteenth-century population is not precisely known, there seem to have been around 300 households in the 1560s.[10]

Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850–1520 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 190, suggests the population may have been around 5000 in 1300.

[5] Derek Keene, 'The South-East of England', in *Cambridge Urban History*, ed. by Palliser, pp. 541–82 (pp. 571, 577, 580, and map 22.7). He assumes there were about 1000 taxpayers in Sandwich in 1377. If this latter figure is multiplied by 1.75 or 1.9 (figures suggested by Dyer, 'Ranking Lists', p. 760), and divided by 3.91 or 4.58 (figures for the size of late-fourteenth-century households in York (Jennifer Kermode, 'The Greater Towns 1300–1540', in *Cambridge Urban History*, ed. by Palliser, pp. 441–65 (p. 464)), there could have been somewhere between 380 and 480 households in Sandwich in the late fourteenth century, a sharp drop from the suggested 1000 or so of a hundred years before. However, the 1513 figure (see below) suggests this might be an underestimate.

[6] D. Gardiner, *Historic Haven: The Story of Sandwich* (Derby: Pilgrim Press, 1954), pp. 131–32, 195–211; Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Port Towns: England and Wales 1300–1540' in *Cambridge Urban History*, ed. by Palliser, pp. 467–94, although her figures relate to the whole area of Sandwich's jurisdiction as a head port

[7] For 1513 see BL, Additional MS 33511, fols 33–44. This has to be a rough figure since it is not always clear how many tax payers constituted a 'household'. I am grateful to Sheila Sweetinburgh for this reference and discussion about its meaning. For the number of households in 1560, see J. Andrewes and M. Zell, 'The Population of Sandwich from the Accession of Elizabeth I to the Civil War', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 122 (2002), 79–99.

[8] Tatton-Brown, 'Towns of Kent', pp. 28–32.

[9] For the trade in wheat around 1300, see B. M. S. Campbell, J. A. Galloway, D. Keene, and M. Murphy, *A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c. 1300*, Historical Geography Research Series, 30 ([London]: The Centre for Metropolitan History, University of London, 1993), pp. 51–52, 93–94, 169, 179–80.

[10] J. Bowyer, 'Kent Towns, 1540–1640', in *Early Modern Kent, 1540–1640*, ed. by M. Zell (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 141–76 (p. 160), gives no figures for the sixteenth-century

Obviously many medieval houses in both towns were rebuilt in later times, and this was particularly true of Faversham which enjoyed a period of considerable prosperity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Nonetheless, many still survive, at least in part. There are about thirty-eight timber-framed buildings in Faversham dating between the late fourteenth and early/mid-sixteenth centuries, together with a number of stone cellars which were probably constructed in the thirteenth or possibly early fourteenth centuries. In Sandwich the survival rate is even higher, with fifty or more timber-framed medieval buildings remaining in whole or in part, together with several stone fragments of earlier, probably thirteenth-century, date. For archaeological statistics these are sizeable samples, and although Sandwich was never a large town, in terms of the survival of its medieval fabric it must rank with places such as York, Salisbury, or King's Lynn.

Faversham

In both towns the main commercial area, where pressure on space was greatest, was small. In Faversham, the hub was the market place and the adjoining sections of the four streets running into it. In this area there is evidence for over a dozen thirteenth-century stone-walled undercrofts or cellars with timber ceilings, several having doorways for formerly independent access up the steps to the street.[11] The arrangement is similar to the more spectacular vaulted undercrofts which occur in larger towns such as London, Chester, Canterbury, or Southampton, and are often associated with the wine trade.[12] Faversham played no part in the wine trade, and since the cellars are unlikely to have been used for unprocessed grain, they may have provided storage for commodities related to malting, brewing, or other activities associated with the town's

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population. However 300 households were recorded in a return of households for each parish in Canterbury diocese in 1563 (BL, Harley MS 594, fols 63–84), and the Visitation Return of 1569, CKS, Z/3/10 (2), gives 278 households; I am grateful to Duncan Harrington for supplying me with this last figure.

[11] Apart from those that survive, for example at 3, 5, 7, and 10 Market Place, 5 Abbey Street, and 2 Preston Street, a number were recorded in a 1532 rental of the town (see note 14 below), and others were described before demolition in the nineteenth century (E. Crow, 'Historical Gleanings Relative to the Town of Faversham and Parishes Adjoining', 1855, CKS, Fa/Z41/1–2).

[12] P. A. Faulkner, 'Medieval Undercrofts and Town Houses', *Archaeological Journal*, 123 (1966), 120–35; William Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London: Athlone Press, 1967), pp. 192–94; John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 74–81; Roland B. Harris, 'The Origins and Development of Medieval Town Houses Operating Commercially on Two Storeys' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1994); A. Brown, ed., *The Rows of Chester*, English Heritage Archaeological Research Report, 16 (London: English Heritage, 1999), pp. 15–43.

economy.[13] We know very little about the waterfront at this time, but fifteenth- and sixteenth-century wills and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century rentals suggest the quay was a working area where storehouses and cottages were built. One particularly fine fifteenth-century warehouse still remains today. The wealthiest inhabitants lived in or near the market place.[14] From the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when timber-framed buildings start to survive, living accommodation in this central area was set above the cellars and behind shops, although elsewhere in the town it was usually laid out along the street. Nowhere were buildings more than two storeys high.

Most of the medieval buildings surviving in Faversham market place are fragmentary, but the two now numbered 5 and 6, originally part of a single plot, are remarkably complete (fig. 1).[15] Number 5 stands over an earlier undercroft on a different alignment to the building above, traces of the original stone front wall and entry from the street remaining inside the present cellar. The street frontage was occupied by a row of three or four fifteenth-century shops with chambers over them. Behind this a fourteenth-century open hall lies parallel to the street, with fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century subsidiary accommodation ranged around two courtyards beyond. It is difficult to account for the change of alignment between the undercroft and the timber framing above, but the shops almost certainly represent encroachment on the market place. In 1532, when it seems the property had already been split, the part over the undercroft (i.e. number 5) was held from the Priory of Davington, but 'an augmentation next the street' had been purchased from Faversham Abbey, which owned the rights to the market place.[16] The open hall, which is aisled to the rear and could have been aisled to the front, may originally have been right on the market place, accompanied by a cross wing with a cellar beneath. However, by the fifteenth century the shops in front had been constructed, and the domestic accommodation lay behind. Although there is no large window and no sign of service doorways such as would be expected in a rural hall, the open hall can be distinguished by the presence

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[13] Grain was sometimes stored in 'celiers' in London; these might have been cellars, but were more probably above-ground stone granaries, which are also known to have existed in Faversham in the late thirteenth century (Campbell and others, *A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply*, pp. 101–02). For sixteenth-century trade in the town see Paul Wilkinson, 'The Historical Development of the Port of Faversham, 1580–1780' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrew's, 1997).

[14] Many surviving buildings can be identified from a 1532 rental of Faversham Abbey. See P. Hyde, *Thomas Arden in Faversham: The Man Behind the Myth* (Faversham: Faversham Society, 1996), pp. 383–412. Other rentals are Canterbury Cathedral Archives, U 33, late Elizabethan; CKS, U390/M39, 1621; U390/M40, 1631; U390/M41, 1638; U390/M43/2, 1653. I am grateful to Patricia Hyde and Duncan Harrington for making transcripts of these rentals available to me.

[15] P. A. Faulkner, 'No 6 Market Square, Faversham', *Archaeological Journal*, 126 (1969), 249–52. The interpretation offered here is slightly different.

[16] Hyde, *Thomas Arden*, p. 429.

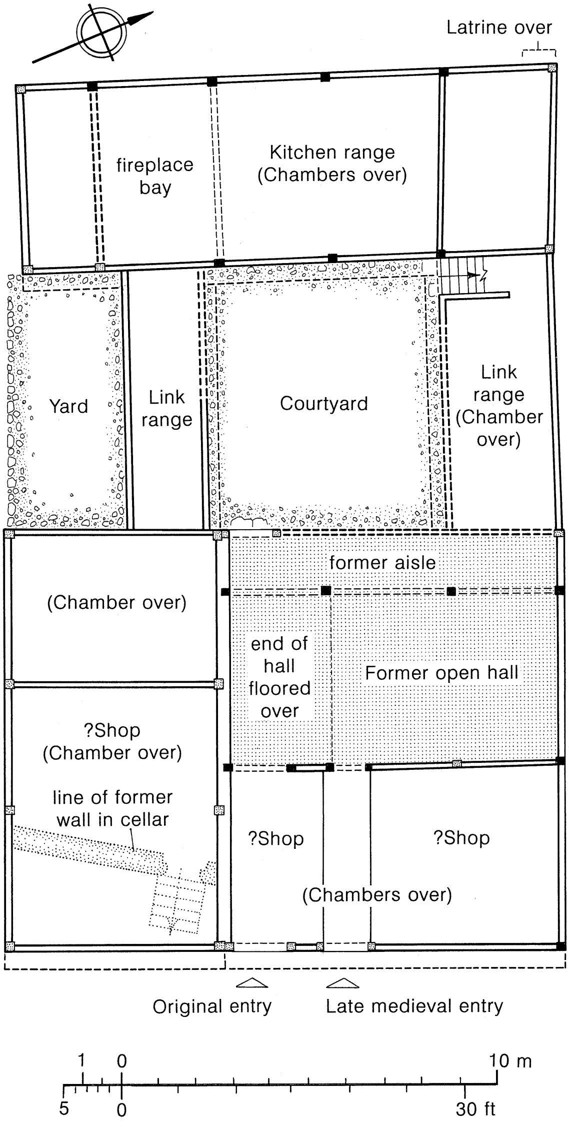
Latrine over
fireplace bay
Kitchen range (Chambers over)
Yard
Link range
Courtyard
Link range (Chamber over)
former aisle
(Chamber over)
end of hall floored over
Former open hall
?Shop (Chamber over)
line of former wall in cellar
?Shop
?Shop
(Chambers over)
Original entry
Late medieval entry
1
0
10 m
5
0
30 ft

Figure 1. 5 and 6 Market Place, Faversham.
Schematic layout of the Middle Ages.

of a louvre and of smoke-blackening in the roof. One room at the back of the courtyard, heated by a smoke bay, is likely to have been a kitchen — the only one to survive in either town — and presumably others were used for services. The narrow central range was added in the early sixteenth century with a ground floor facing the main court and a first floor facing the smaller court, and since it does little more than link front and rear it is possibly contemporary with the split into two properties. The finest detailing is found in the larger chambers on the first floor, two of the best having access to a former latrine in the north-west corner. The general impression is of a domestic building of some quality set behind a commercial frontage which could have been let out to tenants. But even here, as in less fully surviving buildings in the two towns, it is difficult to ascertain the functions of all the rooms — functions which may, of course, have changed from generation to generation.

Fragmentary remains of what may have been similar houses, with shops at the front and domestic space behind, survive elsewhere in Faversham market place itself, but twenty yards away houses have little evidence for shops, and the open halls lay on the street front, as at 39–40 Court Street (fig. 2). This building, refurbished in the late sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries and now forming three dwellings, was built around 1400 and seems to have started as a single property consisting of a small open hall flanked by two cross wings of two storeys to the left, and a single wing to the right. This generous use of street frontage is typical of houses throughout the town. Both here and at the contemporary and somewhat similarly planned 2–4 East Street almost no evidence for original functions survives at ground-floor level, but the structure above indicates open halls, formerly heated by open hearths, with well-decorated first-floor chambers in the wings. By the early sixteenth century both of these buildings were still in single occupation and had the only two malthouses listed in the town.[17] It seems likely that they were built around 1400 for wealthy Faversham merchants, and were still regarded as desirable residences and business premises a hundred years later.[18] The remains of at least five other substantial houses

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[17] The ownership of 39–40 Court Street in 1532 can be established by working backwards from eighteenth and nineteenth-century rentals and surveys; I am grateful to John Owen for making his work on these later documents available to me. In 1532 a messuage with a malthouse and garden was held by William Fylpott, a chamberlain and jurat of the town (Hyde, *Thomas Arden*, p. 399). The ownership of 2–4 East Street can be established from topographical evidence. In 1532 it consisted of a messuage, garden, and malthouse and was owned by the heirs of Robert Withiott, who had died in a house in East Street in 1512. He was mayor in 1506 and owned extensive properties in Faversham and elsewhere (Hyde, *Thomas Arden*, pp. 69, 153–54). Several other large houses dating to *c.* 1400 can also be associated with leading citizens in the early sixteenth century.

[18] By 1400 the demand for wheat in London had shrunk, to be replaced in part by trade in malted barley and dredge for the brewing industry (J. A. Galloway, 'London's Grain Supply: Changes in Production, Distribution and Consumption During the Fourteenth Century', *Franco-British Studies*, 20 (1995), 23–34, esp. fig. 2 and pp. 31–33). Although Faversham was not one of the major suppliers, the presence of these malthouses in 1532 suggests that some of the wealthier citizens were engaged in the trade.

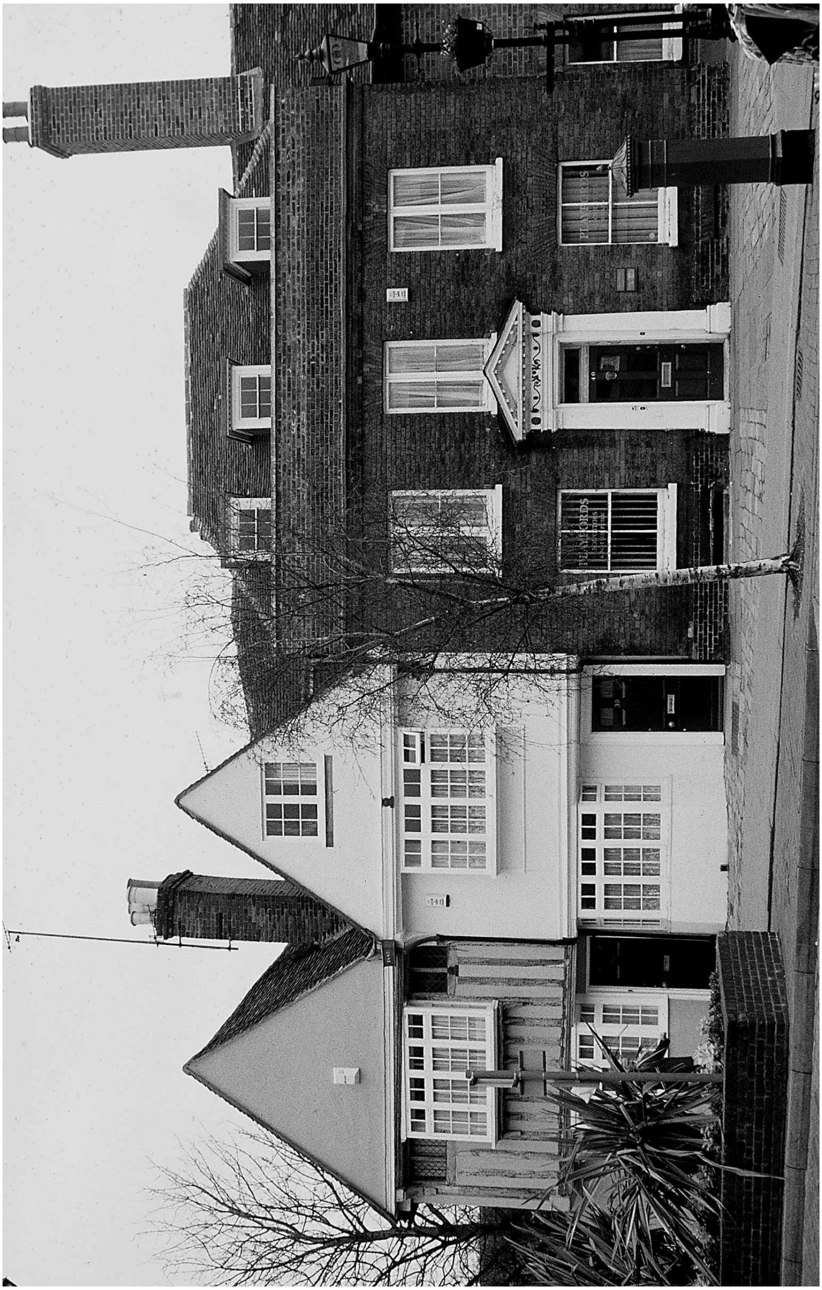

Figure 2. 39–40 Court Street, Faversham. Once a single house, with two cross wings to the left, and a small open hall and a two-storeyed cross wing behind the Georgian façade.

of this period in Faversham suggest that the period around 1400 was one of considerable prosperity for the leading citizens.

After the late fourteenth century, few buildings of similar pretensions were constructed until the late sixteenth century, although a number of smaller and later medieval houses can be found further along the streets leading away from the market place. The remains usually take the form of a small two-storeyed cross wing, occasionally with signs of an original shop at the front and small room behind, and evidence that an open hall once lay to one side, along the street. The open halls themselves were almost all reconstructed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when they were replaced by more up-to-date storeyed and jettied bays.[19] The linear layout of houses along the street is not unusual and is found in other small towns throughout the country, as well as in other members of the confederation of Cinque Ports, such as Lydd, New Romney, and Rye.[20]

Sandwich

The Sandwich evidence is of a different order, suggesting a busier and more densely packed urban centre. Here there was more than one commercial area. The river Stour forms the northern boundary of the town, and to its south Strand Street, which ran along the quay front, was lined on its south side with large merchant properties. Further south, houses clustered round the fish and grain markets, with more houses on the streets linking the waterfront to the market areas. To east and west, according to the street plan, there were later medieval additions to an original core, and in these parts only a few medieval houses remain.

Although the wine trade was important in Sandwich, commercial, street-front undercrofts of the type found in Faversham are rare.[21] Instead, fragments of several thirteenth-century, two-storeyed stone ranges survive, entered from internal courtyards (fig. 3a). They seem to have had high-quality first-floor rooms, lit by twin lancets, and poorly lit ground floors that were often set slightly below present street level. These are unlikely to have been commercial buildings since they are usually

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[19] Fifteenth-century examples are 15–16 Abbey Street, 10–11 and 48 Court Street, 1–2 Hugh Place, 75 Preston Street, 38–39 Tanners Street, and 7, 8–9, 10, 80–81, and 102–03 West Street. Others without open halls date to the early sixteenth century.

[20] E. W. Parkin, 'The Ancient Buildings of New Romney', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 88 (1973), 117–28; D. Martin and B. Martin, 'Rye and its Houses', in *Historic Buildings in Eastern Sussex*, vol. II, no. 3 (Robertsbridge: Rape of Hastings Architectural Survey, 1986), pp. 57–76; for Lydd, see S. Pearson, P. S. Barnwell, and A. T. Adams, *A Gazetteer of Medieval Houses in Kent*, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (London: HMSO, 1994), pp. 82–84.

[21] This may be connected with the topography, since the main part of the medieval town does not lie on the highest land, as it does in Faversham, but on low-lying land near the waterfront.

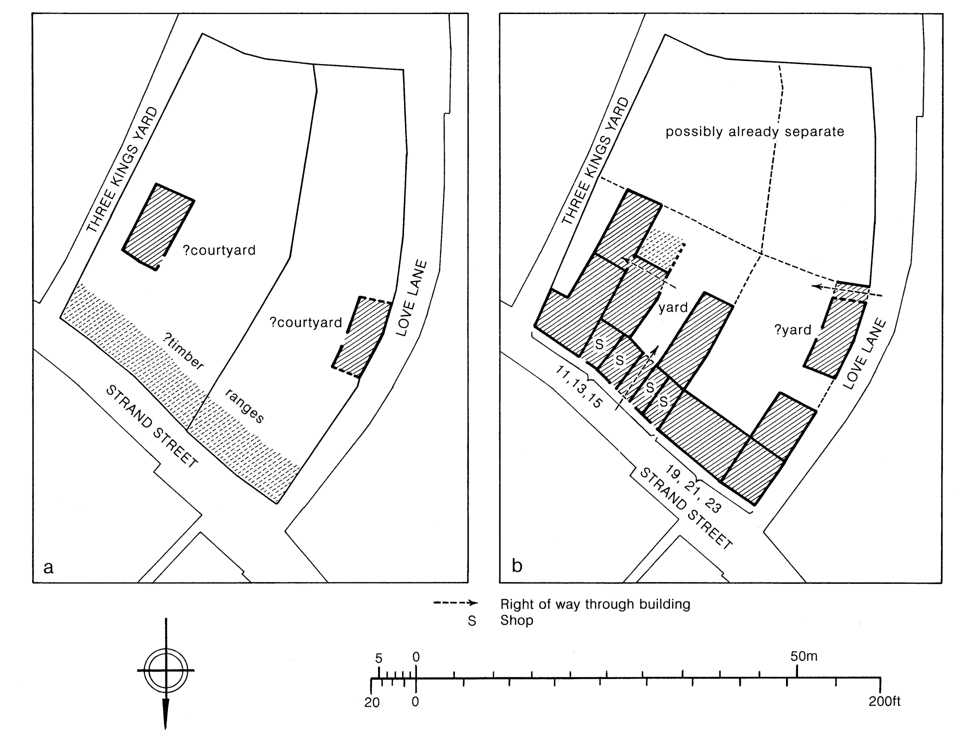
THREE KINGS YARD
?courtyard
?courtyard
LOVE LANE
?timber
ranges
STRAND STREET
a
THREE KINGS YARD
possibly already separate
yard
?yard
LOVE LANE
S
S
S
S
11,13,15
19, 21, 23
STRAND STREET
b
Right of way through building
S Shop
5
0
50m
20
0
200ft

Figure. 3. Part of Strand Street, Sandwich, based on 1873 Ordnance Survey map. a) Thirteenth century. Stone ranges remaining at the rear of each large plot. b) Early sixteenth century. The plots divided, with several late medieval, timber-framed buildings erected along the Strand Street frontage.

placed towards the back of the plots, and it is probable that they contained domestic solars over storage undercrofts. Nothing is known about what lay in front of them, but it seems likely that they were accompanied by timber-framed ground-floor halls, and that the street frontage was occupied by shops or smaller dwellings. In London and elsewhere in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries stone ranges were added to augment and upgrade larger premises, but archaeology has yet to establish the overall layout and sequence of development of large mercantile residences.[22] By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the surviving street front ranges were built, the formerly large plots in Sandwich had been subdivided into relatively narrow frontages.[23] Unlike Faversham, the timber-framed buildings in the centre of town were usually three storeys high and ran back from the street, rather than spreading along it, indicating that the pressure on space in the years before the Black Death continued to affect the layout of buildings long after the town had contracted.

The earliest timber-framed houses in Sandwich date from the early fourteenth century. Number 39 Strand Street has been tree-ring dated to 1334, and two or three other buildings on Strand Street are also likely to have been erected during the first half of the century.[24] Some Strand Street properties are known to have had private quays and been owned or occupied by wealthy merchants, and these are likely to have been among them.[25] The layout of these buildings seems to have remained standard for larger houses in the town throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, occurring not only in Strand Street, but also in the Fish Market (now Market Street) and the lanes between the two. The front ranges were three storeys high, the ground floors often containing shops or business premises with no access to the rooms above. Behind lay open halls of the same height as the front ranges, and behind that, further storeyed accommodation. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the standard arrangement found in houses of varying date. In order that the shop or workshop should not be

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[22] D. Keene, 'The Character and Development of the Cheapside Area', in J. Schofield, P. Allen, and C. Taylor, 'Medieval Buildings and Property Development in the Area of Cheapside', *London and Middlesex Archaeological Transactions*, 41 (1990), 178–93.

[23] I am grateful to Terry Slater for discussing the evolution of the plots with me. A different view of the early development of Strand Street and its buildings may be found in A. G. Southam, 'The Medieval Water-front of Sandwich', *Bygone Kent*, 1 (1980), 305–10, and E. W. Parkin, 'The Ancient Cinque Port of Sandwich', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 100 (1984), 189–216.

[24] A. J. Arnold, R. E. Howard, R. R. Laxton, and C. D. Litton, 'Tree-ring Analysis of Timbers from 39 Strand Street, Sandwich, Kent', English Heritage, Centre for Archaeology, unpublished report 97/2001.

[25] Leases in the Old Black Book of Sandwich, East Kent Record Office, Sa/AC 1, fol. 51, 29 June 1440, fol. 55, 20 July 1441, and evidence from wills: CKS, PRC 17/3/171, 1492; PRC 32/25/33, 1553. The wide wharves with later buildings along the water front, subdivided by narrow lanes running from Strand Street to the water's edge, resulted from successive reclamation (D. M. Palliser, T. R. Slater, and E. Patricia Dennison, 'The Topography of Towns 600–1300', in *Cambridge Urban History*, ed. by Palliser, pp. 153–86 (pp. 170–71)).

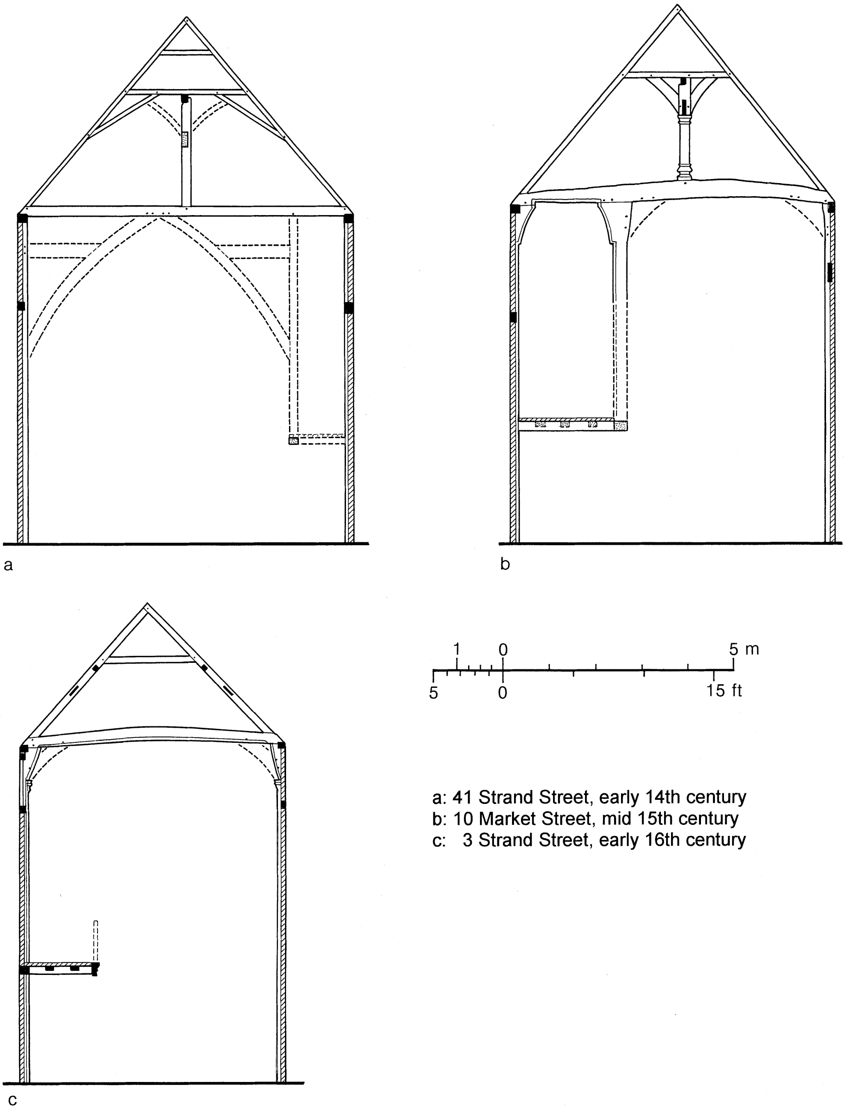
a
b
c
1
0
5 m
5
0
15 ft
a: 41 Strand Street, early 14th century
b: 10 Market Street, mid 15th century
c: 3 Strand Street, early 16th century

Figure 4. Cross sections of open halls in Sandwich, showing galleries.

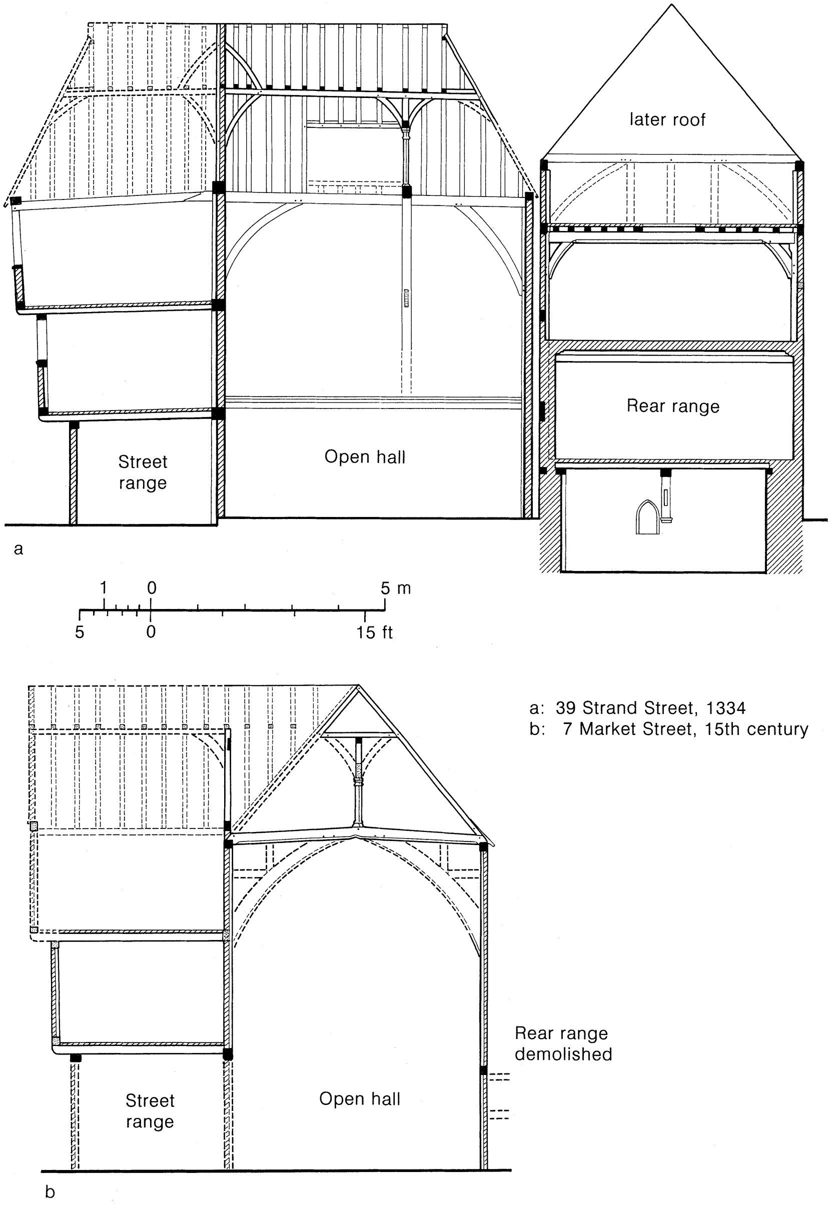
later roof
Rear range
Street
range
Open hall
a
1 0 5 m
5 0 15 ft
a: 39 Strand Street, 1334
b: 7 Market Street, 15th century
Rear range
demolished
Street
range
Open hall
b

Figure 5. Long sections of open-hall houses in Sandwich, illustrating relationship of the open halls and the storeyed ranges at front and rear.

cluttered up by stairs, the upper floors of the front range were reached by a gallery across the hall, accessed from stairs at the rear. The open halls, heated by open hearths (as the smoke-blackened roof timbers show), were thus sandwiched between front and rear ranges and, because of adjacent buildings, were lit by windows either high up in the walls or even in the roof space itself. Living in these open halls must have been like living in the bottom of a very large chimney.

What lay behind the hall is more difficult to deduce since the rear ranges were mostly destroyed in order to add windows to light the lower rooms when first and second floors were inserted in the halls in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. At 39 Strand Street (fig. 5a) the medieval rear range survives because the lower room in the old hall could be lit by a window opening onto a small courtyard. It was of three storeys, with a semi-sunken undercroft below. But at 7 Market Street (fig. 5b) and most other houses, where the later medieval plots were narrower and there was no chance of light from a courtyard, the rear ranges were destroyed and their height and form is unknown.

Since these Sandwich houses lie in the centre of the town, most are likely to have had shops or workshops on the ground floor at the front, but the functions of the rear range and of the upper floors at both front and rear are more difficult to deduce. The upper chambers are usually plain, the timbers unmoulded, and the original fenestration seldom survives. They could have been used purely for domestic purposes, but at 39 Strand Street, there is a gap in the joists between the first and second floors of the rear range (Fig. 5a), indicating a square central opening which is additional to the stair opening, and looks as if it was meant for hauling up large items.

In other buildings there is evidence that the upper storeys of the front range are also likely to have been used for heavy storage. A small, plain, late-fourteenth-century building at 6 King Street was probably erected as a storehouse rather than a house, since it has long undivided spaces on both ground and first floors.[26] Normally, the upper floors of medieval buildings were unceiled, the rooms or spaces being open to the roof timbers above, but in this building, and also at 1–3 and 21 King Street, heavy and almost certainly original joisting is set into the tiebeams at roof level, implying there was provision for storing heavy items in the roof space as well; these buildings may not have been dwellings, although the last two might have had shops on the ground floor. But a similar arrangement occurs above the second floor of 3 Strand Street, a three-storey building of *c.* 1500, whose moulded timbers and open hall lit by a fine arched window proclaim its main function as a house; while proof of third-floor storage above a dwelling is provided by 23 Strand Street (fig. 6), where a fourteenth- or early-fifteenth-century house was partly rebuilt in the early or mid-sixteenth century when the top storey was added. The upper floor is still lit by shuttered openings, set at floor level and undivided by mullions, from which one can infer that goods

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[26] Storehouses are mentioned in a number of fifteenth-century wills, e.g. CKS, PRC 17/3/269, 1480; PRC 17/4/47, 1485; PRC 17/5/90, 1495; PRC 17/6/39, 1495; PRC 32/3/268–9, 1490; PRC 32/3/326, 1492.

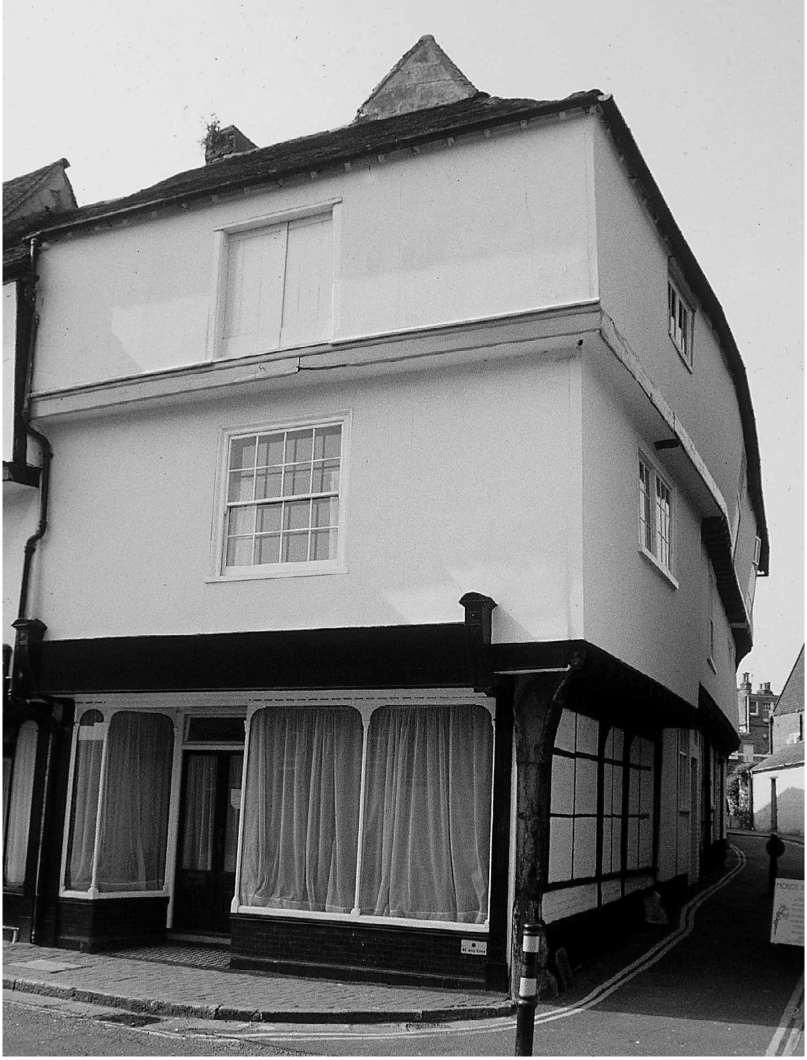

Figure 6. 23 Strand Street, Sandwich,
showing loading doorway on top floor.

were hoisted up from the street. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, wills from the surrounding region mention the storage of considerable quantities of grain in lofts in Sandwich, although it is unclear whether these lofts lay above houses.[27]

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[27] CKS, PRC 20/5/464; PRC 21/4/265; PRC 28/15/31. The storage of grain in Sandwich, sold to Sandwich dealers by larger farmers in the surrounding parishes, is discussed by Jane

Roof storage is well known on the European mainland, for example in Germany and the Netherlands, where gables towards the streets sometimes retain hoists. No surviving houses with evidence for externally accessed attic storage have as yet been published in England, although one or two examples may now be coming to light, and in London documents make clear that garrets were often used for storage, while early panoramas show warehouses along the river with hoists to bring goods up to the top storey.[28] In Sandwich, except at 23 Strand Street, the evidence is confined to the heavy flooring since the front section of roof towards the street has in every case been reconstructed, destroying any sign of original openings or hoists.

It is generally agreed that Sandwich was in decline by the second half of the fifteenth century.[29] But this was relative to its former prosperity, and while the volume of shipping using the port decreased, it did not cease altogether. In terms of its buildings, the highly unusual evidence for attic storage of more than domestic proportions suggests that commercial requirements remained significant throughout the Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century. If it was common to store goods within houses as well as in purpose-built storehouses, this would have had major implications for domestic accommodation. In houses with both front and rear storeyed ranges, storage would have meant mixed uses for rooms (i.e. chambers used for sleeping, as workrooms, and for storage), which is perhaps the most likely, or it would have limited the living rooms to the destroyed rear ranges. So far little indication about the layout of the domestic accommodation has emerged from the evidence of fifteenth-century wills, since the positions of solars or chambers can seldom be identified, while the more extensive information found in probate inventories is too late for the buildings under discussion.[30] The standard plans of rural houses, with parlour and service rooms at either end of the hall, and domestic details such as dais beams, service doorways, fancy window heads, or small doorways indicating the former presence of latrines, are largely absent in these two towns. They may have been destroyed, but there is also the possibility that rooms were intended to have mixed functions from the start, and that the diagnostic features of medieval rural houses were never present.[31]

Andrewes, 'Land, Family and Community in Wingham and its Environs: An Economic and Social History of Rural Society in East Kent from *c.*1450–1640' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1991), p. 217.

[28] Bonners, 37 Long Wyre Street, Colchester, Essex, of the early fifteenth century has an attic floor above shops and may have been used in a similar way; I am grateful to David Stenning for telling me about this building. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 81.

[29] Two recent studies which cite the literature on this are Bowyer, 'Kent Towns', pp. 164–65, and Andrewes and Zell, 'Population of Sandwich'.

[30] A large number of probate inventories for both Sandwich and Faversham have been examined by Catherine Richardson in 'The Meanings of Space in Society and Drama: Perceptions of Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy *c.*1550–1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1999).

[31] For plans and details of rural houses in Kent, see S. Pearson, *The Medieval Houses of Kent: An Historical Analysis*, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

In Sandwich, as in Faversham, fifteenth-century survivals tend to be smaller and more numerous than those from the fourteenth century. How many were purely dwellings and how many included shops or workshops is difficult to say, since in most cases the evidence for the original ground-floor front has disappeared. The row of buildings lining the east side of Market Street, formerly the Fish Market, today has modern shop fronts beneath Georgian façades. They are illustrated in figure 7 as they were in 1787 before the brick fronts were added. In fact, medieval structures dating from between the late fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries survive behind these façades, and the open hall of one, 10 Market Street, is illustrated in figure 4b. It is almost certain that these buildings incorporated shops in the Middle Ages, but no sign of this can now be seen.

Only occasionally do we have evidence for early shops. On the corner of the Cattle Market (formerly the grain market), a two-storey building of fifteenth-century date has signs of four small lock-up shops which can only have been entered from the street (fig. 8b).[32] A passage between two of them gave access to a very small open hall, measuring only 3.3m x 4m (11ft x 13ft), an inner room, and stairs to the first-floor chambers. It would appear that someone built the property as an investment, possibly letting out the lot, or perhaps living in the hall and chambers and renting out some or all of the shops to tenants who must have lived elsewhere. Lock-up shops are not unknown in other towns such as Chester and York, and an example built by the Palmers Guild in Ludlow in 1404 consisted of three shops leased to prosperous mercers, and a fourth, with access to the upper storeys, leased to a goldsmith, indicating that it was not only poor shopkeepers who rented their shop space.[33]

In other cases shopkeepers may have lived on the premises. Number 1 The Butchery is a late-fifteenth-century building consisting of two mirror-image tenements. Each has two ground-floor rooms, probably a shop and rear room, with two large chambers on the two upper floors. Unfortunately, the back wall of the building was

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(London: HMSO, 1994). The differences between rural and urban houses are discussed further in S. Pearson, 'Rural and Urban Houses 1100–1500: "Urban Adaptation" Reconsidered', in *Town and Country 1100–1500*, ed. by C. Dyer and K. Giles, Society for Medieval Archaeology monograph, forthcoming. Multi-functionality of urban space is also discussed by J. T. Smith, 'English Town Houses of the XVth and XVIth Centuries', in *La Maison de Ville à la Renaissance*, ed. by A. Chastel and J. Guillaume (Paris: Picard, 1983), pp. 89–98 (p. 95).

[32] The actual street walls have been replaced, but it is clear that there was no internal access to the shops.

[33] A number of shops of this type are discussed in D. Clark, 'The Shop Within? An Analysis of the Architectural Evidence for Medieval Shops', *Architectural History*, 43 (2000), 58–87. For Chester and York, see J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997), p. 183. For the Ludlow example, see D. W. Lloyd and M. Moran, *The Corner Shop: The History of Bodenhams from the Middle Ages*, Ludlow Research Papers, 2 (Birmingham: Studio Press, 1978), and for its date, see D. W. H. Miles and M. Moran, 'List 64, pt. 3. Shropshire Dendrochronology Project', *Vernacular Architecture*, 26 (1995), 68–74 (pp. 69, 71).

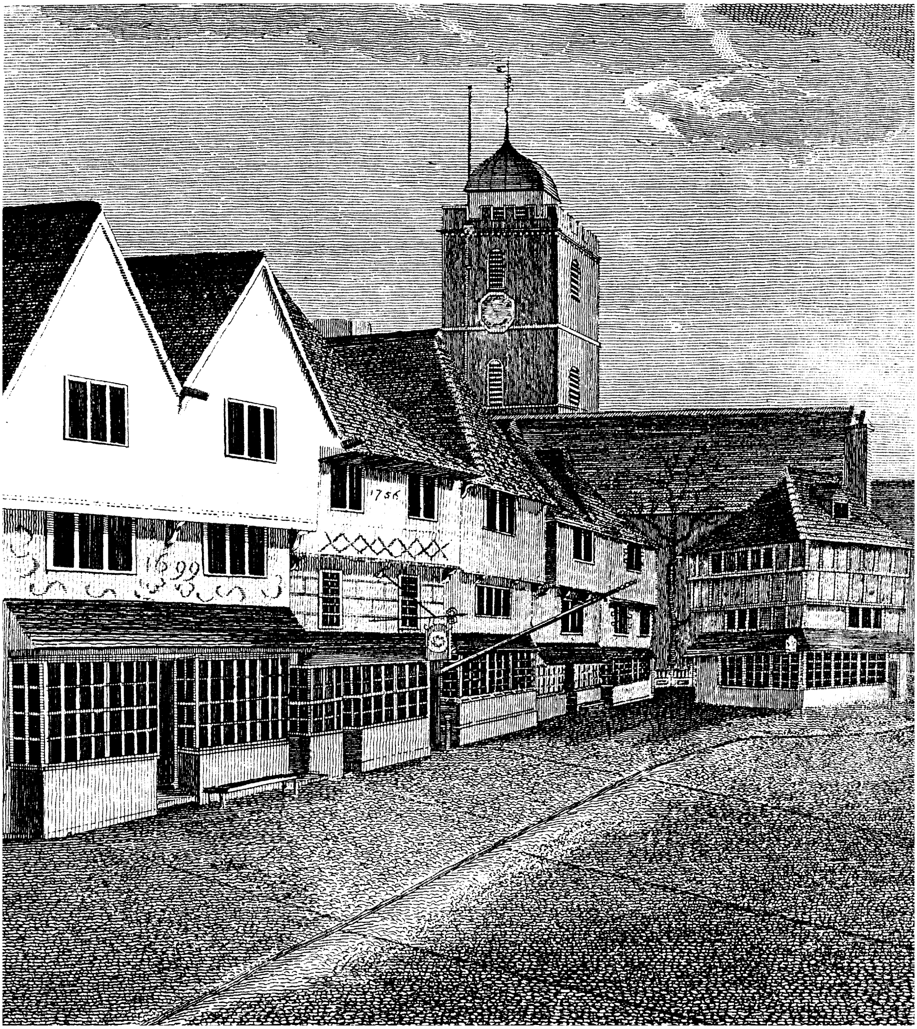

Figure 7. The Fish Market, Sandwich, 1787 (from W. Boys, *Collections for an History of Sandwich in Kent*, 1792).

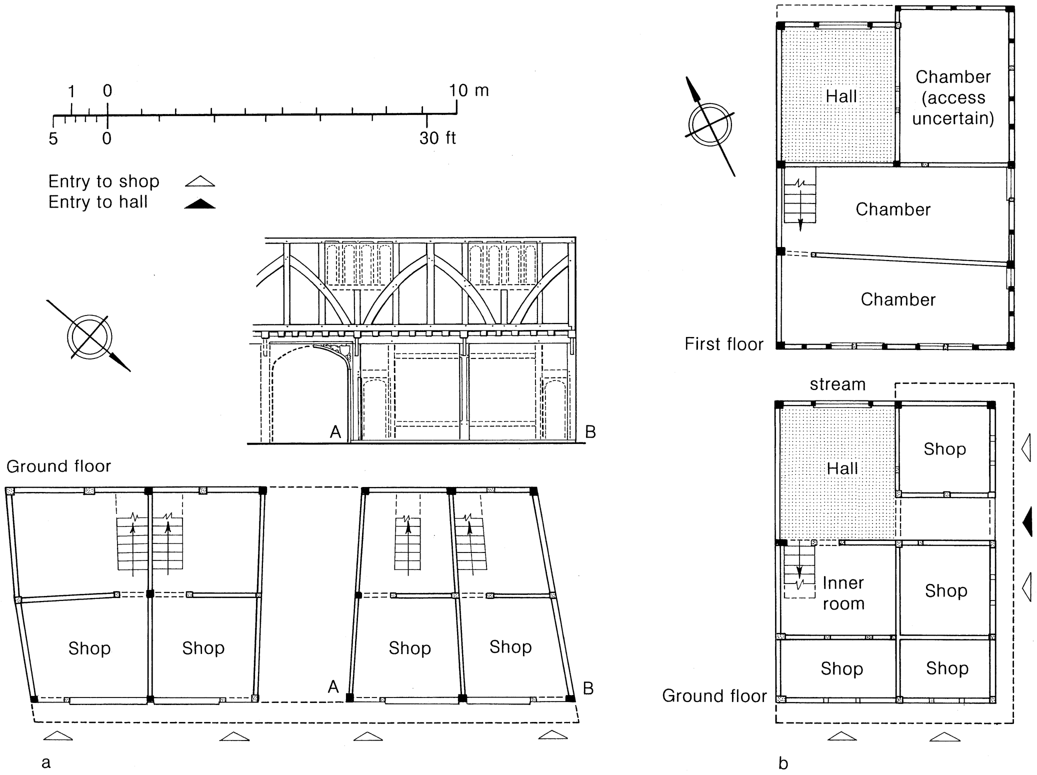
1 0 10 m
5 0 30 ft
Entry to shop
Entry to hall
A
B
Ground floor
Shop
Shop
Shop
Shop
A
B
a
Hall
Chamber (access uncertain)
Chamber
Chamber
First floor
stream
Hall
Shop
Inner room
Shop
Shop
Shop
Ground floor
b

Figure 8. Late medieval shop ranges in Sandwich.
a) 13, 15 Strand Street. Early sixteenth century. b) 11 Cattle Market. Fifteenth century.

rebuilt after a fire, so it is uncertain whether there could have been open halls behind. Testamentary evidence for butchers owning property in The Butchery indicates that several fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century testators had two houses there, sometimes definitely living in one, sometimes renting out both, and the surviving building perhaps represents the type of property referred to in their wills.

Several fifteenth-century testators left rented shops and tenements,[34] and a good example of this kind of property remains at the front of the originally large plot at 11–15 Strand Street (fig. 3). By the early sixteenth century, any earlier structures on this site had been partly replaced by a row of four shops in front of a contemporary but entirely separate courtyard property reached via a central archway. Enough of the street frontage survives to allow the front elevation to be reconstructed, with a large window and small doorway to each shop (fig. 8a). Each had a small, unlit back room on the ground floor containing the stairs, and a single first-floor chamber. The rear wall survives intact and there is no sign of heating or of access to the courtyard or rear ranges, suggesting that they were self-contained units. Whether the tenants lived above the shop is a matter for debate.

The question of how the less wealthy were housed raises issues that remain insoluble for want of evidence. It is clear that many dwellings had no open hall and how, or even if, they were heated is a problem. In London and Bristol, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century documents refer to houses, sometimes called ‘shop houses’, in which a hall, kitchen, and chamber lay above the shop, which suggests there had to be an integral chimney from the start.[35] However, very few small, storeyed buildings with early fireplaces survive,[36] and the absence of arrangements for original heating makes domestic identification of these structures uncertain. In King’s Lynn, shops with solars over them were documented in the early fourteenth century, but several surviving buildings, which would appear to fit the descriptions, show no sign of fireplaces.[37] A similar lack of evidence for chimney stacks occurs at Lady Row, Goodramgate, York, built in 1316, whose occupants in the late fourteenth century are thought to have been labourers.[38] In small buildings in Hertfordshire towns, where a number of shops have unheated chambers above, J. T. Smith concluded that the upper floors are more likely to have been used for storage and were never domestic.[39] On the other hand, citing surviving buildings as well as documentary evidence, Martha Carlin drew the conclusion that many of the poor had no heat of any kind and bought hot food from cook shops.[40] However, while many poor people may have been reduced to such circumstances in cheap, makeshift lodgings, it is surely unlikely that landlords hoping to make a reasonable income from rent would have deliberately constructed two- or three-room dwellings with no means of heating, specifically intended for such poor tenants yet substantial enough to have survived 500–700 years. Unless the upper chambers had been heated by braziers, for which documentary evidence is sparse,[41] buildings such as 13, 15 Strand Street are unlikely to have been erected for domestic use, and more likely to have contained associated storage above shops or workshops.

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[34] Among those mentioned in wills are a row of shops next to the house of a draper who died in 1453, CKS, PRC 32/1/62, four tenements referred to as ‘new built’ in 1459, PRC 32/2/118, and a pair of tenements in The Butchery, one of which was newly built in 1474, PRC 17/2/411.

[35] For London, see L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), pp. 432–34, 483–85. For Bristol, see R. Leech, ‘The Symbolic Hall: Historical Context and Merchant Culture in the Early Modern City’, *Vernacular Architecture*, 31 (2000), 1–10 (p. 1).

[36] One has been published at 16 Edmund Street, Exeter: D. Portman, *Exeter Houses 1400–1700* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1966), pp. 4–5, fig. X.

[37] Vanessa Parker, *The Making of Kings Lynn* (London: Phillimore, 1971), pp. 66, 127.

[38] P. Short, ‘The Fourteenth-Century Rows of York’, *Archaeological Journal*, 137 (1979), 86–136; Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *The City of York*, vol. V, *The Central Area* (London: HMSO, 1981), pp. 143–45.

In both towns, buildings continued to be erected throughout the Middle Ages, despite the fact that the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were, for Sandwich especially, a period of known economic decline. Older and presumably high-quality properties were demolished and replaced, often by buildings three storeys high — a type normally associated with major urban centres. There are twenty-two substantial investments in new building in Faversham between about 1450 and 1520, and twenty-five so far recorded in Sandwich.[42] The issue of building during periods of economic decline is not new.[43] It indicates that the reasons people invested in building were complex, and not necessarily a direct reflection of the overall prosperity of a particular place. It is possible that people at the time thought the economy would revive. But it is also likely that many of the new buildings, at least in Sandwich, were of a different type to those they replaced. Although some new fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century houses, such as 3 Strand Street and 7 and 10 Market Street (figs 4 and 5) are single houses which could have been intended for owner-occupation, others, such as 11 Cattle Market and 13, 15 Strand Street, were built for multiple occupancy and rental incomes. The Strand Street range occupies two-thirds of what had formerly been a single large plot. Obviously we do not know what it replaced, but by the sixteenth century the street frontage both here and on the similar plot next to it (fig. 3), had been rebuilt and divided into several occupations. It seems likely that by the later fifteenth century the wealthy merchants who had traded during the port's heyday, and who occupied these waterfront plots in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, no longer remained in Sandwich. However, such desirable sites did not remain vacant. The economy may have contracted, and the town itself may have shrunk (preliminary findings suggest that relatively few medieval houses remain on the outer streets that lay away from the centre[44]), but as the overseas merchants moved out less wealthy townsmen moved in, demolished buildings which were run down through neglect or unsuited to their purposes, and erected buildings which were intended to bring in small-scale investment typical of any regional centre. It is perhaps significant that two of the new tenement properties discussed here, in Strand Street and the Cattle Market, were only two storeys high, in contrast to the three-storey, fourteenth-century survivors, or the late-fifteenth-century houses which may have been erected for single occupancy.

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[39] The question of buildings without fireplaces has been discussed by J. T. Smith both in relation to small urban houses in Hertfordshire in *English Houses 1200–1800: The Hertfordshire Evidence*, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (London: HMSO, 1992), pp. 143–45, and more generally in 'English Town Houses', pp. 95–96.

[40] Martha Carlin, 'Fast Food and Urban Living Standards in Medieval England', in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Martha Carlin and Joel T. Richardson (London: Hambledon, 1998), pp. 27–51.

[41] Smith, *English Houses*, p. 5, n. 6.

[42] These numbers include major additions to earlier houses.

[43] Christoper Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 204, and *Making a Living*, pp. 298–313.

Conclusion

The buildings discussed here provide evidence for economic activity principally in the form of shops and storage space. They can also be used to show that Faversham and Sandwich were prosperous at different periods — for example the early-fourteenth-century timber-framed merchant houses of Sandwich are not matched in Faversham, where most of the larger houses date to around 1400; and while relatively large houses of mid- to late-fifteenth-century date may be found in Sandwich, they are absent from Faversham. In addition the buildings suggest that there were different degrees to the intensity of urbanization: whereas Faversham houses throughout the Middle Ages are generously laid out along the street and are never more than two storeys high, Sandwich houses, at least as surviving from the early fourteenth century onwards, run back from the street frontage and have a tendency in the centre of town to rise to three storeys, indicating greater pressure on the available space.

In addition the buildings can, at least in a limited sense, provide evidence for the way the people actually lived their lives. The precise use to which rooms were put can normally only be deduced from the smoke-blackening of the open hall, and from fittings such as door or window heads, moulded beams, paint, or panelling. In these towns, and in Sandwich in particular, the details largely reveal halls, shops, and storage space. The tenacious retention of the open hall suggests it played a critical role in the life of the household. It often occupied as much as fifty percent of the available space and, except in large residences where kitchens may have been present, it was probably the only heated room. In the Kentish countryside most surviving medieval houses had three or more other ground-floor rooms and at least two first-floor chambers. In the towns, while the larger properties had courtyards and several ancillary rooms, the majority of houses had more limited accommodation. One of the ground-floor rooms was often a shop, and chambers and attics are likely to have been used for storage. This suggests that the economic and domestic functions of the urban household were inextricably intertwined in the fifteenth century, and that there were few specialized, private domestic rooms. In the circumstances, the paucity of belongings and lack of association between object and place revealed by Richardson in the Sandwich wills is hardly surprising. By the late sixteenth century when Sandwich testators were leaving a wider array of goods, and exhibiting a stronger sense of possession and place, the buildings themselves were changing too. The open hall was being floored, extra rooms created, fireplaces introduced, and decoration applied to parlours and chambers.

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[44] Parkin, 'Ancient Cinque Port of Sandwich', pp. 211–13, suggests that the lack of houses in the outer areas was the result of destruction during the French raid of 1457, but it seems more likely that houses in the outer areas were always smaller and poorer, and that many of them were simply abandoned as the town contracted. In about 1560 just under a third of the houses in the town were unoccupied, and depopulation was especially marked in the western parish of St Mary's (Andrewes and Zell, 'Population of Sandwich', p. 81).

At first sight, the buildings may appear to give a different impression of prosperity from that presented in the wills discussed in the other two Kent papers. But closer inspection reveals that the sources are complementary and that the evidence can be reconciled — as indeed it ultimately must. Together buildings and written evidence provide a more complex picture, but one which leads to an increased understanding of medieval urban life.

Household Objects and Domestic Ties

CATHERINE RICHARDSON

Introduction

This essay seeks to understand attitudes towards the household and domestic practice through an analysis of testamentary bequests of objects associated with the functioning of the home. It is argued here that domestic practice defines groups of individuals who are aware that they share certain rituals: communities of persons who perform domestic tasks related to, for instance, eating and sleeping, in similar ways. Such groups could potentially be as large as whole towns, regions, or counties, or as small as nuclear kin living within the same household. Differences in the patterns of bequest of household items can suggest changes in the size and constitution of those groups, and therefore developments in the perceived meaning of household activities. Several types of change are identified here: in the level of dispersal of domestic bequests, in the types of recipient, and in the language in which the objects are described.[1]

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[1] Christopher Dyer's work on varying levels of affluence identifies broad changes in consumption in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 169–75. He introduces some of the key terms that this essay sets out to investigate, such as the significance of changes in 'standards of living', and how 'display' (p. 174) functions as a feature of domestic items. However, the approach taken here is only tangentially concerned with the interests of economic history. This essay does not seek to establish how and where objects are purchased, and it is only implicitly concerned with how families were able to finance those purchases. Instead, the issues that Dyer raises are investigated from the perspective of the significance of those objects for those who used them, bequeathed them, and received them. This focus is indebted to the methodologies and findings of recent anthropological work on objects. Arjun Appadurai's Introduction to *The Social Life of Things* (pp. 3–63), and Igor Kopytoff's chapter within it, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process' (pp. 64–91), both investigate the intersections of economic and affective

This essay's argument is concerned with relativity. It seeks to establish what the domestic might mean in different places, at different times, and in different documents, and the extent to which we can reconstruct contemporary impressions of change within the household from such variations. The essay analyses wills made by the inhabitants of the town of Sandwich, a port on the eastern coast of Kent, between 1460 and 1520. Chronological comparison is made possible by analysis of wills produced between 1560 and 1600. Such local studies are necessary if we are to build up a comparative picture of similarities and diversities of practice across the country, and beyond to continental Europe. Part of the task of this essay is to establish a meaningful set of geographical, economic, and cultural dynamics which impinge upon these testators' notions of household, and to assess the ways in which personal, local, and national issues interact with one another. Comparison between regions will make it possible to establish whether or not similar factors produce equivalent results in other areas.

Testamentary practice in Sandwich wills is also examined, therefore, in relation to the other two essays in this section on the nature of the Kentish household. Elisabeth Salter's essay in this volume provides comparative material for testamentary strategies in west Kent. She studies the town of Greenwich, close to London and with links to the royal court, the rapidly expanding port of Gravesend, and the small market town of Yalding.

Sarah Pearson's paper analyses the evidence provided by the considerable number of extant medieval buildings of Sandwich. Her work assesses the relationship between domestic, commercial, and storage space in an urban merchant community. The connections between our two papers raise important methodological issues about the possibility of integrating archaeological evidence with the textual information available for a described material culture.

Comparisons between different kinds of evidence make it necessary to be explicit about the information wills offer for a study of the significance of domestic life. Clearly, wills contain evidence about both personal networks and the objects which individuals owned, but they do not offer an exhaustive description of either. In the following analysis, wills are therefore utilized as sources of evidence about testamentary strategies rather than as records of household interiors. The notions of appropriateness that lie behind testators' complex methods of relating a series of physical objects to a group of individuals reflect the extent to which relationships are experienced relative to the routines and material culture of the household.

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value: *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Janet Hoskins's *Biographical Objects* suggests the importance of the role objects play in organizing subjects' attitudes towards their past, and makes the important point that a 'narrative autobiography' is alien to some societies, who instead think of their lives in relation to the material culture which surrounds them: Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (London: Routledge, 1998). The importance placed on the bequest of objects of all kinds in this period suggests the value of investigating the meanings which were attached to them.

As the will does not detail every object the testator gave to friends and relatives at or before death, those items that *are* recorded represent gifts of which it was thought important to have a lasting record. It may be that the objects described have a high economic or symbolic value in relation to others that are not mentioned. In any case, the process of writing the bequest into the document, and then reading that document aloud in various different situations, detached the gift temporarily from its everyday context. Each item bequeathed entered a symbolic framework of inscription which stressed its mediatory role between giver and recipient and its capacity to embody and stand for the quality of the bond between them. But it did so only in relation to the other objects that could have been given: each item is given meaning in relation to those that it is not, and this process of distinction becomes a structure in which human relationships too are differentiated. Such strategies are employed by individuals, but informed by communal values: they can be read for the interaction between personal choice and social norms. Methodologically, this necessitates a quantitative analysis of the evidence, complemented by sensitivity to the descriptive language employed in individual testamentary choices.

Sandwich and its Surroundings

Sandwich experienced economic decline in the late medieval period.[2] Apart from its vulnerability to attack from the French, the major economic problem the town faced was the silting up of its haven.[3] From about the beginning of the reign of Henry VII, when larger ships were no longer able to enter, the volume of goods carried into the port declined. Inevitably, foreign merchants followed the trade and left the town.[4]

In response, the town concentrated on the cross-channel carrying trade, especially with Calais, and the mayor and jurats introduced local taxes in order to maintain the haven.[5] However, taxation in a period of economic decline hit hard, and by the early sixteenth century the commercial value of property in the town had fallen due to rent arrears and decay of the housing stock.[6] This general spiral of decline led to an increased polarization of the rich and the poor in the town. The 1513 tax assessment suggests that there were few wealthy inhabitants. Twenty-eight men had goods of

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[2] Dorothy Gardiner, *Historic Haven: The Story of Sandwich* (Derby: Pilgrim Press, 1954), pp. 137–40.

[3] Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, pp. 137–40.

[4] J. Wallace, 'The Overseas Trade of Sandwich, 1400–1520' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1994), pp. 352–65.

[5] Wallace, 'Overseas Trade', passim; Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, pp. 195–201.

[6] Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'The Role of the Hospital in Medieval Kent' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1998), pp. 120–24, and her *Gift-Giving and the Spiritual Economy: The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, forthcoming).

£40 or more, and of these only eight were holders of at least £100 in goods. At the base of the pyramid of wealth, 248 were assessed at the lowest level of 4*d*.[7]

Alongside this objective version of the town's fate, constructed from urban and national records, stands the evidence for the relationship between the community and its surroundings in the wills of Sandwich's inhabitants. This is suggestive of the scale of economic operations in the port, and its associations with larger towns where inhabitants were likely to have been exposed to new types of domestic goods.

The wills depict a web of connections relatively isolated in geographical terms. Religious bequests outside Sandwich are, with very few exceptions, concentrated in east Kent from Canterbury eastwards towards Thanet. Apart from bequests to the large religious institutions of Canterbury, the majority of these gifts are to parish churches, and this is perhaps reflective of place of birth or previous residence on the part of the testator. The inhabitants of fifteenth-century Sandwich acknowledged few spiritual connections outside their immediate locality. Many individuals appear to have migrated to the town from a neighbouring region which is fairly well defined geographically.[8]

Individuals named by testators in their wills were located in a similar radius of Sandwich, with additional concentrations in the main towns: particularly Canterbury, but also Faversham and London, and a small cluster in Folkestone. The vast majority of the people referred to, however, lived in Thanet and the parishes surrounding Sandwich itself. Whilst those from the larger urban centres are considerably more likely to be mentioned as recipients of bequests, those concentrated in this local area also include feoffees and other business associates. These latter connections are clearly linked to the land and property holdings of the town's inhabitants.

The holdings that testators bequeathed outside Sandwich support this analysis. There are land interests around Faversham, Folkestone, Canterbury, and the Romney Marsh, and property in Doddington and Canterbury. In addition, in every parish surrounding Sandwich and in several of the Thanet parishes, Sandwich testators owned small parcels of land. The vast majority of these holdings were of one acre or less, the largest twenty acres, and most were likely to have been used for grazing. Eleven barns (including a wool barn and two storehouses), three stables, and a windmill further the impression of a large amount of fairly small-scale agricultural activity and a few slightly larger operations based in the parishes surrounding the town.

The majority of properties described and identified within the town itself were tenements or messuages accompanied by gardens. There are, however, several references to rows of tenements that were rented out, and a small number of wills which show that the testator had bought large numbers of tenements from a variety of named individuals. Properties were changing hands and even being built, but only by a few people.

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[7] Sweetinburgh, 'The Role of the Hospital', p. 123.

[8] Dyer's study of fifteenth-century west Suffolk wills produced similar results. He found 86% of places mentioned were within a twelve-mile radius, and the higher concentration of urban areas cited in his sample is mainly accounted for by large abbeys such as Bury St. Edmund's; C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 1994), p. 274.

Taken together, however, this testamentary evidence confirms that Sandwich was a town in decline, with narrow geographical and commercial horizons. The majority of its inhabitants appear to have been engaged in small-scale operations, but a few of the wealthier townsmen were taking advantage of economic deterioration to buy up substantial property holdings.

The Relationship between Different Kinds of Bequest in the Fifteenth Century

The bequests have been divided into categories in order to assess the relative importance of domestic gifts. An initial division by type of recipient (religious institutions, charitable subjects, and named individuals) is followed by classification of gifts to the latter by type (cash, land, property, clothing, household movables, books, cloth, crops, jewels, livestock, and tools).

Taking the fifteenth-century wills as a whole, donations to religious institutions form the most numerous type of bequest, accounting for 31.5% of all bequests. Household movables come next at 13.6%, followed by cash, land, and property, then clothing. Household movables were given by 35% of testators, whereas 99% made a religious bequest of some kind.[9] As these figures represent each individual item given, the large percentage of household goods is not surprising. These were rarely given individually, and many beneficiaries received parcels of considerable numbers of domestic items. In contrast, of course, the vast majority of testators only left a single property to each recipient.

The categories are necessarily somewhat artificial in their initial division of objects by type of recipient, and qualitative analysis demonstrates a small but instructive slippage between religious and household bequests. As a way of teasing out the complex associations pertaining to the domestic, it is worth considering these items in more detail. The vast majority of bequests to religious institutions were of cash, or livestock whose sale or rental would yield money. Some will makers named specific items which they wished to have provided for use within the liturgy, for example candles or vestments, but these would presumably have to be bought by their executors. For instance, Agnes Worttle's bequest of three copes of black damask to the parish church of St Mary's in 1498 seems unlikely to represent the passing on of items in her possession at death.[10]

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[9] Thirteen percent of the 231 testators were women. There is not space here to do justice to the gender differences within testamentary practice. In broad terms, however, 48% of women gave household items as opposed to 30% of men. They were considerably less likely to give those to members of their family, with 86% of items given outside it (47% for the sample as a whole). The kind of objects given and the groups in which they were passed on were, however, broadly comparable to male testamentary practices. For a sensitive analysis of gendered patterns of giving, see Martha C. Howell, 'Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai', *Past and Present*, 150 (1996), 3–45; for a more detailed assessment of the relationship between male and female practice in the later period covered here, see Catherine Richardson, 'Gendered Identities within the Household: Domestic Goods *c.*1550–1600', in *Contesting Identities*, ed. by Andrew Butcher (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming).

The bequest of a domestic item which has been owned and used by the testator in their lifetime operates very differently. In 1484 Cecily King left 'my best silver salt with a lid' to the church.[11] This suggests an interest in introducing a personal object into the sacred space of the church, a differently motivated intention to the provision of cash to provide objects used in worship. The Sandwich wills offer several such instances: Margaret Pyman and Joan Asplene give a diaper cloth each, John Pere asks for 'my best board cloth' to be given to the high altar of the parish church, Thomas Sole bequeaths a 'cloth of tapistriworke containing 3 yards in width and 5 yards in length', and John Langreg gives a little table to the high altar of St Peter's church in Sandwich.[12]

The best domestic items were clearly thought fitting as an offering to be used in the context of sacred worship. Such a gift strengthened the associations between an individual and his or her parish church (often the one in which they were to be buried). The movement of the object from its domestic to its ecclesiastical context made symbolic connections possible: between family home and spiritual home, between domestic ritual and the supremely binding ceremony of the Eucharistic communion.

This form of domestic bequest indicates a set of issues also pertinent when household gifts are given to individuals rather than institutions. Bequests link spaces, objects, and groups of people within and beyond the household. Because they are essentially pragmatic items, domestic objects must be considered by both giver and recipient in terms of their reuse, drawing connections between the past and future practices in which they are employed. This evidence demonstrates that testators were alive to such possibilities when choosing these objects as appropriate gifts.

Combinations of Household Bequests

The type of objects that individual testators chose to give and the combination of different items that they gave to each recipient are suggestive of their attitudes towards the household. One will itemized twenty-six household objects, the largest number of any category of bequest in a single document. However, 60% of those testators who gave domestic items left only one, two, or three bequests. These 'smaller' parcels do include bequeathal of the 'whole household' to wives, clearly a large bequest but not one which attends to the distinction between objects. Individual items frequently given are large and significant pieces of furniture, such as beds, and pieces of silver plate — in other words the most valuable objects which testators possessed.

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[10] CKS, PRC 17/7, fol. 18^{v}, 1498.

[11] CKS, PRC 32/3, fol. 1, 1484.

[12] Diaper cloths: CKS, PRC 17/12, fol. 120^{v}, 1517; 17/11, fol. 252, 1509; board cloth: PRC 17/4, fol. 128^{v}, 1487; tapestry PRC 32/2, fol. 375, 1476; table: PRC 17/14, fol. 226^{v}, 1519.

Those testators who gave more than one household item divided almost equally into will makers who gave only one category of object in their will as a whole — those associated with sleeping for instance — and those who gave a range of different items linked to diverse household routines and practices. Within the latter category, however, individual recipients were often given series of linked items, for example a bed, bolster, pillow, and sheet, or a dish, plate, saucer, and candlestick. Some testators *did* give their recipients a little of everything, but they tended to be individuals who left a very substantial amount of household bequests, and who left large numbers of every type of object to each of their beneficiaries.

Drawing together the threads of this quantitative evidence it is possible to see two types of testamentary practice: the bequeathal of individual valuable objects, and the passing on of parcels of several less valuable items. Testators who pursued the latter course can be further divided into those who gave only objects associated with one type of household routine overall, and those who only gave objects relating to a distinct routine to each individual beneficiary. Such groupings show a marked bias towards particular kinds of activity as their organizing principle, rather than the status (in financial terms) of the items given.

The groupings of objects are significant because they indicate a putative use for bequests, primarily stressing their pragmatic nature. But they also suggest that these testators saw less valuable household goods as falling into groups according to the central activities of the domestic environment — eating and sleeping. Of further significance here is the fact that descriptions of objects offered in the wills make no attempt to distinguish between items in terms of their location within the house: use, as opposed to the place in which objects are kept, organizes both the choice of item and the manner of its description within the formal text of the will.

Sarah Pearson's work on the standing buildings of the town suggests that the pressure on commercial space may have led to multifunctional domestic rooms within the household. This accords with testators' lack of concern with location as a significant way of describing and identifying objects. The two types of evidence suggest flexible domestic spaces whose nature was defined by use. Rather than passing on an awareness of the importance of household *spaces* for defining personal relationships, these individuals concentrate on domestic actions and rituals.

Recipients of Household Bequests

A comparison of patterns of domestic giving inside and outside the family makes it possible to analyse the way in which such gifts operated within testamentary strategies for strengthening kinship ties and other types of connection.[13] Numerically, land and property, taken together, were the most significant gifts given within the family. Household items followed this, and then money and clothing in almost equal amounts. Property and land clearly define a very important model of family ties through the protection of substantial assets within kin groups at death. Household objects, however, do not appear to be seen in these terms by the majority of testators and, importantly, were almost equally significant as gifts within and outside the family.[14]

Nor was the bequest of household items intimately bound up with the passing on of the properties which were such a key feature of testamentary provision within the family. Only 62% of testators who gave land or property also gave household goods, which does not suggest a clear correlation between the two types of bequest. Testators who owned property make little provision for their domestic objects to remain in the rooms in which they had been used by bequeathing both to the same individuals.[15]

A very small minority of individuals stress the ‘family history’ of the item they bequeath, making explicit connections between the object and kinship ties. The bequests include ‘a flat chest which was his mother’s’ and ‘the feather bed which was my father’s’.[16] But these are isolated examples, suggesting that testators as a whole were not concerned to position their domestic bequests in relation to family structures, and therefore did not consider such items important in the construction of family identity.

There are differences in the *type* of household items given within and outside the family, although this is a distinction that only affects certain categories of object. Within the family, the most common items are beds, followed by a proportion of all household goods, then the mazer, pot, sheet, coverlet, and salt.[17] Outside the family, the order is altered to sheet, platter, bed, coverlet, pot, and saucer.[18] Sheets (owned in some numbers, useful and serviceable, and often lacking overt associations with status) might have formed a pragmatic non-family gift. Objects like beds and pans were equally applicable to any kind of bequest.

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[13] It must be stressed, of course, that the non-family category represents all those individuals whose relationship with the testator was not described in the document, and whose surname was different to their own and those of their other stated kin. In other words it is bound to include individuals whose description as ‘non-kin’ would surprise the testator.

[14] Family bequests accounted for 53% of all household gifts.

[15] Nor is it possible to establish a consistent link between property owners and those who give household bequests, although such individuals were perhaps in a more stable position both financially and logistically (and therefore arguably in possession of a larger range of higher quality domestic items). Domestic giving, in other words, was not necessarily a feature of property-owning status, nor was it thought important to keep household objects and domestic spaces together by bequeathing them to the same recipients.

[16] CKS, PRC 17/6, fol. 43^{v}, 1494; PRC 17/7, fol. 184, 1499.

[17] The respective percentages of the total goods bequeathed to family members are 15.5, 11.3, 7.7, 7.1, 6.5, 4.2, 4.2.

[18] The respective percentages of the total goods bequeathed to those outside the family are 16.3, 8.9, 8.1, 6.5, 6.5, 5.7.

Within the family, the gifts given were in many ways fairly ‘traditional’ bequests. Beds, and the division of the household goods as a whole, are written into the discourses of provision for widows and have a clear, legal, transmissional value: they are modes of giving with widely understood social resonances. Made of a material with intrinsic value over and above its present form, silver items such as salts form bequests with both economic and pragmatic significance. In addition to their value, they are used in a much more self-conscious way within the household, on a set of occasions which are likely to have been out of the ordinary run of daily routine. The ability to make a division between exceptional events and habitual practice, to single out the former from the latter by the use of different kinds of objects, was a traditional indicator of status and forms part of the symbolic importance of silverware. Bequeathing these items ensured that the family could continue to practise such socially defining characteristics of domestic life.

The kinds of bequests made outside the immediate family, however, are arguably less conservative. Items for eating and sleeping permitted their recipients to change the way they lived within their households. They raised their standard of living by making variety possible. They permitted choice between alternatives by adding to the objects available to be used on each occasion. Along with more frequent changes of personal linen, the ability to change sheets regularly, for example, must have been both a marker of a better quality of life and a tangible way of experiencing it.

Geographical Comparisons and the Quality of Descriptions

Elisabeth Salter’s data for west Kent towns in the fifteenth century makes reference to a wider range of objects than those given in Sandwich. Sandwich testators only leave objects which are employed in the domestic routines of eating and sleeping. They never leave such items of furniture and furnishing as chairs or stools, curtains or cushions, objects which are bequeathed in west Kent. These divergences in practice indicate that Sandwich testators possess fewer such items, and (or) have a different conception of the type of goods which it is appropriate and desirable to leave at death.

Objects are also described in greater detail in west Kent and in a different *kind* of detail. In 1490 in Greenwich, for example, William Basse bequeathed ‘a green tapestry with portr[aites] of men and women on it’.[19] Sandwich testators do not in general employ such detailed descriptions, and they do not ascribe aesthetic qualities to their goods in such a markedly self-conscious way. A few complex wills belonging to wealthy individuals with large amounts of property do contain fairly detailed descriptions of household items, but these testamentary strategies did not permeate any further down the social scale.

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[19] PRO, PROB 11, 8/38/306.

Goods *are* distinguished from one another, and quite carefully. They are described as ‘greatest’, ‘little’, ‘round’, ‘pewter’, ‘of two gallons’, ‘broken’, ‘with a lid’, ‘plain’, ‘graven’, ‘with a band of silver and gilt’, for example. These common distinctions, of material and of size or capacity, make reference to use rather than to aesthetic embellishment. Nor do testators employ a rhetoric of qualitative distinction to draw attention to the relationship between different items in the same household. Only 7% of domestic bequests are distinguished in terms of hierarchies stretching between ‘best’ and ‘worst’ items, and the vast majority of those are ‘best’.

In other words, although they did note physical differences, most testators did not register the qualitative distinctions between goods. By describing an item as ‘best’, testators draw attention to the fact that they have at least two of the same thing, one of which is of better quality than the other. In Sandwich, however, such distinctions do not hierarchize the recipients in relation to one another because *only* the best items are given, rather than a scale of similar items in a detailed devolution of the household to a range of beneficiaries worthy of the ‘second best’, ‘third best’, or even ‘worst’ object.[20] Rather, the small amount of qualitative descriptions employed enable testators of all social groups to stress the fact that the objects they give are the finest available to them: in doing so they indicate the honour offered to the beneficiary by the gift.

Detailed distinctions between similar items are to be found in larger numbers in the bequests of clothing. Here, 22% of items are described in relative terms (best, second best, etc.), showing that such a language of distinction was available to testators leaving domestic items had they wished to employ it or had sufficient numbers of items to warrant it. Richer levels of description are also employed here: for instance Nicholas Harrington leaves ‘a gown of mustdevyll furryd with white lamb’,[21] and Thomas Clark leaves ‘my blue girdle harnessed with silver’.[22] Both domestic and clothing gifts are described in terms which express an interest in the material qualities of the object. The difference is in the level of description: Clark only leaves one girdle, yet there is probably more information here than is necessary to identify it in strictly pragmatic terms, no matter how many he possessed. Descriptive language welds distinction and aesthetic appreciation together into the image of the bequest.

In conjunction with the depression that Sandwich experienced in the fifteenth century, the household evidence can be interpreted as indicative of a particular type of domestic activity. It is simple in terms of ritual, of provisioning, and of aesthetics, appropriate to the economic conditions of a contracted, inward-looking town. The population lacked the connections to larger urban centres that would have given access to new types of possessions. Functional objects, with their connotations of communities of common household practice, were then passed on both within and outside the family, providing a flexible variety of ways of honouring ties by increasing the vocabulary, but not altering the language, of domestic routine.

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[20] Such descriptions are to be found in west Kent wills, and also in the sixteenth-century testaments for Sandwich.

[21] CKS, PRC 17/6, fol. 43^{v}, 1494.

[22] CKS, PRC 17/4, fol. 123^{v}, 1487.

Comparisons over Time

In the sixteenth century, Sandwich saw a brief period of prosperity at the start of Elizabeth's reign. The population grew from the mid-1570s, if only as a result of migration into the town. In 1561, a warrant allowed the settlement of between twenty and twenty-five households of 'strangers' fleeing Catholic persecution in the Low Countries. They were to be proficient in the manufacture of bays, says, or other types of cloth not made in England, and to introduce new skills into the town.

However, the ever-present problem of the silting up of the haven had now become so acute that two commissions of the Privy Council were set up in 1559 and 1573 to investigate possible solutions.[23] Throughout the 1580s and 1590s, the combined effects of increased military activity as a result of the Armada, poor harvests, economic decline, and instances of plague and other diseases took their toll, and the town was nearly bankrupt by the 1590s.[24] This decade seems to represent the nadir of a slow slide away from prosperity that had begun in the fifteenth century.

Wills for the inhabitants of Sandwich from the 1560s to 1600 show a markedly different pattern of domestic bequests to those of the previous century.[25] Numbers of testators giving household objects rose a little: 40% of sixteenth-century testators left household goods, as opposed to 35% for the previous century. In the context of Kent as a whole, however, this number is still low. In Faversham, for example, the percentage is 54% for the same period.[26] After the Reformation, bequests of domestic items to parish churches died out, indicating a fundamental underlying change in the conception of the community which domestic routines united.[27]

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[23] Zoe L. Ollerenshaw, 'The Civic Elite of Sandwich, Kent, 1568–1640' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Kent, 1990), pp. 10–11.

[24] Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500–1640* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977), p. 226, p. 242 for the effects of the plague in the 1590s; Ollerenshaw, 'Civic Elite', pp. 28–32, 82.

[25] Sixty-one testaments have been sampled, those which can be shown to relate to the inventories for the town with reasonable certainty. The criteria used were those of same name and coincident and anterior date.

[26] For a fuller analysis of the significance of domestic bequests in relation to the spaces described in inventories in this period, see Catherine Richardson 'The Meanings of Space in Society and Drama: Perceptions of Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy *c*. 1550–1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1999); Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming).

[27] The purpose of this study is to examine the broad changes in practice between a period before the start of the Reformation and one in the reign of Elizabeth. The ways in which a

The *relative* importance of those objects which were given altered between the centuries. In crude terms, the order of priority of bequests changed from bed, sheet, pot, household as a whole, and platter in the fifteenth century to spoon, plate, featherbed, chest, and bedstead in the sixteenth century. More testators had silverware to dispose of at their death, indicating increased levels of wealth. The bequest of items which traditionally marked elite status thus became more prevalent further down the social scale.

Most significantly though, testators left a much wider selection of domestic objects to their beneficiaries, a breadth which resembles patterns of giving in fifteenth-century west Kent. Chairs, stools, forms, presses, cushions, cupboard cloths, and curtains were all given in the later period. This suggests that the whole contents of the household was now regarded as suitable as a testamentary bequest, not just those objects which had traditionally been seen in such terms.

It also indicates that items linked with comfort, with embellishment, and with privacy were a focus of testamentary provision. Such goods are immediately indicative of evolving forms of domestic activity: actions which define social status through a sensitivity to different modes of behaviour within the house. These bequests, then, imply a shift in the type of goods owned by testators, and a consequent change in attitude towards the passing on of domestic items.

The nature of the space in which these new household activities took place had also altered. At some stage in the later sixteenth century, as Sarah Pearson's essay makes clear, some of the houses in the town had their halls ceiled over to provide more upstairs rooms, and their back ranges knocked down to let light into the new accommodation. The living space produced by such changes differed significantly in quantity and nature.

The inventories which exist for this later period explicate some of the changes which increased numbers of rooms made possible.[28] They show urban rooms becoming increasingly specialized in their use towards the end of the century: beds progressively uncommon in any room except the chamber for instance, and an increase in numbers of rooms making different kinds of physical privacy possible. Comparison with rural inventories demonstrates that this increasing specificity was, in contrast to a rural multifunctionality of space, still in place in 1600. Sixteenth-century urban testators, like their counterparts a century and a half earlier, evince clear ties with individuals in such outlying rural parishes. Their knowledge of the nature of houses outside Sandwich must have made the fact that they were at the forefront of change in their local area abundantly clear to them.

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shift away from the material preoccupations of Catholicism affected the meanings and circulation of domestic material culture is clearly an important question, however, one which might perhaps be partly answered by concentration on testamentary practice across the central period of change.

[28] The 291 inventories for properties in the town made between 1560 and 1600 have been analysed.

Three types of detailed description are employed in sixteenth-century wills to distinguish between items. There are occasional aesthetic descriptions of household items as rich as those Elisabeth Salter identifies in west Kent wills. For example, Alexander Cobb, a jurat of Sandwich, gives half a dozen cushions with 'birdes' on them to his brother Michael in 1585.[29]

Perhaps the largest increase, however, is in the use of locational descriptions to distinguish between objects: for instance Alice Wild leaves her son in law a joined table 'standing in the chamber wherein I now lie'.[30] One important reason for this change would seem to be the wish to bequeath a particular item — not 'a featherbed' but 'the featherbed that lieth under the bed that I lie on'.[31] Some bequests are also given on the understanding that they will not be moved from their present location, suggesting a new focus on the integrity of the domestic spaces with which the testator is familiar.[32] It is possible to connect this new specificity of bequest to a domestic practice that is for the first time closely associated with particular spaces.

Linked to this new specificity is a concentration on the affective potential of the objects given. Several items are given a family provenance, stated to have belonged to deceased parents or grandparents.[33] In all cases, these new forms of description suggest a shift from the generic bequest of a category of furniture to the specific bequest of a particular piece with its own individual associations.

The complexity of the sixteenth-century descriptions and identifications is suggestive of a proliferation of domestic objects and a converse concentration on individuality in the face of growing numbers of items. These shifts indicate a wish to foreground an altogether more emotive, mnemonic function for the domestic bequest through a personal and affective connection with living space. The developing tendency to bequeath whole rooms as they were at the testator's death also suggests an explicit interest in the maintenance of the status of the interior, in its 'fitting' decoration with objects appropriate to the position of its owner within society. Both individual items and their assembly into decorative schemes in rooms which functioned in new ways with respect to the comfort and privacy of their occupants contained information about status.

Crucially, these developments must be seen alongside a significant change in the beneficiaries of domestic objects. Whereas in the fifteenth century the relative ratio of bequests to family and non-family recipients was 56:44, by the later sixteenth century the balance had shifted much further to 85:15. The new objects which were being passed on by Sandwich testators, for instance curtains and cushions, were indicative of changes to domestic life directly connected to status, and the bequest of such goods was now firmly associated with the family.

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[29] CKS, PRC 17/46, fol. 323, 1585.

[30] CKS, PRC 17/47, fol. 375, 1589.

[31] CKS, PRC 17/41, fol. 208, 1570.

[32] For example William Gayny insists that the joined bedstead in the best chamber, a joined table, and all the glass and wainscot in his mansion house are to remain there for his heirs forever; CKS, PRC 17/51, fol. 299, 1596.

[33] For example James Pettyt of Sandwich gives his sister a chest that was their brother's, CKS, PRC 17/43, fol. 21, 1578; Alice Wilde gives her godson 'the chest that was his mother's standing at my bed's feet', PRC 17/47, fol. 375, 1589.

Conclusion

It is possible to identify a series of changes in testamentary practice in Sandwich between the fifteenth and the late sixteenth centuries. There was a clear shift to bequest of domestic items almost exclusively within the family; a wider variety of different types of goods were bequeathed; the particularity of those goods was stressed in the testaments (indicating emotive and mnemonic associations in addition to intended practical use); and the description of household items was in general more detailed.

It seems probable that fifteenth-century testators described domestic items in muted terms, and bequeathed such a relatively small range of them, because domestic practice in Sandwich was simple and had remained relatively unchanged for several generations. The objects therefore lacked connotations of changed status, their gift indicating instead an acknowledgement of mutual sharing in common, stable routines. The frequent bequests outside the family indicate a more open conception of household, one where individuals were united by an ideal of common human activity. It is possible, in other words, to see this straightforward domestic practice as a series of actions that stressed the similarities between individuals rather than demarcating the social differences between families. Bequeathal of the items that were involved in household routines may well therefore have been a cohesive element within the local community.

Sarah Pearson's work indicates that the houses in which the sixteenth-century testators lived had been altered within living memory, changes which are suggestive of a need for different kinds of living space either for practical or status-linked reasons. The inventories for similar houses in the town revealed a specificity of use of domestic space: a move towards rooms used for a single purpose. Integrating this evidence for living space with the testamentary material, it is possible to suggest that the changes led to a firmer association between objects and the places in which they were housed and used. The lack of these associations early on is indicative of a more multifunctional space where several different activities, perhaps domestic and commercial, were performed within the same room.

Until this point the question of whether the bequeathal of new items is likely to indicate recent ownership or merely changing notions of testamentary appropriateness has been left open. This point seems crucial, however, to an understanding of the relationship between testamentary discourses and testators' reactions to domestic change. The qualitative evidence of shifting levels and forms of detail appears to be central to this question. The articulation of detail in a will represents a form of display. As such, its use is indicative of self-consciousness and self-confidence, and it has a clear comparative element built into it. It suggests that testators understood their possessions as worth describing in such a way in *relative* terms, within their own community or in relation to preceding generations: that their pride in their possessions was generated by their sense of how exclusive ownership of such items was. Detail was most likely to be stimulated by novelty, and therefore change, because it is the quality and form of *new* goods to which testators are likely to be sensitive when describing them.

To say that this type of detail equals pride in objects, and that such considerations are most likely to be stimulated by an appreciation of novelty, is to accept a model of testamentary behaviour in which change leads to display. In the will then, novelty becomes intrinsically linked to the celebration of kinship and friendship bonds that the document represents. In late medieval west Kent and late-sixteenth-century Sandwich, objects (and the routines in which they are used) which were new to individuals' lifestyles offered the opportunity to honour relationships through a bequest: not a traditional bequest of the finest item owned, but a novel one of something never before experienced.

The essays in this section have demonstrated that this important change did not happen at the same time in all communities, even within the same county.[34] Instead, its development appears to have been governed by the relative insularity of the testator's community, and by proximity to or distance from London. In the sixteenth century, when these changes reached Sandwich, new types of domestic item were bequeathed almost exclusively to members of the family. They therefore connected domestic life to family ties, and defined family status within the community through the quality of that life.

Once domestic objects became linked to status, the impetus to bequeath them to one's close kin must have been strong. Giving them outside the family diluted the complex network of objects and their associated routines which placed households socially. The sixteenth century seems to have witnessed a partial shift, from objects used in essential human activities, which defined a community of common practice, to items indicative of a more mannered social existence. The latter worked against a shared understanding of domestic items as having a function and significance in essential human practice, replacing this instead with sensitivity to socially particularized processes. Between the two periods on which this study has concentrated, the meanings of household activities and the objects employed in them had changed considerably, and that change can be read as moving from inclusivity to social distinction, as domestic items became potent signifiers of status.

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[34] Neither was it linked directly to economic growth in the town. Sandwich was actually in decline when its testators began to produce complex descriptions of their goods. This suggests that processes of change in domestic life are fragmented and complex, and that they were probably appreciated as differences in practice within and between communities at the time.

The Medieval Peasant at Home: England, 1250–1550

N. W. ALCOCK

In an ideal world we would be able to see the medieval peasant in his home going about his affairs through the eyes of artists as precisely as in the well-known illustration of February from the *Tres Riche Heures du Duc de Berry*, showing peasants warming their feet at the fire.[1] Regrettably, apart from a very few such vignettes of household activities in manuscript illuminations, visual evidence is lacking. Furthermore, such images as do exist are almost exclusively of continental rather than English origin, so leaving unresolved any differences between lifestyles on opposite sides of the Channel. Other sources are therefore needed to identify and understand the furnishings, the lifestyles, and the activities in and around the peasant home — in the house itself, the subsidiary buildings, the croft (the enclosed yard immediately surrounding the house), and occasionally spilling out into the street in front. This essay attempts to paint these missing pictures: schematic plans of the homestead, vignettes of the life within it, and thumbnail sketches of its contents. In the three following sections, I call on three main strands of evidence from English documents, two relatively well known, the third much less used: retirement agreements, coroners' inquests, and early probate inventories. Between them, these sources show us the medieval peasant at home through his own and his neighbour's eyes and through ours, taking us into the house, seeing him and his family at work and play, and even lifting the lid of the cooking pot on the hearth.[2] The peasant houses themselves are now known, through dating and context studies, to have survived in far greater numbers and from a much wider social range than has previously been supposed. However, their evidence is discussed elsewhere and is principally used here to correct the sometimes stark impression given by the documents.[3]

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[1] Reproduced and discussed in Jonathan Alexander, 'Labeur and Paresse: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labour', *Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), 436–52. Alexander demonstrates that such images have an ideological agenda in the contrast between peasants and nobility and claims (p. 449) that they 'do not represent reality'. However, there seems no reason to doubt the actuality of the objects depicted, be they hearths, fences, beehives, or sheep-houses.

[2] The household as a unit, the group of people living within the home, is of less direct concern than its individual members who are referred to in these sources.

Retirement Agreements: The Home in Old Age

When a peasant became too old to farm his holding effectively or he died leaving an elderly widow, he or she might make an agreement, usually with their son, by which the holding was passed on in exchange for the use of part of the house, as a 'granny flat', together with a supply of food and clothing at an agreed rate. Such agreements reveal the components of the home, how they were laid out, and how they were being used, as well as informing us about apparel and diet. In particular, they identify very clearly the rooms and buildings to be found in typical peasant crofts.

Informal arrangements of this type must surely have been very common, but those made by manorial tenants were often recorded on the manor court rolls. No doubt it was wise to have a public record of the agreement as well as getting approval from the steward of the intended succession to the holding (which might or might not conform to local custom).[4] It is less well known that the same types of maintenance agreement were entered into by freeholders, as well as by manorial tenants. These were recorded in deeds rather than court rolls and are less easy to locate, although they are not particularly uncommon. One series of deeds for Wootton Underwood, Buckinghamshire, contains three such agreements.[5] In the first, of 1347, a widow,

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[3] See Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 160–69, and N. W. Alcock and others, *The Medieval Peasant House: Recording and Tree-Ring Dating Early Houses in the Midlands* (in preparation).

[4] Examples, particularly from East Anglia, have been studied by Elaine Clark and R. M. Smith: Elaine Clark, 'Some Aspects of Social Security in Medieval England', *Journal of Family History*, 7 (1982), 307–20; Elaine Clark, 'The Quest for Security in Medieval England', in *Aging and the Aged in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Michael M. Sheehan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), pp. 189–200; R. M. Smith, 'The Manorial Court and the Elderly Tenant in Late Medieval England', in *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives*, ed. by M. Pelling and R. M. Smith (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 39–61. Further examples are included in *Select Cases in Manorial Courts 1250–1550: Property and Family Law*, ed. by L. R. Poos and Lloyd Bonfield, Selden Society, 114 (London: Selden Society, 1997). See also P. Thane, *Old Age in English History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ch. 5. The evidence of diet given by these agreements is discussed in Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp. 151–60, and is not further considered here.

[5] San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, STG Evidences, Box 23/22; Box 24/10; Box 27/21. For urban examples recorded incidentally in the cartulary of the Hospital of St Bartholomew, London, see S. M. B. Steuer, 'Family Strategies in Medieval London: Financial Planning and the Urban Widow, 1123–1473', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 12 (1996), 81–93.

Juliana Rokeleye, received the solar and 'celer', with the chimney on the east side of the hall, and with free right of access, presumably through the hall. In 1358, another widow could use a chamber beside the door of the hall, and in 1379, Letice Webbe had an easement (access and use) in a 'seler' at the north end of the hall and in a chamber between the kitchen and the dovecote. She had the same two rooms as Juliana Rokeleye, but they were physically separated and the space was shared rather than exclusive. Letice also received an annuity of two marks and sustenance for a cow both in winter and summer.

The most typical arrangement in the court rolls is for the old couple or the widow to have a chamber and solar, as did Joan Recher in South Elmham, Suffolk, in 1407 and William Leche in Pinhoe, Devon, in 1423 ('*cameram cum solar' vocato* le Forthe chambre'). Similarly, in 1419, William Notte, a widower, surrendered his tenement in Wymondham, Norfolk, to his son, reserving a room and solar at the north end of the hall, with permission to warm himself at the hall fire. This was a substantial copyholding, for which the son had to pay an entry fine of three pounds; he also had to provide his father with a horse, saddle, and bridle to ride whenever he wanted, and to plough and sow four acres of land and keep twenty-four sheep for him.[6]

These agreements confirm the evidence of surviving peasant houses which, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, regularly have chamber bays with original rather than inserted floors; the *solar* in these texts implies an upper room, though chambers were more often on the ground floor.[7] The documents mention chimneys more frequently than would be expected from existing buildings, in which the hall hearth is normally the only early fireplace. The utility of a chimney in making the granny flat fully self-contained is obvious, and it may be that they were sometimes of light construction and might later be removed without leaving obvious evidence; this suggestion is perhaps supported by another agreement from Wymondham where, in 1427, a widow was given a room at the south end of the hall and could warm herself at the new tenant's fire, but he would also build her a chimney of clay.[8]

Sometimes only shared space is mentioned, rather than separate rooms. In the same village in 1407, John Whyting's widow was to have free entry, a place by the fire, and a bed. John also reserved for her one acre of sown land and six hens, a goose, and a cow.[9] Similarly, in Akeley, Buckinghamshire, in 1396, Richard Haukyn reserved a space for making his bed upon in the hall.[10] Other agreements suggest separate buildings. In 1291, at Girton, Cambridgeshire, Margaret at the Green could live in a certain solar in the court (*curia*) of Thomas Rodbaund, to whom she had surrendered a half-virgate holding. She could eat in the same house as Thomas and his family out of her own dishes, but he was to provide the same food as he had and bake bread for her when he baked for himself.[11] At Halesowen, Worcestershire, in 1281, a new house was to be built, thirty feet by fourteen feet internally, with three doors and two windows. Presumably, therefore, it had two rooms each with a window, a front and a back door, and a door between the rooms. This appears to be an explicit example of the 'unit system', in which more than one house stands within the same curtilage, normally occupied by related but independent households.[12]

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[6] Clark, 'Social Security', p. 318 (1407; 1419). PRO SC 6/168/3 (1423).

[7] For example, Christopher Dyer, 'English Peasant Buildings in the Later Middle Ages', *Medieval Archaeology*, 30 (1986), 19–45; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 167, though recent work indicates that upper floors appear rather earlier than indicated there. H. E. J. le Patourel, 'Rural Building in England and Wales', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. by E. Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 820–90. Upper floors are significant beyond just the increased living space and comfort they provide; the greater height of the house much enhances the opportunity for further modernization, thus making the later survival rather than rebuilding of the house more probable.

[8] Clark, 'Social Security', p. 319.

Occasionally, maintenance agreements are surprisingly complex. In another Norfolk village, Horsham le Faith, in 1439, widow Margaret Chapeleyn agreed with her son John that she would have a hall ('le newehalle'), a solar (*colarum*) adjoining the east end of this hall, the kitchen under the roof of the new hall, access to the bakehouse to brew four quarters of barley with John's malt-kiln (*torall'*), half of 'unum golfstede' in the west part of the grange, the stable at the west of the messuage beside Felmyngham's house except during St Faith's fair when John was to have it (surely to rent it out for visitors' horses), free access to the well to draw water and to the garden to visit her bees (*pro apibus suis visitand'*), possession of a cow, a pig, a cock, and six hens, and John was to repair the buildings. In turn, John had free access into the solar (*solarum*) held by Margaret, in order to enter the other solar held by John (presumably the upper floor was divided between them), and access to the kitchen under the roof of the new hall.[13] This text comes as close as any of these agreements to showing us a village house in full use.

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[9] Clark, 'Social Security', p. 311.

[10] *Select Cases*, ed. by Poos and Bonfield, no. 87; Haukyn also had a 'house by the King's highway', presumably a small building for storage or a shop.

[11] J. A. Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 72, 237.

[12] R. K. Field, 'Worcestershire Peasant Buildings, Household Goods and Farming Equipment in the Later Middle Ages', *Medieval Archaeology*, 9 (1965), 105–45 (p. 126). Evidence for curtilages containing two buildings has led to disputed interpretations, either as examples of the unit system, or as main houses with detached kitchens. See J. T. Smith, 'Detached Kitchens or Adjoining Houses', *Vernacular Architecture*, 32 (2001), 16–19 and references therein.

[13] Norfolk Record Office, NRS 19509, 42C2 (31 March 1439); abstracted in Clark, 'Social Security', p. 319, but here corrected from the original. The *colarum* might be interpreted as a cellar (as by Clark), but the *solarum* mentioned later is clearly the same room. The multifunctional bakehouse is also of interest. Later documents reveal that whatever such service buildings were called, they had a variety of roles, baking, brewing, washing, and so on.

Coroners' Inquests: Tragedies in Peasant Homes

For vignettes of the occupants themselves at work and at play within and around their houses, we can turn to the medieval coroner's rolls. These were used extensively by Barbara Hanawalt in her book *The Ties that Bound*, for which some 3100 inquests were examined from rolls relating to six counties in eastern England.[14] Here I go beyond that volume's largely statistical analysis of the material, to examine the detail of a few of the fascinating if tragic incidents recorded in these rolls, using citations from published texts and from the original rolls. The rolls mainly date from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and ceased to be produced in the 1420s; although records of later inquests do exist, they are extremely difficult of access.[15] Thus, because most surviving peasant houses date from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards, many of the buildings in which these tragedies took place could have been simpler in character and organization than standing examples. The rolls include reports of felonies and homicides as well as accidental deaths, but it is especially the latter that reveal members of the household going about their daily activities; they locate these concerns within the home, upstairs and downstairs, inside and outside, and they identify its homely furnishings.

The felony inquests sometimes expose the structure of the house. Thieves regularly broke through its walls, as at Renhold, Bedfordshire, in 1267, while in Salford, five years later, they broke the willow rod which held the door shut. This fragility could work in reverse — when Richard le Clerk's house was attacked by thieves, he went into the chamber (clearly on the ground floor), shut and presumably barred the door, broke a wall, and went out to raise the hue and cry.[16] The house of William Bretetoun at Farndish was a bit tougher; the felons had to use a ploughshare to break the wall.

The deaths by misadventure show the household briefly interrupted by a sad sequence of accidents: inside by fire, scalding, crushing, or falling off ladders, and outside by drowning, falling under carts, spiking by pitchforks, stabbing by playfully thrown knives, or shooting by stray arrows. From the inquests, we can see that in the hall the hearth invariably had a pot of water heating on it, and the floor was straw-covered. The fire was a regular hazard particularly to children. Six-month-old Joan Rose was lying by the hearth in a house in Stone, Buckinghamshire, in 1362, when the leg of the brass pot of boiling water on the hearth slipped off the stone it stood on, and she was scalded. The pot was forfeit and was valued at 2*s*. A few years later at Benyngton, Lincolnshire, two chickens wandering around the house caused straw to catch fire, burning little Aliana. At Fullready, Warwickshire, in 1384, a pan full of water standing on a tripod over the fire tipped and scalded John son of Thomas Smyth.[17]

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[14] B. A. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). The most extensive coherent series of inquests in print is *Bedfordshire Coroners' Rolls*, ed. by R. F. Hunnisett, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 41 (Streatly: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1961); a wider ranging selection is in *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls: 1265–1413*, ed. by C. S. Gross, Selden Society, 9 (London: B. Quaritch, 1896).

[15] R. F. Hunnisett, *The Medieval Coroner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961). Inquests dating from after 1420 are scattered among the records of Kings Bench and the only edited examples are for Sussex: *Sussex Coroners' Inquests: 1485–1558*, ed. by R. F. Hunnisett, Sussex Record Society, 74 (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1984–85).

[16] *Bedfordshire*, ed. by Hunnisett, nos 22, 98, 100, 224. The obligation to 'raise the hue and cry' (*hutesium et clamor*) in pursuit of a felon was legally required of villagers, who could be fined if they failed to do so.

Heating in bedchambers (as opposed to the hall) appears as an urban characteristic in the inquests (despite the evidence from the retirement agreements just discussed for chimneys in solars and chambers), recorded in Salisbury in 1381 and in West Smithfield, London, when coals set fire to the beds.[18] However, candles caused accidents in bed-chambers everywhere, as when in 1364 Margery put her candle on the 'gable' (meaning tiebeam?) of her room in Coventry and it fell down and burnt her bed with her in it; the same misfortune in 1322 set fire to the bed in which a whole family were asleep, Robert and Matilda and their sons, William and John, killing Robert and William. A less predictable accident befell Agnes Scryvein when she fell off the stool she was standing on to take down the candle and impaled herself on the spike of a yarn winder, suggesting also that the place for spinning was the chamber.[19]

Ladders and stairs could also have fatal consequences. John le Long of Dean in Bedfordshire fell off the ladder he was climbing up in order to steal a ham hanging from a beam. The owner of the house would have needed the same ladder to put the ham there in the first place, very likely hanging 'in the roof', smoking above the hall fire.[20] The accident to Elizabeth Mitchell (aged thirteen), of Hills (Horsham, Sussex) took place when she fell from defective stairs (*gradus manquos*) near (or in) the parlour at the upper end of the hall, onto a knife she was carrying with some bread and cheese for a meal.[21] She was apparently a servant and so was most likely going up to her chamber or work-place, rather than fetching the food from a store room.

The most dangerous household activity seems to have been brewing — people fell into the vats of boiling water when they were adding meal or taking out water. Isabel Sherman was unlucky when she was climbing up the ladder beside the vat to get more wood from the upper room, slipped, and scalded herself. The vats seem to have been extremely large, and two in manor houses were valued at 18*d*. and 12*d*. respectively, while an ordinary domestic one was worth 4*d*.[22] Outside the house, the well in the courtyard often lacked a proper kerb, and it exerted a fatal fascination for children — and also for others. Two Bedfordshire cases are interesting because they also show that baking went on in outdoor ovens in the thirteenth century — something which neither archaeology nor the investigation of standing buildings has recognized. Emma Sagar of Sutton took a bundle of straw into the courtyard to heat the oven and fell into the well. The same year, 1276, Geoffrey at Souldrop heated his oven in the courtyard, put his food in the oven in the courtyard, went to wash his no doubt sooty hands, and found his three-year old son drowned in the well.

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[17] *Select Cases*, ed. by Gross, p. 39. PRO JUST 2/78, m.1, 10 January 1374. PRO JUST 2/188, m.3, no. 5

[18] *Select Cases*, ed. by Gross, pp. 52, 106.

[19] PRO JUST 2/182, m. 2; JUST 2/106, m.1, cited in Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound*, p. 152; JUST 2/189, m.2d, cited in A. Gooder, *Criminals, Courts and Conflict* (Coventry: Coventry Arts and Heritage, 2001), p. 12.

[20] Cf. the discussion of Robert Arden's inventory below.

[21] *Bedfordshire*, ed. by Hunnisett, no. 282; *Sussex*, ed. by Hunnisett, no. 156 (1551).

[22] *Select Cases*, ed. by Gross, p. 91. *Bedfordshire*, ed. by Hunnisett, nos 13, 35, 266.

Children's play was also usually outside, in the yard or the village street, as when Alfred shooting at a target on Goldinton Green managed to hit Maud, sitting at her mother's door, in the eye. A particularly graphic picture of children comes from Sussex, where a bored thirteen-year-old, John, son of Thomas Onley of Pulborough, was sitting by the fire in the kitchen, heating the end of a small spit in the fire (a bird spit) and burning holes in the chimney post. Alice Benett, his father's fifteen-year-old servant, who was sitting on a stool sewing, told him to stop or she 'wolde tell his father therof'. He refused, she ran at him to take the spit away, and impaled herself on its end.[23]

Standing Buildings and Probate Inventories: Peasant Homes

The impression of peasant homes given by the coroners' inquests is of strictly utilitarian buildings and fragile walls, chickens wandering in and out, hams hanging from the beams, and pots of steaming water on the hearth. However, the evidence of standing buildings shows that this was not the whole story. In areas such as Devon, Kent, Shropshire, or Suffolk, where the local economies seem to have taken off in the late medieval period, money was spent on the comfort and appearance of houses.[24] Although such evidence is not the main theme of this essay, a few examples are included as a corrective and to set the stage for the discussion of lifestyles. Exceptionally, one Warwickshire inquest from 1390 demonstrates the same concern for appearance. Thomas Tyller was working for Thomas de Stonley, decorating and whitewashing (*decorand' et dealband'*) the latter's house in Warwick; he had his ladder balanced against the trestle and fell off, killing himself — the ladder and trestle were worth 6*d*. together.[25]

Coming to one of the more sophisticated peasant houses, for example in Devon (fig. 1), you could enter through an impressively carpentered doorway. The hall roof

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[23] *Bedfordshire*, ed. by Hunnisett, nos 228, 236, 44 (1272); *Sussex*, ed. by Hunnisett, no. 127 (1545).

[24] See, for instance, Sarah Pearson, *The Medieval Houses of Kent: An Historical Analysis* (London: HMSO, 1994); Jane Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997).

[25] PRO JUST 2/188, m.1, no. 2.

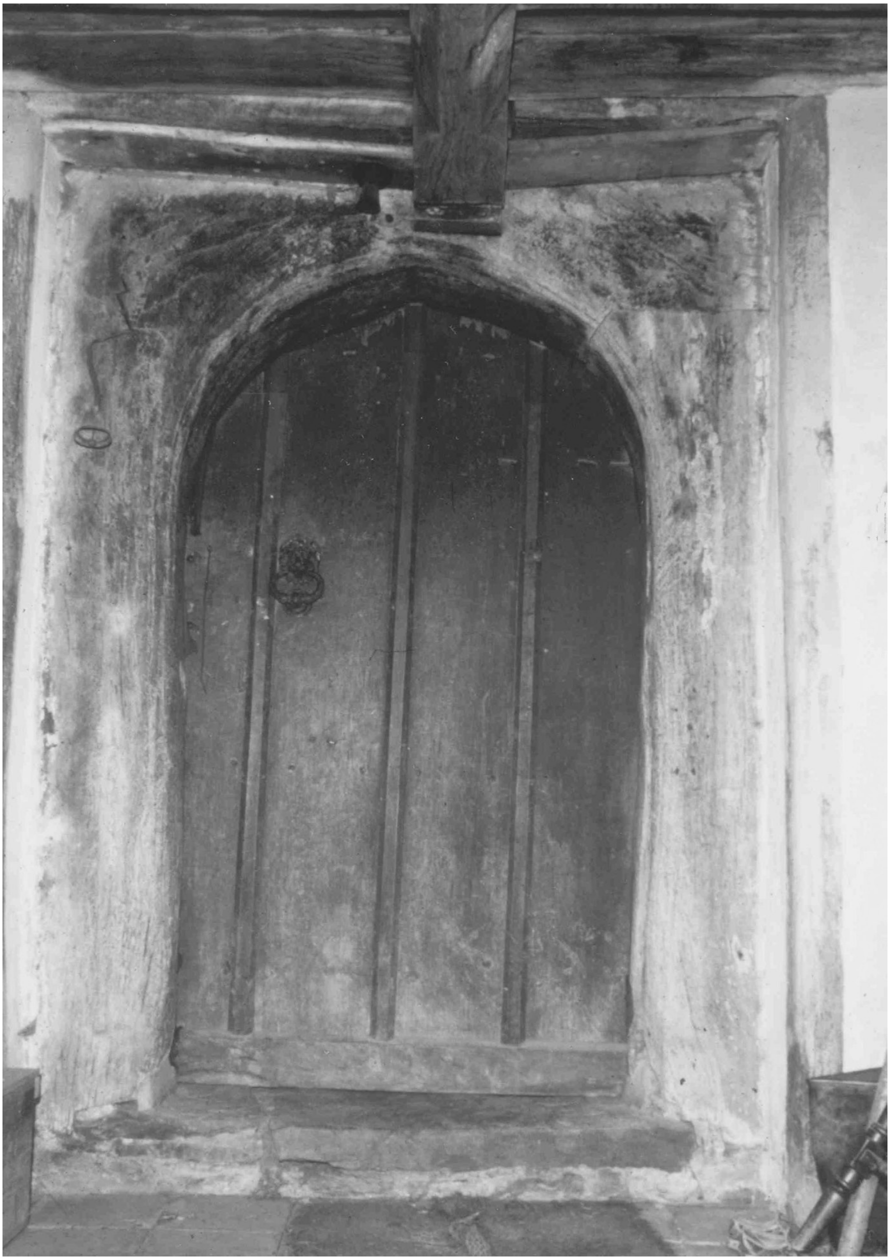

Figure 1. Entrance doorway, Badlake, West Anstey, Devon, early fifteenth century (photo: N. W. Alcock)

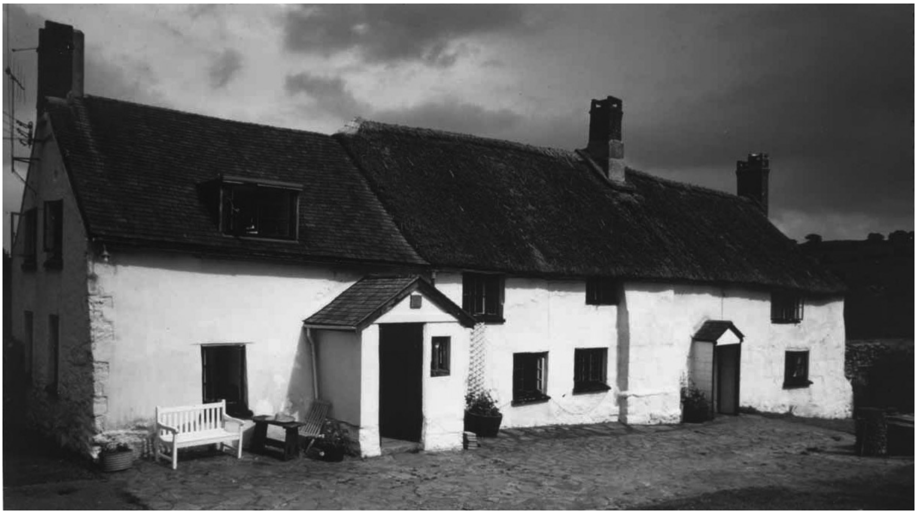

Figure 2. Hobhouse, Drewsteignton, from the west (photo: N. W. Alcock)

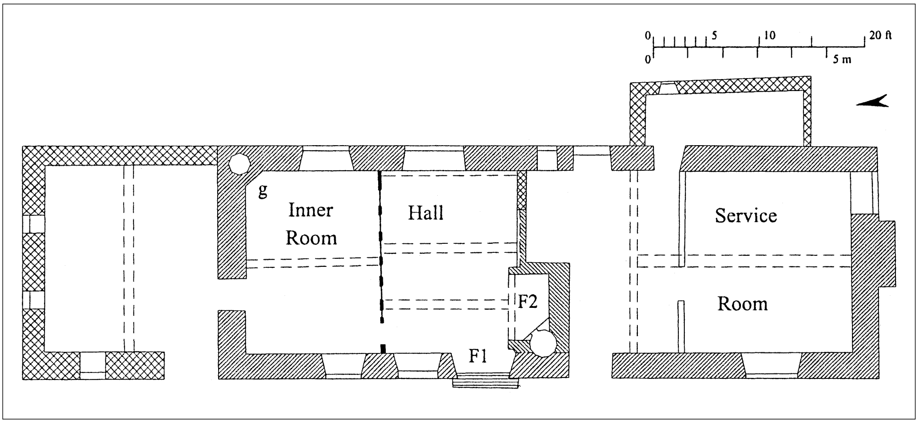

Figure 3. Plan of Hobhouse, Drewsteignton (drawing: N. W. Alcock). The hall was originally open to the roof (which is smoke-blackened); the first fireplace (F1) was inserted before the hall was ceiled and had a very high lintel; when the upper floor was inserted, this could no longer be used and it was converted into a stair (since removed), with a new fireplace at F2. In later changes, another room was added at the north end and a lean-to at the rear, probably for a dairy. Following nineteenth-century conversion into cottages, the doorway between the hall and the service was blocked.

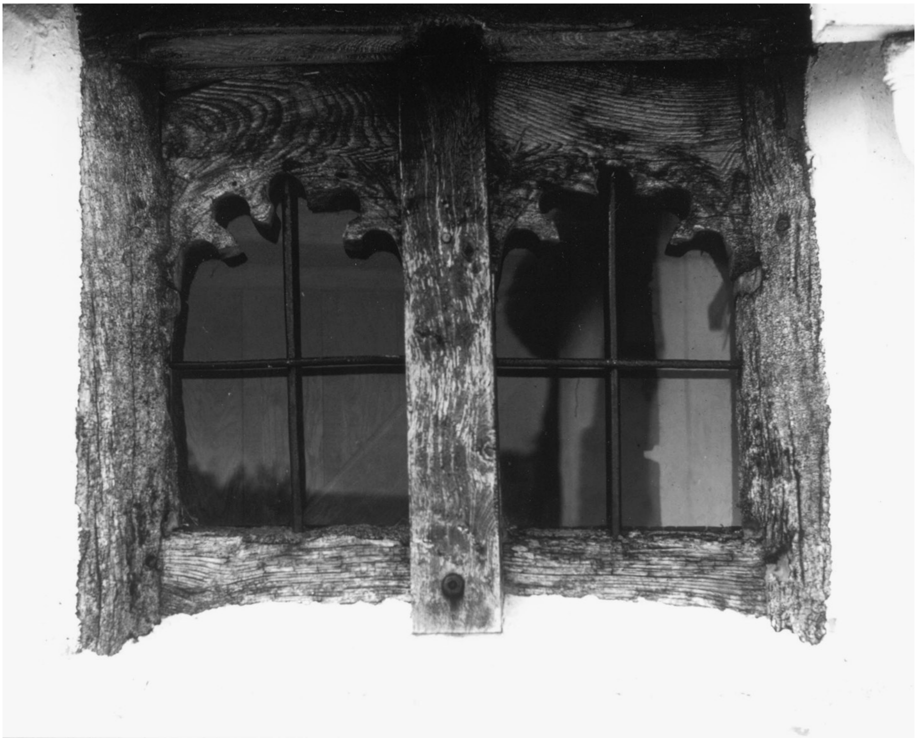

Figure 4. Hall window at Hobhouse, Drewsteignton (reset) (photo: N. W. Alcock)

might have an elegantly carved crown-post, or wind-braces with cusping, and its sooty thatch dimly reveals decorative designs;[26] sometimes, even, your best upstairs chamber has its own crown-post, or a rustic version of a corbelled fireplace. A smartly finished panelled wall backs the hall high-end bench, and above this, perhaps, the solar is jettied out with decorated beam-ends, creating a simple dais canopy.[27] As a specific example, we can take a simple house set on the fringes of Dartmoor, Hobhouse, Drewsteignton (fig. 2). It has a standard plan with three rooms in line, an inner chamber with solar over, an open hall, cross-passage, and service room (fig. 3); although it was not a 'longhouse', in which the cattle were housed in the room beyond the cross passage, its plan form and the orientation down the slope suggest that it may have been rebuilt on the site of one, perhaps at the end of the fifteenth century. The wooden window of the hall (a feature that rarely survives) has sophisticated cusping (fig. 4). The plan shows a curious cut-off corner to the ground floor chamber, and the reason becomes apparent on entering the solar: a corner garderobe, with its original door (fig. 5). Thus, some aspects of this peasant family's lifestyle would not have been out of place in a wealthy manor house.[28]

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[26] Jo Cox and John R. L. Thorp, *Devon Thatch* (Exeter: Devon Books, 2001), pp. 50–52.

[27] Examples of most of these features are illustrated in Pearson, *Medieval Houses of Kent*, and *Devon Buildings*, ed. by Peter Beacham (Exeter: Devon Books, 1990).

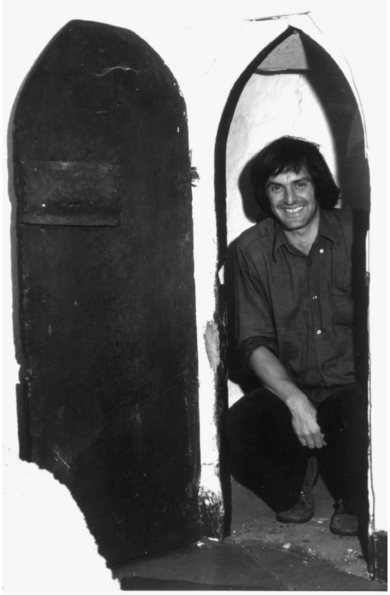

Figure 5. Solar garderobe at Hobhouse, Drewsteignton (photo: N. W. Alcock)

We know about these decorative features because they were durable, but others which have vanished — painted decoration, hangings, chairs, chests, and cushions — could also have been much more than simply utilitarian. To find out in more detail about peasant life in these houses we need to discover how they were furnished. On very rare occasions, archaeology can help, as at another Dartmoor house, Dinna Clerks, which burnt down in the years around 1300 (fig. 6). Under the wattle and daub hood, collapsed onto the granite hearth stone were found three pots and two wooden platters, while another pot (perhaps to hold water) was half-buried in the floor; a further group of pots were found in the inner room whose size and shape suggest dairy use.[29] Although the furniture (which must have been of wood) was not located, the position of the hearth would just allow space for benches against the side walls. The table must have been nearer the cross-passage (perhaps along the length of the room). These would leave little room for sleeping in this area, indicating that the family must have slept in the inner room, with bedding perhaps set against the end wall.[30] The absence of any fixed division between the domestic part and the animals in the byre is typical in longhouses of this period.

Such excavation evidence is too rare to be widely useful. A few inventories for medieval peasants have survived which list their possessions — but some include only the *principalia*, the items that belonged with the holding, while others apparently exclude these. Thus, when Robert Oldman, the reeve of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, died in 1349 without heir, and his belongings were forfeit to Merton College, an inventory

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[28] For example, Margaret Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London: Bracken Books, 1983), chapters on doors, windows, and garderobes.

[29] Guy Beresford, 'Three Deserted Medieval Settlements on Dartmoor', *Medieval Archaeology*, 23 (1979), 98–158; discussed by S. Moorhouse, 'Non-dating Uses of Medieval Pottery', *Medieval Ceramics*, 10 (1986), 85–123.

[30] This end is only three metres (nine feet) wide, too narrow for an upper room with usable headroom to be at all likely, considering the normal proportions of these houses; the wider byre could have had a low hayloft over it.

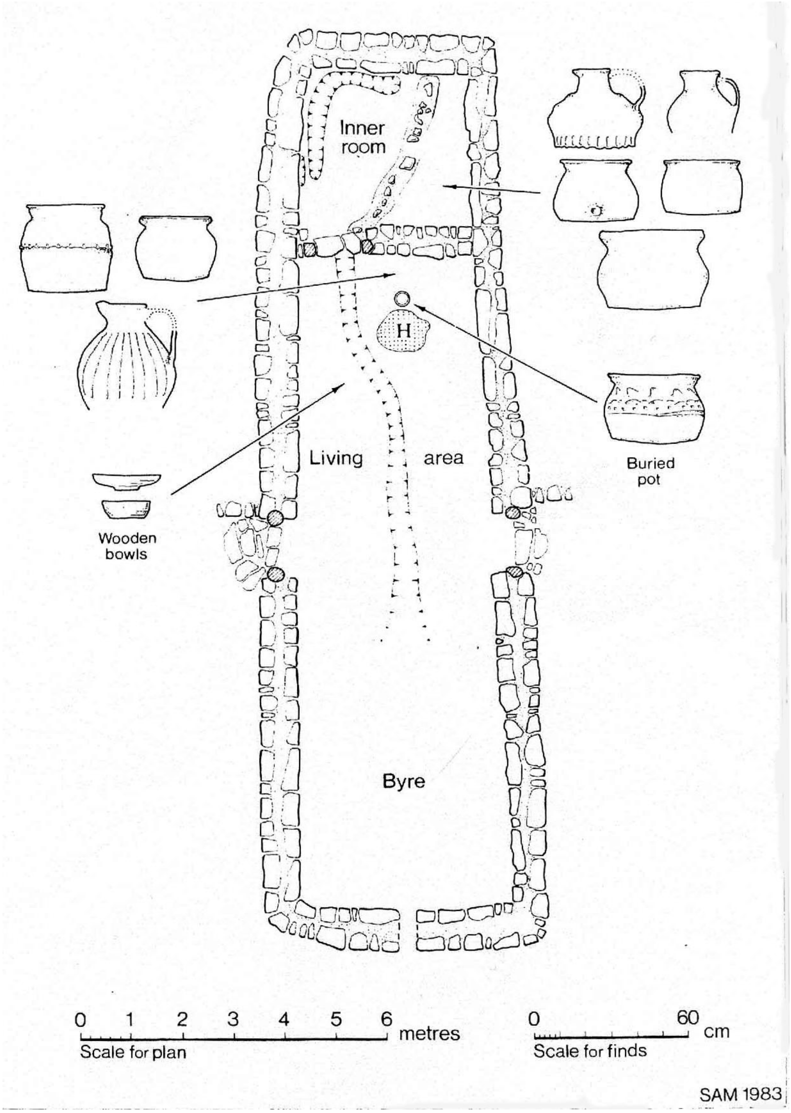
Inner room
Living area
Byre
H
Buried pot
Wooden bowls
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 metres
Scale for plan
0 60 cm
Scale for finds
SAM 1983

Figure 6. Excavation plan of Dinna Clerks, Widecombe-in-the-Moor, Devon, from Moorhouse, 'Medieval Pottery'.

names no bed, table, or chair; these were probably among the *principalia*.[31] Other inventories (on the coroners' rolls) are those of the confiscated possessions of felons, most of whom seem not to have had much more than the clothes they stood up in. What all these inventories lack are any room names; in the medieval period, these are generally found only in the occasional documents relating to manor houses or larger gentry houses.

Exceptionally, probate inventories from Warwickshire (studied mainly for the parish of Stoneleigh) start using room names from the beginning of the inventory series in 1532, with the first Stoneleigh example being from 1537.[32] Of course, these stand at the very end of our period, but there are two reasons for seeing these as medieval houses still furnished in medieval style. The first is the obvious one, that change is a slow process. Probate inventories, made after a person's death, usually document the belongings of elderly people. So, the last change to the main furnishings might have been twenty to thirty years earlier. Secondly, and more importantly, these inventories show a distinctive pattern of lifestyle in comparison to the changing material culture which has been found for the later sixteenth century. Most notably, there was almost no correlation between size of house and prosperity. We find three-room houses (the commonest) for everyone from labourers to yeoman tenants of sixty acres. In contrast, by the end of the century, status and house size are strongly correlated.[33]

What we find in the earliest inventories (up to 1560) are the following types: houses with two rooms (seven examples), all with *hall* and *chamber* (or *parlour* which appears to be a synonym); houses with three rooms (six examples), all with *hall*, *chamber* (or *parlour*), and *kitchen*; houses with four rooms (seven examples), all with *hall*, *chamber* (or *parlour*), and *kitchen*, four having an extra *chamber* (or *solar*), two a *buttery*, and one a *workshop*.[34] As a direct comparison with these house rooms, a Stoneleigh manor court roll for 1481 lists the rooms of four houses requiring repair. One of these comprised *hall* and *chamber*, two had *hall*, *chamber*, and *kitchen*, and one *hall*, *chamber*, *kitchen*, and *bakehouse*.[35] The almost perfect correspondence to the rooms named in the inventories buttresses the inference that the houses inventoried in the first half of the sixteenth century closely resembled those of the later fifteenth century.

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[31] *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, circa 1200–1359*, ed. by P. D. A. Harvey, Historical Manuscripts Commission Joint Publications, 23 (London: HMSO, 1976), no. 49; see also P. D. A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[32] These have contributed to a study of village lifestyles over a much longer period: N. W. Alcock, *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village, 1500–1800* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993). Elsewhere in Warwickshire, inventories with room names are much rarer, but some have come to light.

[33] Alcock, *People at Home*, p. 54

[34] The terminal date for this tabulation is chosen to include the relatively large group of inventories from the late 1550s, resulting from the influenza epidemic of these years.

[35] Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Record Office (SBT), DR18/30/24/17. In the fourth house, the bakehouse is listed after the barn and oxhouse and so was presumably a detached building.

The contents of these rooms as listed in the inventories allow us to look at peasant lifestyles in more detail. Thomas Hobley's inventory of 1538 names two rooms: the hall and the bedchamber (Appendix, no. 1). The contents seem to be just what would be expected. The hall contained a table, a chair, forms, a cupboard or aumbry ('umbre'), and cooking equipment. The bedchamber contained a bed, bedding, and linen. The next example (Appendix, no. 2) is that of Robert Arden of Wilmcote, dated 1556, who had three rooms: hall, chamber, and kitchen. If we look rather closely at his three living rooms, we see something unexpected. The hall contained a table, chairs, forms, a cupboard, painted cloth, but *no* fire fittings, so this hearth was only for warmth and not for cooking. The chamber contained a bed and linens, coffers, but *no* chair or cupboard. The kitchen was rather well equipped, and included two cauldrons and two skillets, as well as the pot-hangings, the spit and the cobirons ('cobbardes') [spit supports] to hold it, pots and pans, and dishes, but *no* cupboard, table, bench, or stool. In this case, we can identify his actual house, Glebe Farm, Wilmcote, which has been tree-ring dated to 1513/14.[36] A reconstruction of its frame (fig. 7) shows how the house worked: from the far end, the chamber (probably, though not certainly, floored); the hall, which by 1556 had been extended to take in the adjoining service room (shown before this alteration); and the kitchen, placed unusually in a cross-wing, and with stone walls at the ground-floor level. Both the hall and kitchen roofs are heavily sooted. Interestingly in relation to the inventory, the kitchen is large, of two bays rather than a single bay; the inventory runs seamlessly on from the spit and cobirons to the carpenter's tools, back to the pails and quern, and then on to more tools. So, this room seems to have doubled as Robert's workshop. It is also worth noting the entry for *bacon in the roof*, typical for a house with an open hearth, though its position at the end of the inventory leaves us uncertain whether it was hanging over the hall or the kitchen.

The final inventory example (Appendix, no. 3) is for Humphrey Hylles of Hurst in Stoneleigh, also dying in 1556. He had been a tenant since before 1522 and had grown-up children, so an old-fashioned lifestyle would be expected. The inventory shows just the same pattern as in the previous example (and as in the other early room-by-room inventories). In emphasizing the distinctive features of his lifestyle we see that the hall has all the furnishings for living: a table, chairs, benches, cushions, and a cupboard, and is decorated with painted cloths. The parlour is for sleeping and storage (the coffers), but it has no chair or table (in contrast to later inventories). The kitchen has all the pots, pans, and presumably the dishes and

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[36] A full discussion of the structure is given in R. A. Meeson, *Glebe Farm, Wilmcote, Warwickshire: An Architectural Analysis*, Report for Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2000 (with appendix on tree-ring dating) (Copy at SBT). The felling dates of winter 1512/13 and winter 1513/14 indicate construction in 1514 or at most a few years later.

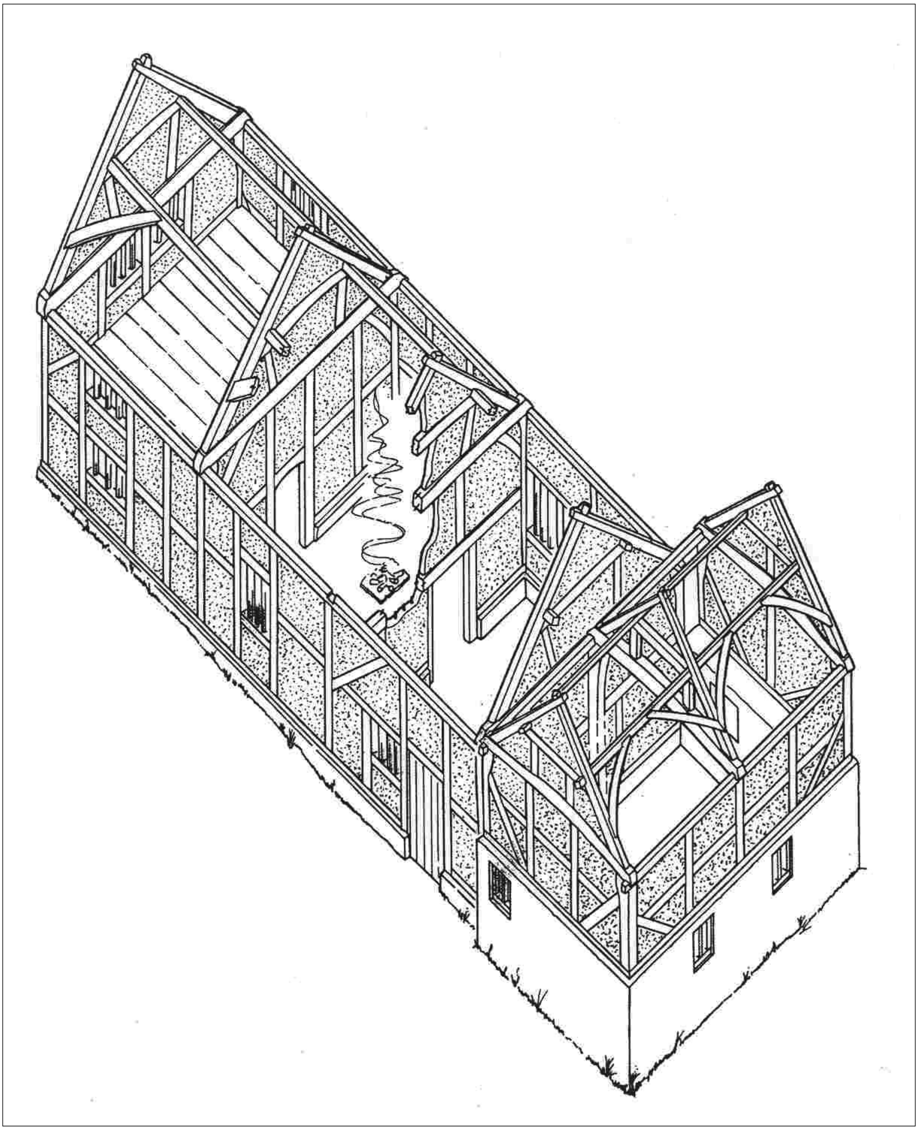

Figure 7. Glebe Farm, Wilmcote: reconstruction of timber framing, original structure; before 1556, the partition between the central hall and the adjoining service room had been removed (drawing: R. A. Meeson).

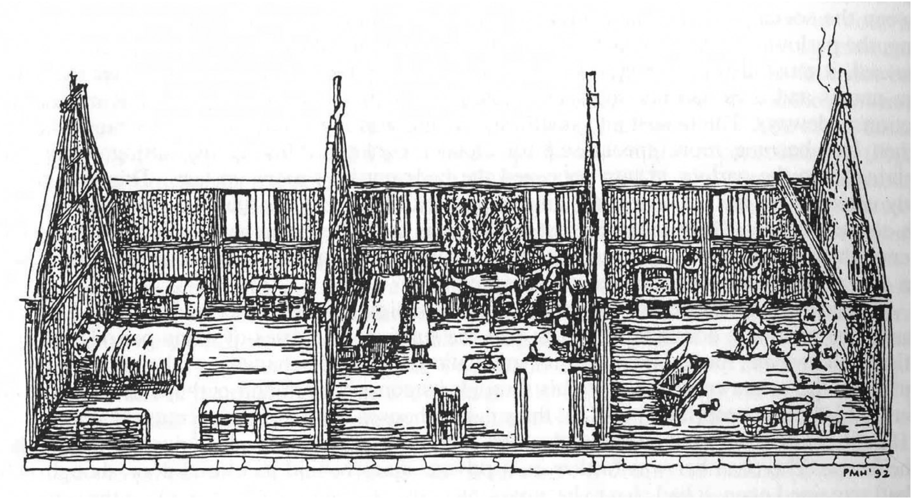

Figure 8. Probate inventory of Humphrey Hylles, 1556:
reconstruction of furnishings (drawing: Pat Hughes)

trenchers, which are slipped in at the end of the inventory. It also has the fire fittings, the pot hooks, the spit and 'goubardes' (*cobirons*, the 'cobbardes' of the preceding inventory), and the gridiron. Yet no table, bench, stool, or chair — to modern eyes not a kitchen one could cook in, but we can actually see such a lifestyle represented in one of the few manuscript illustrations of simple medieval cooking, which shows the cook sitting on the floor.[37] Figure 8 attempts to make Humphrey Hylles's lifestyle more vivid through a reconstruction drawing of the house and its furnishings. His actual house has been rebuilt, but the drawing is based on a standing cruck house in Stoneleigh, tree-ring dated to *c.* 1480. So this is a house with strictly separated functions: a room for living, a room for sleeping, and a room for cooking.

Looking a bit further afield, we can suggest how this pattern develops. Structurally, the late medieval peasant houses in Warwickshire are rather unusual, typically having their three bays partitioned into three separate rooms (as shown in fig. 8).[38] Much commoner elsewhere is what is seen, for example, in a three-bay cruck house of 1495 in Newton Longville, Buckinghamshire, which has a single-bay chamber and a two-bay hall (fig. 9). Another Warwickshire house, the Leopard, Bishop's Tachbrook (*c.* 1420), throws some light on how these houses were lived in. It has

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[37] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 6, fol. 22^{r}; this image has been reproduced frequently, for example by L. M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), fig. 702, and Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), p. 207.

[38] This section is based on Alcock and others, *Medieval Peasant House*.

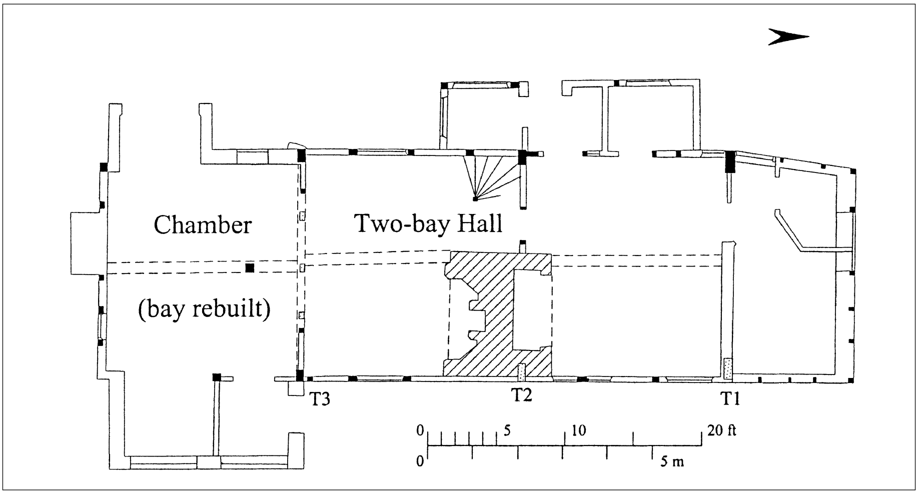

Figure 9. Beverley Cottage, Newton Longville, Buckinghamshire (redrawn from survey by D. Miles).
Trusses T1 and T3 are closed, while T2 is an arch-braced open cruck.

four bays: a floored chamber, a two-bay hall, and a service bay. The roof has traces of a louvre in bay II, the upper hall bay, and of a *second* louvre in bay III, the other hall bay. This can only mean that the hall had two hearths and therefore two functions, both living and cooking, that is, the two bays of the hall functioned effectively as the 'hall' and the 'kitchen'. The same is surely true of the Newton Longville house and of other small houses with two-bay halls. They would seem otherwise to have too much space allotted for the hall in relation to the size of the house. Thus, what we are seeing are halls that are physically undivided, but socially differentiated into a variety of functions. This separation of functions might well be incomplete; food preparation could have gone on in one spot, boiling (a relatively clean cooking activity) in another, and spit-roasting or frying in another. A small step was then taken in the Stoneleigh houses, partitioning off the kitchen end of the hall, but at first not redistributing the original functions of the hall. Only towards 1600, as medieval lifestyles were updated, did kitchens acquire all the furniture needed both for cooking and for related tasks.

Conclusions

The pictures drawn from these various documentary sources of medieval peasants at home are complementary, but to a notable degree confirm each other. The halls, kitchens, and chambers of the retirement agreements match precisely the rooms listed in the probate inventories and mentioned in the inquests. The limitation in some agreements to shared rather than separate space (e.g. Wymondham, 1407 above) makes sense in the light of the inventory evidence for two-room houses, where it would hardly be practicable for grandmother to have one of them for herself. The brass pots boiling on the hearth are recorded in the inventories which also suggest that the dangerous vats might not always be in a separate brewhouse, but that brewing might go on in the kitchen, especially if it was physically divided from the hall. The painted cloths confirm the evidence of standing structures that the houses were not exclusively utilitarian. However, the distinctive lifestyles identified from the inventories cannot easily be seen in the other sources, needing the comparison of the contents of different rooms in the house and of corresponding rooms in other houses.

A wider picture comes from some of the other essays in this section, though each gives a rather different view than that presented here. The three Kentish studies all relate to urban communities.[39] They suggest altogether more sophisticated lifestyles, as judged from the material possessions, especially the extraordinary quality of the textiles described. However, it is not clear if this picture is biased, both by the selection of the most elegant of furnishings for particular mention in wills, and by the making of wills by a superior group within the whole urban community; in Stoneleigh, the comparison of the houses listed in the court roll of 1481 with the inventories and a correlation of the latter with documents such as rentals indicates that the information relates to the whole community.[40] In the evidence from Spain, most detail is again available for the wealthier households.[41] The same need for colour and display can be recognized, here manifested in decorated ceramics. The suspension of the batterie de cuisine from a peg-board is a notable alternative to the shelves and aumbries of English homes, but the kneading trough is universal, as is the linen chest. Whether the activities of Spanish peasants in their various rooms were differentiated in the same way as in Warwickshire needs further study.

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[39] Sarah Pearson, 'Houses, Shops, and Storage: Building Evidence from Two Kentish Ports'; Catherine Richardson, 'Household Objects and Domestic Ties'; Elisabeth Ellen Salter, 'Some Differences in the Cultural Production of Household Consumption in Three North Kent Communities, *c*. 1450–1550', in this volume.

[40] Alcock, *People at Home*, pp. 179, 200–01.

[41] Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer, 'The Peasant *Domus* and Material Culture in Northern Castile in the Later Middle Ages', in this volume.

APPENDIX

Probate Inventory Text Extracts

Numerals have been converted to Arabic and sums of money standardized; the headings and the repeated *Item* have been suppressed. Only the items relating to domestic furnishings are included in the extracts.[42]

1. Thomas Hobley, Hill in Stoneleigh, 12 April 1538

In the Hall	£	*s*	*d*
A payntyd cloth, a taboll, 2 forms		3	0
A schere, a umbre, 3 chusschens		3	0
3 bras pottes on with anoder		8	0
2 pans & 2 skelletes, a skymer		6	8
A frying pan			4
4 platters, 4 puturdychys, 4 sawssers		3	0
2 bassons of latten & a saltseller			10
Sum		24	10
In the Bedchamber			
Anold fedderbed, a bolster, 3 pyllos, a coverlet		8	0
4 payre of schech [sheets] & 2 taboll cloth, 2 towells		5	0
A jakett, a payre of hose		3	4
2 coffurs, a payre of bedstydes		3	0
Sum		19	4
[. . .]			
Overall total	7	13	2

2. Robert Arden, Wilmcote in Aston Cantlow, 1556.

In the Halle, 2 table bordes, 3 choyeres [chairs], 2 formes, one cobbowrde, 2 coshenes [cushions], 3 benches and one lytle table with shellves		8	0
Item 2 peyntide clothes in the hall and 5 peyntid clothes in the Chamber, 7 peare of shettes, 2 cofferes, one which [ark for storage]		18	0
Item 5 borde clothes, 2 toweles and one dyeper towelle		6	8
Item one fether bedde, 2 mattereses, 8 canvases, one coverlett, 3 bosteres, one pelowe, 4 pentyde clothes, one whyche	1	6	0
Item in the Kechen, 4 panes, 4 pottes, 3 candell-stykes, one bason, one chafyng-dyche, 2 cathernes [probably cauldrons],			

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[42] The inventories for Stoneleigh are in Lichfield Joint Record Office, listed by year and name of decedent. That for Robert Arden is at Worcester Record Office, ref. 1556/40.

2 skellettes, one frying pane, a gredyerene and pott hanginges with hookes	2	11	8
One broche [spit], a peare of cobbardes, one axe, a bill, 4 nagares [augers], 2 hachettes, an ades [adze], a mattoke, a yren crowe, one fatt, 4 barrelles, 4 payles, a quyrne, a knedyng trough, a lonng saw, a hansaw	1	0	2
[. . .]			
The wodd in the yarde & the baken in the roffe	1	10	0
Overall total	77	11	10

3. Humphrey Hylles, Hurst in Stoneleigh, 1556.

In the Halle			
On tabull, 3 cheres, a cuppeborde, a rownde tabull, on forme, 2 qwyscions with pentyt clothes		6	0
In the Parler			
4 Coffers, a beddestyd, a matrys, 2 coverynges; a bolster, 3 pere of schettes, 2 peloberes		10	0
In the Kechen			
3 Potts & a posnet, 4 pannes, a scellet, a scemer; a spytte, a pere of goubardes	1	0	0
9 Pecys of peutur, 3 socers, a chaffyg dysche; 3 condelstyckes, 2 saltecellers		6	8
3 Bordeclothes, a towell		4	0
3 Lomes, 3 paylles, a chesse presse, a knedyng trough; a pere of pottehokes, a gredeyron, a fyrescho[vel], on axe and a byll		2	8
[. . .]			
Dysches, trenchers, ladell with other trymtram as olde bordes [with other items]			
Overall total	21	5	4

The Peasant *Domus* and Material Culture in Northern Castile in the Later Middle Ages

HIPÓLITO RAFAEL OLIVA HERRER

Introduction

In this essay on the peasant *domus* in late medieval Castile, I shall focus on three main areas: first, the peasant's relationship to property; second, the material conditions of the buildings, and third, material culture, specifically furniture and equipment. The few studies on rural houses in Spain tend to project an image of primitivism for the buildings and the furniture, which this essay will challenge.[1] I shall also consider how the wide range of social variation in rural society translates as regards material culture. As variability might be the main characteristic of the peasant *domus*, generalization could be dangerous, especially in an area as large as northern Castile.[2] Therefore, I shall focus on a specific region, Tierra de Campos, using documentary evidence from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[3]

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[1] For an exception, see J. C. Martín Cea, *El mundo rural castellano a fines de la Edad Media: El ejemplo de Paredes de Nava en el siglo XV* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1991), pp. 325–30.

[2] I shall try to put into practice the advice given by Chris Wickham that we need to recognize the variety of local experiences that lies behind a generalization: Chris Wickham, *Community and Clientele in Twelth-Century Tuscany: The Origins of the Rural Commune in the Plain of Lucca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 190.

[3] I shall refer to other places when they match. The few studies about rural houses in the kingdom of Castile are J. L. García Grinda, 'La arquitectura popular: un camino desde el presente a la Edad Media', in *Miranda de Ebro en la Edad Media*, ed. by F. J. Peña Pérez (Burgos: Ayuntamiento de Miranda de Ebro, 2001), pp. 345–57; M. Borrero Fernández, 'El ajuar en la casa campesina sevillana a fines de la Edad Media', in *La Sociedad medieval andaluza: grupos no privilegiados. Actas del III Coloquio de historia medieval andaluza* (Jaén:

The only archaeological information that is available in the region from the late Middle Ages, though it refers to the late fourteenth century, is also used. In spite of this chronological difference, the archaeological references provide important evidence regarding technical aspects of buildings that do not experience substantial variations during the later Middle Ages. Moreover, they clearly show that complexity was an important feature of the peasant home, at least since the second half of the fourteenth century.

I have chosen this region because the survival here of fiscal lists for some villages gives us information about peasant housing.[4] Such lists, the so-called *libros de pechería*, were compiled by local government institutions, the *concejos*, in order to determine how the tax burden could be distributed, according to ability to pay.[5] To carry out this work the *concejos* proceeded to evaluate every inhabitant's wealth. Their valuations can be considered very accurate because they came from an institution extraordinarily close to the development of the rural community. Indeed, many of their regulations affected important aspects of the local economy or daily life. The fiscal indexes were created by taking account of the different dwellers' ownership of land, houses, cattle, cash, and even goods considered of significant value, such as clothes of a special quality, silver ribbons, or cups.[6] The local institutions, therefore,

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Ayuntamiento de Jaén, 1984), pp. 211–23; C. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, 'Bienes muebles e inmuebles de pequeños labradores y artesanos en Jaén', in *La Sociedad medieval andaluza*, pp. 199–210; A. Sánchez del Barrio, 'Las construcciones populares medievales: un ejemplo castellano de comienzos del XIV', *Studia Historica: Serie Medieval*, 7 (1989), 127–53; B. Arizaga Bolumburu, 'La arquitectura popular en la Edad Media (Guipuzcoa)', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 4 (1989), 59–74. However, there is a need for more detailed studies.

[4] For a general survey, see my study of the region in the later Middle Ages, H. R. Oliva Herrer, *La Tierra de Campos a fines de la Edad Media: economía, sociedad y acción política campesina* (Valladolid: Universidad. Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 2002). For the environment, P. Plans, *La Tierra de Campos* (Madrid: Instituto de Geografía Aplicada, 1970); V. Cabero Diéguez and others, *Geografía de Castilla y León*, vol. III, *Los espacios naturales* (Valladolid: Ámbito, 1982); J. González Garrido, *La Tierra de Campos, región natural* (Salamanca: Ámbito, 1941; repr. 1993). J. García Fernández, *Aspectos del paisaje agrario en Castilla la Vieja* (Valladolid: Universidad. Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 1963); A. Vaca Lorenzo, 'La Tierra de Campos y sus bases ecológicas en el siglo XIV', *Studia Historica: Serie Medieval*, 8 (1990), 149–86.

[5] On this point, see Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 142–44. We must remember that, at this time, the *concejos* were obliged to collect both the signorial and royal tributes: H. Casado Alonso, 'Solidaridades campesinas en Burgos a fines de la Edad Media', in *Relaciones de poder, produccion y parentesco en la Edad Media y Moderna: Aproximación a su estudio*, ed. by R. Pastor (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), pp. 279–304; J. A. García de Cortazar, *La Sociedad rural en la España medieval* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1988), p. 211; B. Yun Casalilla, *Sobre la transición al capitalismo en Castilla: Economía y sociedad en Tierra de Campos (1500–1830)* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1987), p. 159.

[6] Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 385–87.

compiled detailed registers of the land holdings of each person, taking account of every transaction. Parallel counts of buildings were also carried out, accompanied by an estimation of their value.

We still have some of these lists from the village of Becerril, dated between 1508 and 1523. Some of them refer to the land and cattle of the dwellers, and one contains the fiscal coefficients which translated the wealth of each inhabitant, as it was evaluated by the *concejo*. These allow detailed analysis of the property structure, forms of work organization, and the different incomes of the inhabitants.[7] Other lists, such as one from 1522, contain information about all the houses in the village.[8] Moreover, as a result of the conflicts between a peasant elite and the lower nobles (*hidalgos*) in the village during the decades before 1520, and due to its particular status of *behetría*,[9] every privilege of fiscal immunity in Becerril, particularly those for the lower nobility, was eliminated.[10] In addition, local clerics are included in our lists as a result of a deal with the local government, signed in 1446.[11] This means that all the inhabitants appear in these fiscal lists, making the village of Becerril a perfect place for a study of standards of living.

The example of Becerril is interesting because a study of its society reveals that there were no differences of income, occupation, or standard of living between rural lesser nobles and wealthy peasants.[12] The only difference was the central role that the former played in seignorial clienteles and their privileged condition; although Becerril, and some other places with the status of *behetría*, had used the royal court of justice to force the *hidalgos* to pay taxes, nobles in the region generally had exemption privileges. Both were the main targets of peasant political action. Similarly, it can be shown that the local clerics were all from peasant elite families and shared a similar standard of living. However, while there were equivalences in the standards of living of privileged groups, including wealthy peasants, if we are looking for material differences in the rural society of the Tierra de Campos area we have to focus on differences within the peasantry. Indeed, peasants made up the bulk of a rural society where the presence of *hidalgos* was limited and the clerics can hardly be thought of apart from the local community from which they came. The study of material differences between peasants offers a picture of marked stratification related to significant differences in access to land, livestock, and farm implements.[13]

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[7] H. R. Oliva Herrer, 'Propiedad, explotación agraria y organización del trabajo en Tierra de Campos a fines de la Edad Media', *Historia Agraria*, 21 (2000), 33–61.

[8] Becerril de Campos, Archivo Municipal (hereafter AM), Sección Histórica, caja nº 33, Libro de pecherías de casas y bienes muebles de 1522.

[9] The 'behetría' was a particular kind of lordship which had suffered a complex evolution during the course of the Middle Ages. Due to a ruling by King Juan II in 1454, nobody with exemption status could live in a place of 'behetría'. I have discussed all the particularities in H. R. Oliva Herrer, 'Del Becerro de las behetrías a la revuelta comunera: El carácter de la behetría castellana a fines del medievo', *Edad Media Revista de Historia*, 2 (1999), 217–63, and 'Libertades de behetría y ofensiva señorial a fines de la Edad Media: La señorialización de la behetría de Osorno de Yuso', *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, 27 (2000), 157–78. However, the question of the 'behetría' as a seigniorial category has given rise to a great deal of debate. For discussions and bibliography, see *Los señoríos de Behetría*, ed. by C Estepa and C. Jular Pérez Alfaro (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001).

[10] For a detailed study, see Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 233–78.

[11] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 68, Ordenanzas municipales, fol. 41ʳ.

[12] Ibid.

The Peasant's Relationship to Property

An initial consideration of the number of houses and the number of inhabitants suggests a shortfall in the number of buildings. The list only records 818 houses for a total of 916 householders. Obviously any explanation has to take into consideration a trend of demographic growth.[14] The main reason, though, is the existence of an undetermined number of inhabitants of low economic status who had to share the same building despite the lack of a direct relationship between them. It is not that some families with a close degree of kinship co-resided, although some did; as a householder was defined by the independence of his household and economic unit there would only be one householder in such a situation. A second factor, although acting to a lesser degree, is the recording of live-in servants as householders in this source.[15]

The percentage of inhabitants living in their own houses is 73%, a proportion that matches with findings from many villages in other places.[16] For the rest, renting was the solution. The practice of renting did not play a main role in the revenues of the peasant elite members.[17] However, we know that it was an important mechanism of control which could have served to affirm clienteles and other relationships of dependence inside villages.[18] This was perhaps particularly the case in an area like Becerril where inequality was increasing quickly and the cohesion of the society was problematic. The fifteenth century in the kingdom of Castile was a period of economic growth, which reached a peak during the reign of the Catholic Kings.[19] One of the results of this trend of growth was that a group of wealthy peasants began fighting for a place in the political sphere.[20] In Becerril, and some other places of *behetría*, this struggle took the form of an opposition against the lower nobles (*hidalgos*), who had up until this point controlled the institutions of local government.[21] Further, there were increasing differences between peasants as we shall see.

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[13] Oliva Herrer, 'Propiedad, explotación agraria y organización del trabajo', pp. 31–61.

[14] For the growth which took place in Castile during the second half of the fifteenth century, see V. Pérez Moreda, 'La población española en tiempos de Isabel I de castilla', in *La Sociedad y la economía en tiempos de Isabel la Católica*, ed. by Julio Valdeón (Valladolid: Ambito and Instituto Universitario de Historia Simancas, 2002), pp. 13–38, with a complete bibliography.

[15] Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 191–92 and 290–91.

[16] F. Ruiz Gómez, *Las Aldeas castellanas en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), p. 184; J. Armas Castro, *Pontevedra en los siglos XII al XV: Configuración y desarrollo de una villa marinera en la Galicia medieval* (Pontevedra: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa, 1998), p. 124.

[17] A point that was emphasized for towns by P. Desportes, *Reims et les remois aux XIII et XIV siècles* (Paris: Picard, 1979), pp. 468–85, and R. Hilton, 'Some Problems of Urban Real Property in the Middle Ages', in his *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History* (London: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 165–74.

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[18] For example, in a longer accusation against the group of *hidalgos* holding office in Becerril by the rest of the village, led by a group of wealthy peasants, it says 'diz que ponen pena a los ricos que tienen casas de alquiler que no las alquilen a los pobres e menudos fasta que los hazen jurar de non ser contra las hordenanzas que ellos facen' ('They (the hidalgos) threaten not to permit to the rich the rent of houses to the poor until they swear to accept the by-laws they (the hidalgos) make'): Simancas, Archivo General. Registro General del Sello, II-1490, fol. 275. For another village, that of Covarrubias, see J. Valdeón Baruque and A. Estebán Recio, 'Sotanas y puñales: Abuso de poder y violencia del cabildo de Covarrubias a mediados del siglo XVI', *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 4 (2001), 11–22.

[19] García de Cortazar, *La Sociedad rural*, p. 264; H. Casado Alonso, 'Evolución de la producción agraria, precios y coyuntura económica en los obispados de Burgos y Palencia a lo largo del siglo XV', *Studia Historica: Serie Medieval*, 9 (1991), 67–110, and J. R. Díaz de Durana, 'La recuperación del siglo XV en el nordeste de la Corona de Castilla', *Studia Historica: Serie Medieval*, 8 (1990), 79–118. See also H. R. Oliva Herrer, 'El mundo rural en tiempos de Isabel I', in *La Sociedad y la economía*, ed. by Valdeón, pp. 41–75.

[20] M. Santamaría Lancho, 'Del concejo y su término a la comunidad de ciudad y tierra: Surgimiento y transformación del señorío urbano de Segovia (siglos XIII–XVI)', *Studia Historica: Serie Medieval*, 3 (1985), nº 2, 103–05, and M. Asenjo, 'Labradores ricos: Nacimiento de una oligarquía rural en la Segovia del siglo XV', *En la España medieval*, 4 (1984), 63–85.

[21] For a more detailed study, see Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 233–73. By 1520 the *Comunidades* revolution had broken out in Castile; when the conflict reached the Tierra de Campos region, it was quickly transformed into an uprising against the lords. So the demands from Becerril can also be seen as an important piece of political discourse working almost two decades before the *Comunidades* revolution. For the *Comunidades* revolution and its implications in the region of Tierra de Campos, see J. Pérez, *La revolución de las Comunidades de Castilla (1520–1521)* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1981); S. Haliczer, *Los Comuneros de Castilla: La forja de una revolución* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1987); J. A. Maravall, *Las comunidades de Castilla: Una primera revolución moderna* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1979); J. I. Gutiérrez Nieto, *Las comunidades como movimiento antiseñorial: La formación del bando realista en la guerra civil castellana de 1520–1521* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1973); A. Guilarte, *El obispo Acuña: Historia de un comunero* (Valladolid: Miñón, 1979); and S. Rodríguez Salcedo, 'Historia de las Comunidades palentinas', *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 10 (1953), 77–274.

Documents relating to inheritance clearly show the importance given to the house. Under a shared inheritance system, the residential property was frequently divided among all the heirs, a point that explains the presence of fractions in the register (see Table 1).[22] Then, the usual custom seems to be the transfer of the right to a sole holder by means of purchase, surrender, or rent from the rest of the relatives.[23] If the building was large enough it was divided into parts, as it was in many cases, and some independent doors to the street were constructed.[24] Occasionally we find one of the heirs selling his portion to a neighbour who extends his own house in this way.[25] Getting the possession of the whole house or property appears to have been an arduous task which often required borrowing money from a creditor. This was usual both for people of little income and for those just looking for cash. The former probably needed most of their lives to return the borrowed money.[26]

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF HOUSES OWNED BY INDIVIDUALS OR INSTITUTIONS IN BECERRIL DE CAMPOS (1522)

Houses	**Individuals/Institutions**	
0	252	27.51%
0.5	16	1.70%
1	537	58.62%
1.5	8	0.87%
2	70	7.64%
3	25	2.72%
4	2	0.76%
5	4	
7	1	
8	1	

Source: Libro de pecherías de casas y bienes muebles de 1522.

Another point to emphasize is the lack of what is called in statistical terms concentration of property. Only around 11% of the dwellers owned two or more houses, and the percentage is reduced to 3.4% if we count the owners of three or more houses. Indeed, only eight inhabitants appear in the list as possessors of four or more houses (see Table 1). However, there was a tendency by ecclesiastical institutions to amass property, although the scale is small when compared with that in the nearest towns.[27] The village parishes and certain clerics were the main owners. The largest was Saint John's church which owned eight houses. Another three religious institutions (the confraternity of Saint Peter, Saint Mary's church, and Saint Peter's church) and a clergyman appear among the twenty-five who owned three houses. The churches' residences were not dedicated to the lodging of clerics; all of the local clergy appear in the list as owners of their own houses.[28] Most of these buildings were rented out, usually to the poorest people in the village.[29] Sometimes the residence was supposed to be shared by three or four tenants and their families.[30]

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[22] This can also observed in the town of Reims: Desportes, *Reims et les remois*, p. 473.

[23] Ruiz Gómez, *Las Aldeas castellanas*, p. 85.

[24] Palencia, Archivo Histórico Provincial (hereafter AHP), Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fols 24^{r}, 36^{r}, 45^{r}, and 118^{v}.

[25] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fols 59^{r} and 77^{r}.

[26] The notarial sources from the village of Torremormojón quite frequently reveal couples borrowing money in order to set up home on their own. Moreover, it is usual to find examples of people who died before having paid for the whole house. Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 129^{v}.

So, housing property was spread in a relatively homogeneous way between people. This is not to say, though, that there was no great variability in the quality of houses and their material conditions. Such large diversity has been clearly shown in studies of housing in urban areas, and we can arrive at a similar conclusion for the Castilian rural world.[31] This variability can be approached through the valuations provided by the list. As the movable goods were valued separately, we must assume that the valuations were made on the size of the house and the quality of building. Indeed, only the cattle and those movable goods considered of significant value were taken into account when the fiscal index was created. As we are working with a general valuation made by the local government, we avoid a problem which frequently occurs when working with contracts of sale: that of determining if the final price reflects the material worth of the house or whether it was modified by social connections affecting either the buyer or the seller.[32] However, in the absence of contemporary equivalents for the values, we cannot get at the real material conditions of the houses. This source, though, allows us to draw up a clear hierarchy of the buildings.

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[27] H. Casado Alonso, *La Propiedad eclesiástica en la ciudad de Burgos en siglo* XV*: El cabildo catedralicio* (Valladolid: Universidad. Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 1989); J. A. Fernández Flórez, 'Las casas del cabildo catedralicio de León', *Archivos Leoneses*, 75 (1984), 31–156; and J. Valdeón Baruque and A. Estebán Recio, 'Esbozo de una geografía social: Palencia a fines de la Edad Media', *Studia Historica: Serie Medieval*, 3 (1985), 117–42. See also, Ruiz Gómez, *Las Aldeas castellanas*, pp. 145–55.

[28] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 33, Libro de pecherías de casas y bienes muebles de 1522.

[29] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 95^r.

[30] For example, three cottagers, Nicolas de la Calva, Juan de Guardo, and Alonso rented a house which belonged to Saint John's church. Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 33, Libro de pecherías de casas y bienes muebles de 1522.

[31] Valdeón Baruque and Estebán Recio, 'Esbozo de una geografía', pp. 117–42, and Fernández Flórez, 'Las casas del cabildo', pp. 31–156.

[32] See G. Levi, *La Herencia inmaterial: La historia de un exorcista piamontés del siglo* XVII (Madrid: Nerea, 1990), pp. 82–118.

If we take the amounts in the Becerril list of 1522, the mean value is of 19,221 *maravedíes* (mrs), and the extreme values are of 1000 and 75,000 mrs. Forty-nine percent of the houses are valued between 10,000 and 30,000 mrs. The most common price is between 10,000 and 20,000 mrs, which includes 29% of the buildings (see Table 2). Around a quarter of the houses are valued under 10,000 mrs, and a similar percentage over 30,000 mrs. Only 4% of the houses had a price higher than 50,000 mrs, which is more than twice the average price. To put this in perspective, that year in Becerril, the annual salary of a labourer hired by the community to survey the fields was 2000 mrs, a day's wage for a labourer was 25 mrs, and the price of a mule to plough oscillated between 2000 and 2500 mrs.[33]

TABLE 2: VALUE OF THE HOUSES IN BECERRIL DE CAMPOS IN 1522[34]

Maravedíes	**Number of houses**	
> 60,000	7	1.30%
50,000–59,999	15	2.79%
40,000–49,999	48	8.93%
30,000–39,999	69	12.84%
20,000–29,9999	102	18.99%
10,000–19,999	157	29.23%
5000–9999	88	16.38%
0–4999	51	9.49%

Source: Libro de pecherías de casas y bienes muebles de 1522.

In conclusion, we can suggest that the key difference between owners lies more in the value of their houses than in the number of houses that they possessed. Indeed a combination of both elements works as a good index of a person's position within rural society and also shows that the real estate wealth tended to be concentrated. If we use a statistical index known as the Gini Index, where results vary between 0 (minimum concentration) and 1 (maximum concentration), the concentration towards real estate property in this equation is 0.59.[35] This is because 5% of property owners, those whose buildings were priced over 50,000 mrs, had almost 30% of the total real estate wealth. With this equation, we are assessing how the value of the real estate (the total price of all the houses) is distributed between people. However, if we compare the concentration of real estate to that of land and livestock, the index of concentration is superior for both land (Gini Index 0.64) and livestock (Gini Index of 0.91 for the working animals and the sheep); that is, fewer people owned more of the land and livestock, whereas the ownership of houses was more widespread. Thus, the important place reserved for the house in the fiscal index can be seen as recognition of its central place in the peasant economy. Yet, clearly this prominence was also a way of hiding the real difference in access to property as a whole, and so the inequality in local society.[36]

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[33] Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, p. 358; Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 63, Actas municipales 12 October 1522, and caja nº 33, Libro de pecherías de casas y bienes muebles de 1522.

[34] As far as the list gives us the amount of the real estate wealth of each owner and does not indicate the difference in value between the different houses owned by one individual, we have selected the 537 individuals having only one house

[35] The 0 value means that all the subjects have equal property; the 1 value means that one subject has all the property while the rest have nothing.

The Buildings

Diversity in the material conditions of the house makes it difficult to talk about a standard peasant building.[37] It is well known that its materials and forms were subjected to many changes and linked to a great deal of local particularities. However, it is possible to find in Tierra de Campos a series of recurring elements. We can approach them through the documentary evidence, mainly from Becerril but also from other neighbouring villages, and the archaeological information provided by the site of Fuenteungrillo.

Peasant houses were made of an amalgam of bays, including those for residence and some others to house cattle, tools, and agricultural products. The living part usually involved the front of the building and was made up of two floors, the second floor being the so-called *sobrado*, of a lower height than the main floor. Its bays were used as bedrooms or sometimes storage rooms. Generally, the *sobrado*, at the front of the house, was projected towards the street and supported by wooden columns, creating a covered space for commercial uses in the street.[38] The main constructive material was the *tapial* or the adobe.[39] The adobe was a kind of brick made from clay and straw and dried under the sun. The *tapial* was also a construction made from clay and straw, but internally reinforced by pieces of stone and bound inside a wooden framework that was placed on both sides of the wall.[40] Stone was generally limited to the foundations.

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[36] Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 279–84.

[37] An argument stressed for England by C. Dyer, 'English Peasant Buildings in the Later Middle Ages (1200–1500)', in his *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 133–66.

[38] Ruiz Gómez, *Las Aldeas castellanas*, p. 140, and García Grinda, 'Arquitectura popular', pp. 396–98.

[39] *Tapia* is the form of the word *taipa* (discussed by Maria da Conceição Falcão Ferreira and Jane Grenville in 'Urban Vernacular Housing in Medieval Northern Portugal and the Usefulness of Typologies', in this volume) also used in the western regions of Portugal.

[40] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 67, Cuentas del Concejo, 1519.

Fuenteungrillo is one of the rare sites in this region studied by archaeologists. It is a deserted village located in the Tierra de Campos region, at a distance of around 25 km from Becerril and close to the village of Torremormojón. The settlement was abandoned in the second half of the fourteenth century, and some written records refer to the presence of about fifty houses.[41] A stone structure of up to 1 metre in height and between 60 and 80 cm in width has been found which would have been the support for *tapial* walls (the *tapial* wall was also found).[42] The floors here were of compacted earth, but in the houses of wealthy peasants the floor was laid with flagstones. Often there was a kind of cave or silo excavated in the floor of some bays to store the grain. This compartment was coated with plaster and the entrance was covered with a flagstone.[43]

According to the documentary evidence, the structure of the typical peasant building in Tierra de Campos was made of wood, an ensemble of oak-tree posts and pine beams, fixed by iron nails.[44] The ceiling of the first floor was constructed with wooden boards supported by beams.[45] The walls were built with clay and straw bricks, dried under the sun, and more frequently with *tapial*.[46] As discussed, *tapial* was reinforced by pieces of stone and bound inside a wooden framework.[47] It was a job that required a certain degree of technical knowledge and was carried out by specialist workers.[48] The framework was made by carpenters and the building of the walls by officials, so the role of the peasant in the building of his own residence tended to be limited to secondary tasks. In some villages the local law established a set of conditions about the height and consistence of the new walls that officials were supposed to respect.[49] Occasionally different officials, hired for a daily wage, can be seen working in the same building, but the norm seems to have been to engage a team to finish the work.[50] As an example we can refer to the case of a building in another village in Tierra de Campos, Mazuecos. The owner contracted an official, from the nearby place of Villada, who took charge of signing up two carpenters from Frechilla, 10 km away, for an eighteen-day job. This suggests the existence of teams of specialist workers, moving around the region.[51]

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[41] J. Valdeón Baruque, 'Un despoblado castellano en el siglo XV: Fuenteungrillo', *En la España medieval*, 3 (1982), 705–16; C. Reglero de la Fuente, 'Señores y vasallos en una aldea castellana medieval: Fuenteungrillo (siglos XIII–XIV)', *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 4 (2001), 114–39; I. Saenz García, J. García López, V. Van Damme Preud'homme, and C. Reglero de la Fuente, 'Algunos materiales cerámicos provenientes del despoblado medieval de Fuenteungrillo', in *La Cerámica medieval en el Norte y Noreste de la Península Ibérica: Aproximación a su estudio*, ed. by J. A. Gutiérrez González and R. Bohigas Beltrán (León: Universidad de León, 1989), pp. 161–71.

[42] C. Reglero de la Fuente, *Espacio y poder en la Castilla medieval: Los montes de Torozos (siglos X–XIV)* (Valladolid: Diputación provincial, 1994), pp. 369–74. Cf. C. Jusué Simonena, *Poblamiento rural en Navarra en la Edad Media: Valle de Urraul Bajo* (Pamplona: Institución Principe de Viana, 1988), p. 302.

[43] Reglero, *Espacio y poder*, p. 373.

[44] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 67, Cuentas del Concejo, 1519; caja nº 63, Actas municipales 10 January 1522.

[45] Martín Cea, *El mundo rural,* p. 239.

[46] The use of adobe and *tapial* is registered in Becerril in public buildings like the mills. Moreover, the local ordinances forbade the drying of the adobes in some places. Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 63, Actas municipales 23 August 1521, and caja nº 67, Cuentas del Concejo, 1519. See also Martín Cea, *El mundo rural*, p. 239, and García Grinda, 'Arquitectura popular', pp. 396–98.

[47] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 67, Cuentas del Concejo, 1519.

[48] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 63, Actas municipales 10 January 1522, and Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancilería, Sección Reales Ejecutorias, C287-21.

The typical house was covered by a lean-to roof, with a wooden structure covered by tiles. The documents from Becerril show quite clearly the existence of tiled roofs both in public and private buildings. A by-law from Cuellar in 1546 prohibited the use of any kind of thatched roof.[52] There was a minimum of two tile-kilns in Becerril.[53] In Torremormojón, the village near Fuenteungrillo, the sales of tiles were usual, and we know about another tile-kiln.[54] Indeed, tile making was carried out all over the Tierra de Campos.[55] The existence of lean-to roofs was the cause of many conflicts inside the villages. Tierra de Campos was an area of very compact settlement so the buildings were close to each other. The lean-to roof led the rainwater to uncovered rooms of the next houses which is why communities tended to control the differences in height among the buildings.[56] Indeed, there was a local officer in Becerril who specialized in resolving disputes between dwellers caused by the building of new houses or even walls.[57] Local law also regulated some aspects like the layout of the frontages, construction in public spaces, or the proper places to throw away rubbish.[58] Furthermore, communities were required to pay for the reconstruction of those buildings destroyed by fire.[59] This interest in communal planning and regulation by the local institutions was only part of a wider range of interventions, like a policy of public order or some actions with a certain social content, developed in order to achieve consent to their political action as a whole.[60]

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[49] Such as the by-law from Cuellar in 1546: *Ordenanzas de villa y tierra de Cuellar de 1546*, ed. by E. Olmos Herguedas, *La Comunidad de villa y tierra de Cuellar a partir de las ordenanzas de 1546* (Valladolid: Diputación provincial de Segovia; Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Segovia and Ayuntamiento de Lastras de Cuellas, 1994), p. 251.

[50] Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancilería, Sección Reales Ejecutorias, C391-33.

[51] Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancilería, Sección Pleitos civiles, Pérez Alonso F., C1713-3.

[52] *Ordenanzas de villa y tierra de Cuellar*, ed. by Olmos Herguedas, p. 254.

[53] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 33, Libro de pecherías de casas y bienes muebles de 1522.

[54] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 28^{v}; II, s.f.

[55] A. Rojo Vega, *El siglo de Oro: Inventario de una época* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1996), p. 395.

[56] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 63, Actas municipales 18 November 1521. There are examples of disputes about differences in the height of buildings between neighbours that finished in the central court of the kingdom. Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancilería, Sección Reales Ejecutorias, C287-21. See also Ruiz Gómez, *Las Aldeas castellanas*, p. 144.

If we analyse the number of bays per building, we can see that we are far from the stereotype of only one room for living in which peasants would develop all their activities. The archaeological excavations on the site of Fuenteungrillo show the existence of rooms of around 20 m^2, with an entrance of about 90 cm. At least three of these bays, one containing the kitchen with the furnace, would make up the humble peasant house, and the whole extension of the house would exceed 60 m^2.[61]

We have less trouble finding out the structure of the wealthier houses whose traces are quite clear in notarial documents. In these the number of rooms is notably superior. The entrance is made through a hall, which most of the time was used for storing some farm implements. This hall leads to a corridor with bedrooms or *camaretas* off. The last could also be used as storage rooms. These bays, as discussed earlier, are situated on the two floors of the building, the ground floor and the *sobrado*. The house has a kitchen with its oven placed near the entrance, and a main room decorated in some way. In the back part of the building there were a range of bays for housing the different types of cattle, and a cellar, which sometimes could be partially excavated, containing all the elements required to make and keep a great deal of wine.[62]

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[57] Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 365–66.

[58] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 63, Actas municipales 10 December 1521, and Ruiz Gómez, *Las Aldeas castellanas*, p. 144; Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 365–66.

[59] Becerril de Campos, AM, Sección Histórica, caja nº 63, Actas municipales 10 January 1522.

[60] Oliva Herrer, *Tierra de Campos*, pp. 413–51; J. C. Martín Cea , 'Poderes públicos y sociabilidad local en la villa de Paredes de Nava en el Cuatrocientos', in *La Ciudad medieval*, ed. by J. A. Bonachía (Valladolid: Universidad. Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 1996), pp. 255–316; D. Torres Sanz, 'Teoría y práctica de la acción de gobierno en el mundo medieval castellano leonés', *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, 12 (1985), 9–87; and also P. Blickle, 'El principio del "bien común" como norma para la actividad política', *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 1 (1998), 29–46.

[61] The interpretation of the structures was an arduous task because only an amalgam of superposed bays could be identified. The absence of a furnace in many rooms, and consequently of a kitchen, and the presence of connections between the rooms tend to indicate that a house was formed by several bays. It is revealing that the written documents always describe the building using the plural 'houses'. Reglero, *Espacio y poder*, pp. 373–74.

[62] Reglero, *Espacio y poder*, p. 374.

To fill in this schematic picture I shall refer to three descriptions of the structure of houses whose dwellers were clearly part of the peasant elite in the village of Torremormojón. The first was shaped by a hall in the front of the house, a main kitchen and another little kitchen both with their own oven, a corridor with four bedrooms off, a main room, and a set of bays dedicated to agriculture: the cellar with a wine-press, a subterranean granary, a stable, some corrals for fowl, and another shed for sheep. The building was completed by an orchard with two wells for providing water, a pigeon-house, and an uncovered bay for a variety of uses.[63] The second was a building of two floors whose structure was shaped by a hall, a kitchen, three bedrooms, a main room, the cellar with a wine-press, a subterranean granary, a stable, a corral for fowl, and three sheds for sheep.[64] The third building, maybe a bit smaller than the other two, had a second floor (*sobrado*) placed above the kitchen. The main floor consisted of a hall, a kitchen, three bedrooms, a main room, and a cellar with a wine-press. In the cellar almost 7500 litres of wine were stored at the time of the owner's death.[65] As we can see, these are sets of bays with an important degree of complexity. Indeed, these three buildings were quite similar in structure and extension to those of the wealthier owners from the nearest towns, such as Palencia and León, excluding those inhabited by the cathedral clergy.[66]

The Furniture and Equipment

The same variability observed in the material conditions of the buildings appears again if we focus on the furniture and equipment. The notarial documents of Torremormojón allow us to determine in many cases the level of income of the subjects, so we can discuss the furniture and the equipment while bearing in mind different standards of living.[67] They record full descriptions of the furniture of some houses, carried out at the time of the owner's death. These inventories describe the furniture room by room.[68] However, the notarial documents also provide further information which permits us to approach the social condition of the individuals, and even to reconstruct some details of their lives.

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[63] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 118^{v}.

[64] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 91^{r}.

[65] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 137^{v}.

[66] Valdeón Baruque and Estebán Recio, 'Esbozo de una geografía', pp. 117–42, and Fernández Flórez, 'Las casas del cabildo', pp. 31–156.

[67] For a more detailed study, see H. R. Oliva Herrer, 'Sobre los niveles de vida en Tierra de Campos a fines del medievo', *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 3 (2000), 175–226.

[68] They are a similar kind of source to the probate inventories found in England and used in N. W. Alcock, 'The Medieval Peasant at Home: England, 1250–1550', in this volume.

In a general way, the difference in the furniture and the equipment is set up more by a question of quantity and quality of the items rather than typological factors. The kiln was the central element of the kitchen. In Fuenteungrillo the furnaces had an oval form, with a length of between 95 and 135 cm and a width of between 50 and 70 cm. They were located in a corner of a room, placed either on the ground or slightly excavated. A stone base supported an arched structure of clay bricks (*adobes*). The smoke left by means of a chimney made of ceramic pieces.[69] The food was cooked directly over the fire, the pot being supported by an iron tripod (the so-called *trevede*) or by grills. It was normal for a wealthy peasant family to own a varied range of pots — including pans of iron and wire mesh (*sarten de alambre*), cauldrons and little copper boilers (*cazo*), ceramic pots (*puchero*), casseroles (*olla*), and pitchers (*cantaro*) — as well as some dishes of different sizes made of tin or ceramic, normal or glazed, and mortars. There were many plates too; some of them were refined and came from the south of the country where the delicate tradition of arabic ceramic remained. It is possible to find among the furniture of rich peasants some elements with a marked ostentatious character, like glass oil cruets or even silver cups. However, the cutlery was limited to only knives and spoons because the custom was to put a dish in the middle of the table and eat directly from it.

An example of a wealthy peasant is provided by Juan Rio. He was the owner of an important extension of cereal land and more than seven and a half hectares of vineyard. When he died he had saved in his cellar more than 6400 litres of wine and 50,000 mrs in cash. His kitchen equipment consisted of four normal pots, two of which were glazed, an iron saucepan, four ceramic saucepans from Malaga (*altanias*), four pans, two of iron and two wire mesh ones, a glazed earthen pot, a bucket, three little baskets, a glazed jug, four tin dishes of different sizes, ten earthenware plates (*platos de teja*), another five little plates from Malaga, ten chopping boards (*tajaderos*), two chopping blocks (*tablas de sisar*), and fifteen chopping tools (*sisones*). The cutlery only consisted of two spoons and a knife. He also owned three saltcellars, a glass cup (*una copa de vidrio cristalino*), two wooden mortars, and three funnels.[70]

Another example from the local elite is provided by Pedro Rodríguez Chiquete. He owned two houses in the main square of the village and had the use of a servant. We also know that he was buried in a privileged place, the central nave of Torremormojón's village church. He was the owner of a considerable extension of land and dealt in clothing. He had saved nearly 7000 litres of wine in his cellar. His equipment consisted of three cauldrons, a little copper boiler, six copper pitchers for water, a bucket, a large dish (*servilla*), five tin plates (*platos de peltre*), a mortar, and a colander. He also owned two silver spoons and a silver plate.[71]

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[69] Reglero, *Espacio y poder*, p. 373.

[70] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 91^{r}.

[71] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 136^{v}.

As we descend the social scale, it is noticeable that the equipment gets more limited. The usual equipment in the humble houses consisted of a copper cauldron, a wire mesh pan, and some tin platters, with a smaller number of coarse ceramic plates. For example, Alonso Rodríguez Franco was the owner of eight hectares of land, six hectares of cereal and the rest of vineyard, enough to be able to survive and to accumulate a little profit. Occasionally he resorted to hiring manpower and can be seen acting sometimes as a small-scale creditor between his neighbours. However, he did not reach the level of wealth of the men just discussed. One detail is particularly revealing: Alonso Rodríguez himself was obliged to borrow money from a creditor to finance his daughter's wedding, a sign of both his economic capacity and his lack of cash.[72] His kitchen equipment consisted of two cauldrons, two pots (*calderitas*), two little copper boilers, two wire mesh pans and two iron ones, four tin dishes (*servillas*), three tin plates (*platos de peltre*) of different sizes, and two saltcellars.

For an example of a sub-peasant holder we can refer to Martín Ibáñez. He was the owner of less than two hectares of land, and it was quite hard for him to survive without working for others. A spinning wheel was a part of his wife's goods, which is a sign of their need for income.[73] Spinning was economically important to many peasant families whose land property was limited; Tierra de Campos was an important region for the production of clothing.[74] Only a small part of the total value of his house was paid for at the time of his death. His kitchen equipment consisted of a cauldron, a pan, a tin dish (*un estaño*), a tin plate, a bucket, and a wooden chopping board (*tajadero*). Finally, we have Gonzalo de Aguilar as an example of one of the poorest men in the village. He had no land, he lived in a rented house which belonged to the church, and his clothing was very humble. His main income was presumably from daily work as a labourer.[75] His equipment consisted of ten ceramic plates of different sizes, a chopping board (*tajadero*), a pot, two saucepans (*altanias*), a bucket, and a kind of spoon (*jarsanilla*).[76]

Most of the equipment discussed hung from a board with hooks (the so-called *espetera*), fixed to the wall and in many cases decorated. Other kitchen equipment included the tools required to knead the bread, especially the kneading trough. The domestic equipment of the peasant *domus* also used to include different types of tables made of wood or even iron. A particularly frequent model was a foldable one. Fixed to the wall on one side and hung by chains on the other side, it could be extended or folded up, making good use of the space provided. In the lower levels of the peasantry the likelihood of having tables is reduced, being replaced by a type of chest made stronger in the upper part (*arcamesa*).[77] The documents show evidence of varied kinds of seats. However, it was very normal to use cushions and small pillows for sitting, which could be kept under the table or be part of the bed-coverings. There were only a few cupboards and only in the richest houses. In fact the chest was the essential piece of furniture, used in every corner of the building for storing anything: clothes, vessels, bed-clothes. They even stored the carpets and the ornamental trappings of different forms and colours that decorated the main rooms of the richer houses. Most of these have clear arabic influences and it is possible to find evidence of some carpets bought from Palestine.[78] The chests differed in size and in the material from which they were made: the simplest from pine and the richest from oak or walnut (the last also incorporated a lock). Besides the chests, tables and seats were generally covered by tablecloths, the so-called *manteles*, *sobremesas*, or *poyales*. Their origin is diverse: although most of the references are from the near places of Guaza and Castromocho, it is frequent to find some made in Salamanca, a town located about 250 km from Torremormojón.[79] They were usually white, red, or yellow in colour, or a combination of these colours.

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[72] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, II, fols 131^{r}–137^{r} (1515).

[73] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 137^{r}.

[74] I have written about rural clothing in the region in H. R. Oliva Herrer, 'La industria textil en Tierra de Campos a fines del medievo', *Studia Histórica: Serie Medieval* (forthcoming).

[75] For the place of salaried work in the economic structure of the region, see Oliva Herrer, 'Propiedad, explotación agraria y organización del trabajo'.

[76] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 95^{r} (1504).

To finish this brief review of the furniture associated with the rural house in the later Middle Ages, I shall discuss the bed and the bed-clothing. They were regarded as the most important element of the house, and the dowry documents paid particular attention to them. The simplest bed consisted of a series of mattresses put directly on the floor, a layer of blankets made of coarse cloth, and linen sheets. When the bed was more complex and had a frame, it was made of pine wood. At the head, there were usually three little pillows (*cabezales*) made of wool or linen and filled with wool. All of them were made nearby. As an example we can refer to the bed-clothing of Martín Ibáñez and Catalina Martín. It consisted of four little pillows (*cabezales*) from the environs (two of them were made of linen and two of wool), two blankets, and another special kind of coloured blanket (*alhamar*).[80]

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[77] The furniture of Juan Rio consisted of a kneading trough, two washing-troughs (*artesas lavanderas*), a little trough (*artesilla*), six tables and a foldable one (*mesa de goznes*) with chairs, one walnut chest with a lock, another beech chest, a table-chest (*arcamesa*), three little chests (*arcacejos*), three candlesticks (*candeleros*), and three cupboards. The furniture of Pedro Rodríguez Chiquete was composed of two big pine tables, an iron table, a foldable one (*mesa de goznes*), eight chairs with ten cushions (*almohadas de escaño*), a kneading trough, four pine chests, a beech chest, a table-chest (*arcamesa*), a cupboard (*repostero*), a candlestick (*candelero*), and a padlock with a key. That of Alonso Rodríguez Franco consisted of a kneading trough, a walnut table, two table-chests (*arcamesas*), a pine chest with a lock (*un arcaz de pino con cerradura*) and another beech one, a candlestick (*candelero*), and some chairs. The furniture of Gonzalo de Aguilar was composed of a kneading trough, two tables, two chairs, and a table-chest (*arcamesa*). Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 91^{r} (1504); I, fol. 136^{v} (1504); II, fols. 131^{r}–137^{r} (1515); I, fol. 95^{r} (1504).

[78] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 136^{v}.

[79] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 145^{v} (1504); II, fol. 81^{r} (1504).

[80] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 129^{r}. The bed-clothing of Gonzalo de Aguilar consisted of three small pillows, three blankets, and a coverlet: fol. 95^{r}.

The richer houses contained a larger number of pillows and cushions and added other elements such as coverlets and bed-spreads.[81] In elite peasant residences it is also possible to find beds with a canopy. This was painted with geometrical forms and figures and overhung with a profusion of fabrics and trappings. There was one in both Juan Rio's and Pedro Rodríguez Chiquete's houses.[82] The head of this kind of bed was made in carved wood. In addition, the bed-clothes were much more complex. The grey blankets made nearby are replaced by others of various colours and some kind of decoration, and the sheets came from further away. It is not surprising to find such things from Holland or Brittany. For example, the bed-clothing of Pedro Rodríguez Chiquete consisted of nineteen small pillows (*cabezales*), five normal blankets and another one decorated with figures, nine mattresses (five *colchones* and four *almadraques*), two coverlets, and four pillows (three of which were decorated with ribbons and the other imported from Britain). It is also possible to describe how these items were placed on the bed as we know that the bed in which Chiquete died was made up of a mattress, two good sheets, two good blankets, two coverlets (a *bernía* and a *delantera de lino*), two pillows, and five small pillows (*cabezales*).[83]

To summarize, important differences between peasants can be perceived through their furniture and equipment. These are quite clear in the quality and quantity of the kitchen equipment, in the number, the variety, and the material of the furniture, and especially in the bed-clothing. The presence of many quality clothes in the trousseaus of wealthier peasants remove them from the standards of consumption of most of their neighbours. There is also a noticeable concern to maximize space which is more acute in modest householders, as is suggested by the preferential use of the table-chest, the foldable chair, or the substitution of the seats by cushions. However, this last aspect is not in contradiction with a certain enjoyment for colours and adornments, which can be perceived both in the trappings decorating the richer rooms and in the coloured tablecloths covering the furniture in humble houses.

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[81] The bed-clothing of Alonso Rodríguez Franco was more varied: eight small pillows (*cabezales*); three pillows, seven blankets, and two *alhamares*; two mattresses; five sheets, some of them specially referred to as of a good quality; and two coverlets, a red one and the other white and red. Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, II, fol. 131^{v}.

[82] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, I, fol. 91^{r} and fol. 136^{v} (1504). See for more references, see Martín Cea, *El mundo rural*, p. 333, and Borrero Fernández, 'Casa campesina sevillana', p. 118.

[83] Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, II, fol. 63^{r}. The bed-clothing in Juan Rio's house consisted of twenty-nine small pillows (*cabezales*), six normal blankets and another four with some kind of decoration, four mattresses, and eight sheets of different sizes, two of which were imported from Britain. Finally, three pillows and two coverlets completed the set. Palencia, AHP, Torremormojón, leg. 6652, II, fol. 91^{r}.

Conclusion

This essay has demonstrated that complexity was an essential feature of the peasant household in the Tierra de Campos region, while suggesting important differences within rural society. The house appears as a central element for the peasant family, though its acquisition could be an arduous task for many people. They were complex buildings, similar to their urban equivalents, and far from the traditional image of simplicity and primitivism. The main part of such houses was built by specialist workers, and the construction was subject to local regulations. There were also important differences in the material conditions of the houses.

Study of the furniture also refutes the idea of simplicity. The relative lack of variation in types contrasts with the wide range of qualities. Also, the desire for embellishment can be observed in the presence of glazed ceramics, profusely decorated ornamental trappings, and the carpets and the bed-clothing which came from the international market. While this ornamental desire can be seen in some items with a marked ostentatious character, such as silver cups, it is also present at the lower levels of local society, as is clearly shown by the *espeteras* (decorated boards) and the coloured tablecloths. Finally, the domestic equipment suggests the deep implication of rural society in different consumption networks: its connection with exchange networks that oscillate from regional centres, such as Castromocho or Guaza, to the acquisition of refined ceramics from Malaga, or the purchase of textiles manufactured abroad. However, important variations in the capacity for consumption and standards of living are evident.[84]

The differences between peasants can be seen as representative of the material differences within rural society as a whole. They are a manifestation of the high degree of stratification experienced by rural society in the Tierra de Campos region, and many other places in Castile in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[85] Yet social differences in the rural world were not only based on material circumstances. Elements such as access to power, involvement in different relationships, or certain privileges were also important. In spite of the equal standard of living between wealthy peasants and the local nobility, some factors of inequality remained, such as the general fiscal exemption for *hidalgos* in the region, or their preferential access (in practice) to the local government, supported by their involvement in seignorial clienteles and connections with other nobles. However, the equivalence in the standard of living between wealthy peasants and the local nobility perhaps permits us to understand better why the latter's privileged condition was defied by the former during the decades preceding the *Comunidades* uprising of 1520–21.

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[84] This is one of the main subjects which I am working on, and which I shall try to develop in the future.

[85] I have discussed the evolution in rural world during this period in 'El mundo rural'.